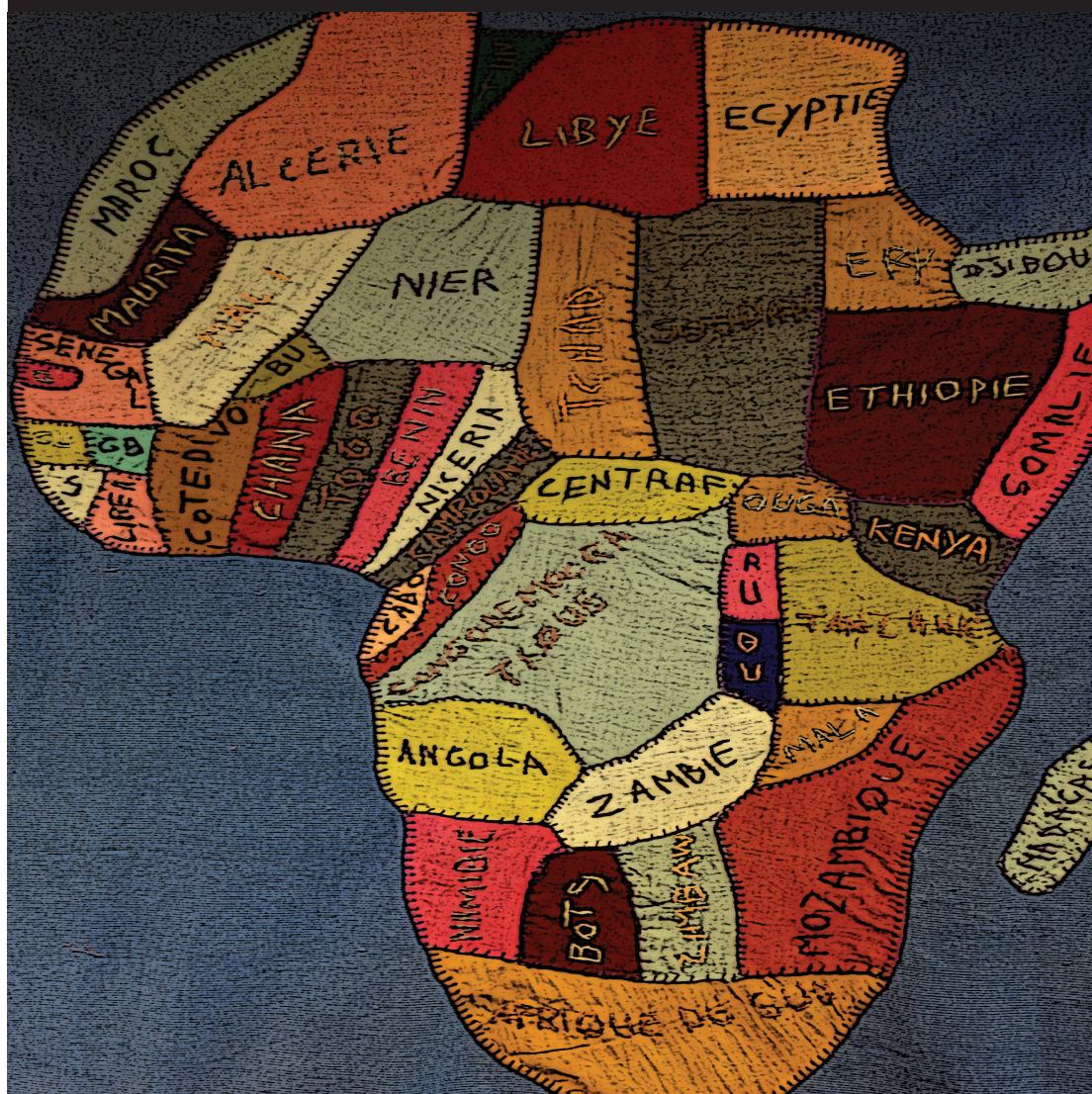


PAN-AFRICANISM

*Political Philosophy and Socio-Economic
Anthropology for African Liberation and Governance*

Caribbean and African American Contributions
(VOLUME TWO)

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni



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Anthropology for African Liberation and
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Contributions
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About the Author

Dr Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni is Dean of the Faculty of Law and Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Research and Cooperation, Bamenda University of Science and Technology – BUST, Bamenda, North West Region, Cameroon. He is a prolific researcher, writer, designer, artist, musician, philosopher and poet, who has travelled widely in Africa and the world.

As the Cross-Cultural Coordinator and Trainer of the United States of America Peace Corps Volunteer Programme in Cameroon; he was nicknamed the “renaissance man” by some of his American Peace Corps friends who enjoyed him as a poet, a musician, a creative artist, designer, producer and a writer who, apart from French, Italian, German and English, he could also express himself in his mother-tongue “Mùngáàkà” and his father-tongue “Tángíkóm” and also in Pidgin the Creole language of West Africa.

His academic prowess is what has marvelled his friends who used to call him the “professional student”: with a BA in Philosophy, a BA in Theology and MA in Philosophy and Theology from the Pontifical Urbanian University of Rome after eight years of study, as well as a BSc in the Social Sciences from the International University of Social Sciences Pro Deo, Rome; an MSc in Anthropology with specialisation in Industrial Anthropology, from the University of Paris V Rene Descartes Sorbonne; an MA in History with specialisation in Economic History, and a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Paris VII Jussieu; an MSc in Political Science, with specialisation in International Relations, an LLM in International Law with specialisation in Comparative International and African Law and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne, Paris, France.

Homecoming to Cameroon after 26 years of study, research and travel all over Europe, and Latin America where he researched in social change in a Project for the Reforestation of the Andean countries - Columbia, Ecuador Brazil and Peru – PREDESU, under the supervision of the Director of the Bank of America for Development; and acquiring more Anthropological knowledge and insights in the cross-cultural miscegenation of the migrant with the native peoples and cultures of Latin America of the Pacific Coast, decided to restudy and redefine Africa.

He was able to appreciate first-hand the forensic dynamic archaeology of the peoples and cultures of the First Nation People (Native Indians) of the Maya of Columbia, the Ketchua and the Guarani of Ecuador and Brazil, the Inca of Ecuador and Peru with the Blacks and Europeans who have contributed to what he identified as “The Chocolate-Black-and Coloured Coast” of the Latin American Pacific Coast line which made him to call it the “Pacific Africa.” He also honed his research talents when he worked for several years as a research assistant at the French National Centre for Scientific Research – CRNS - at the Laboratory of Legal, Political and Economic Anthropology of the University of Paris I – Panthéon Sorbonne and became

one of the privileged alumni who rigorously attended the Levy-Strauss Conferences at College De France by the Sorbonne.

Back in Cameroon he plunged into fundamental research in various topic areas including development studies, conflict and peace-building in Africa, Art, Heritage Management and Public History. He now owns one of the largest Art and Anthropological Museums in Africa with over two thousand African Art Objects and Artefacts, with some dating up to two and three hundred years old. He has taught at several State Universities in Cameroon; and since 2004 has been a Visiting Lecturer at the Aalto University School of Economics and Business of Helsinki, Finland. Since last year he was recruited to teach Pan Africanism at the newly created branch in Cameroon of the Pan African University by The Afrin Union with Head Quarters at Addis Ababa.

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It was through her rigorous and assiduous method of scrutiny that this thesis was rejected for the first presentation for defence, because she complained it lacked the historical approach leaning more on the sociological approach. It was thanks to her strict but professional and encouraging guidance that I was able to come up with part of the work for the M.A. thesis, in History and the entire work which you now have before you today.

My gratitude also goes to my mentor and Supervisor of my PhD thesis in Political Science, Professor Michel Alliot, who also instilled in me the critical Cartesian spirit. After admitting me into the Laboratory of Political and Legal Anthropology, of the French National Centre for Scientific Research, Centre National de Recherche Scientifique – CNRS, as a research member, and assistant lecturer in law and political science, he also undertook to drill me how to become an accomplished researcher and an academician. I was very privileged that he and his wonderful wife Michelle Alliot Marie admitted me as a member of their family and gave me full support and access to their private and family library.

Credit also goes to Professor Etienne Le Roy who incessantly encouraged me, and his wife Jacqueline Le Roy who initiated me in classical guitar lessons to bridge up and fastidious toil the long tough years of French Doctorat D'État Thesis research. While she mellowed my heart and brain in musical explorations, Etienne Le Roy initiated and guided me on the nitty-gritty of practical research and field work. His trustful and unfailing friendship was a good shot my brain and heart will ever appreciate and honour.

My recognition also goes to Berinyuy Bruno Lukong, who went through the work and was able to give me more critical insights, especially on the Southern African contributions which I kind of presented superficially. His insights as a young person seeing this work from a much youthful perspectives made me readjust a lot of the work to entice the younger reader generation. I also thank him for his frank and subtle critique and initiative to propose pertinent Southern African Pan Africanists; and his enthusiasm in accepting to

write the prologue to this book. His selfless interest and endearing care has cemented the spiritual mindset and subconscious spontaneous optic fibres that bind and generate our intellectual engineering.

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My gratitude also goes to my mother, Bertha Leoga Sama Fokum, who encouraged me to devote my energy in writing to leave a legacy to the next generation. She advised me that seeing the wealth of knowledge and experience I had gathered from living and studying in Europe for twenty-six years, it were good for me to, either enter politics and take a leadership role, or go into writing to brain-drive the youths of tomorrow with the wealth of my knowledge and experience. I preferred and chose the latter and this is the result.

My deep and everlasting gratitude also goes to my soul-brothers Acquiles Sepulveda and Sergio Varas Olea, Steve Moffat, Andrejz Guteck and Louis Crusol, Sama and Godlove Bangha who have always encouraged me to carry on research and write. It equally goes to my beloved sisters Martha Nayah Kini and Mary Nsang Kini Ngwabo Ngwabo and to Regine Bella Foumane, my partner, friend and life accomplice, to Oluwa-Toyin the mother of my twin sons, who have opened for my the Yoruba rich and creative cultural universe; for their unflinching and resilient support. Their encouragement has been material, financial, emotional and psychological. Without their contributions and love, even though sometimes at a distance, I would not have had all the energy, assurances, comfort and finances as well as the creativity to carry out most of this mammoth research which requires travelling, documenting, buying and reading many books and papers and falling back on people who form the bridges we cross in our life quest for Happiness and Truth, and making other people happy.

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Final but not least this homage goes to my beloved father Henry Ghuchi Kini who had the sense to give me a name that would determine my life research forever. It also goes to the Dutch Missionaries and especially the Irish Missionary Reverend Father Thomas Kennedy who finally brought up my father who became an orphan at the age of eight months after his father Crown Prince Kini was arrested and assassinated in Mamfe by the Germans in 1912 for resisting their colonisational imperialism and dominion in Kom, Cameroon, which provoked the Laikom Palace Women Anlu Uprising and subsequent suicides of the Princesses and several Fon's Wives in revolt. That is how my father named me "Kini" after my grandfather to light his spirit of nationalism.

It was in his everlasting memory of courage and patriotism that I composed this poem and elegy in his honour titled:

Kaisar Reich

*They came with muskets
And Dane guns
These Nordic harbingers
Of mean crumbs
Of Civilisations who decided
That God was insane
To have created humans in
Divine likeness and diversities...*

*From their Platonic cave allegories of
Deformed visions they swore
To reset phenomena to suit their
Myopic loops of interpretations
And reduced the dynamic normative
Universe to their Arctic curves
To pitch their belief that the sun
Can only travel in their skewed optic horizon...
And so when they could see the
Sun standing at their height's zenith*

*To confirm that their world knowledge and
 World views were only half way valid
 They decided to invent new fictions to tie with their
 Sloppy and biased imaginations and judgements
 Thereby justifying their crude and ruthless
 Dehumanisation of Africa's Peoples and Cultures...
 So for each gun salute for the Greedy Kaiser
 Black heads rolled in their thousands
 From Gbea to Muanenguba till they arrived at the
 Bangwa resistance forest plateau Nyamkpe
 As Fontem Assonganyi also proved that
 German heads could be precious trophies in African Palaces
 Causing the ire of the deflated and confused Kaiser who
 At last sensed the impotency of his menopause bullets and Reich...
 Unrelentingly the apish infantry in their desperation to power
 Spared no lives and stopped at nothing to achieve their war orgies
 Razing down our lands with the fire of forced labour and
 The violently-bloody pacification of the Schutzgebiet
 Conscripting helpless youths, raping and taking women captives
 And plundering and laying waste the land in their wake
 Till the Mankon-Bafut Alliance broke the back bone
 Of the War-Mongering Civilisation Hydra
 That had abused the Galeoga-Zintgraft Blood Covenant
 And the Bali-German Human Development Trusteeship ...
 Kom-á-Ngeh was the last rampart that set the rocks of
 Laikom exploding and routing amok the stubborn aggressors
 Thus safeguarding the pride and heritage of a
 Resilient People born to stand up to fight back
 Like Crown Prince Kini and Prince Lo'o whose cold-blooded Execution by the Germans by
 hanging in
 Mamfe provoked the serial
 Suicidal sacrifices of the Palace Queens in protest for their Human Rights and Protection of the
 Dignity of Women...
 And the wonton rape continued as Kaiser was still furious and hungry
 For our wealth and resources sending his scouts on the rampage
 Not for love of Civilisation and victuals but for
 Fresh human flesh and blood, hunted-head trophies
 To accompany the gold and diamond finds of 1905 excavations in the
 Great Mountain Range from Boyo to Banyo rich in
 The diverse lucrative mineral resources which Germany*

So badly needed to boost its War and Strategic Industries...
Now the Symbolic-Wounds of German atrocities in
Cameroon toll in an abused traumatised generation
But Kaisar still refuses to acknowledge to pay for
The Hideous Colonial Crimes against Humanity and Debt in Human Blood
Typical of the massacres of the Herero people of South West Africa
The Shona and the Ndebele people of Rhodesia, the Bacongo and the
Baluba people in King Leopold's Ghost Empire of carnage and
Brutality...
But the same Kaisars today are still propounding Racially-Toned Human Rights...
As Danielle Mitterand and all the cohorts for Defence of Human Rights and Justice declare
that no Human Holocaust in history
Matches that of
The Jews as if the repeated Holocausts on Black Africans from the Barbarous Slave Trades
and Pogroms by the Semitic-Arabic Islamic and Judeo-Christian
European Colonisations can be quantifiably measured in tons of Material lead
Divested of the human-spiritual and Divine Nature of all created Peoples
As if the cry of devastating harrowing pain and sorrow of a Herero Woman or
Of a Kom Child or even a Congolese Old Man is
Different from that of a NAZIED JEW
Or a permanently ZIONISED PALESTINIAN...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 19th August, 1978.

My invaluable and due gratitude and respect goes to the ever blessed memory of those Dutch and Irish Missionaries Rev. Father Kennedy who, apart from taking care of my father, from his very infant tender age, also educated him through High School and Professional Institutions. I would not have been what I am today without their joint human and spiritual efforts and convictions. I will never thank them enough for I am their indebted grand-son also.

I am short of words and even imagination on how to thank my able companions and friends of CHP International who made my home-coming back to Cameroon and Africa more meaningful and my culture shock much easier to bear and adjust to Cameroonian mentality and standards after 26 years in Europe. These are Joseph Wabo, Richard Agbortokor alias "Croc," Nelson Kaputo Kiwila, Anna Tatchum, Fanny Afana, Rose Njiwa, Richard and Ruth Chamegne Lekunze, Sylvie Ngolet Ngube, Paulette Ngoh Bahyiha – all the VIBs, Caren Hagen, Dairou Yaouba, Ahmadou Toukour, Ahmadou Mountapmbeme, Rogers Ntarzenyuy, Peter Ekindi, Etienne Ngwang, Ibrahim Salle, Julius Birun and President, whose friendship helped to rebuild my

African personality after the long 26 years in Europe. I am very grateful to all of them for their openness to accept and support all my cross-cultural idiosyncrasies. I cannot also thank enough Howard Raik, the Director of CHP International the Peace Corps Training Institute, for his concern for my wellbeing and to train me to become an accomplished trainer of trainers and coordinator for cross-cultural and development studies and research. I owe much of my success as a trainer and researcher to his very vigilant and caring disposition, his great financial support which has transformed me into his debtor forever. I hope we shall one day meet again so that I could pay back his humanitarian spirit and generosity.

My deep gratitude also goes to the American Diplomatic Mission and the Peace Corps of Cameroon and Africa. It also goes especially to Thomas Dougherty, who really trained me in Diplomacy and also took interest and supported my extra-curricular engagements in the Arts and Cultural field in building an Anthropological Museum of Art. It also goes to Gladys Viban alias Mafor, as well as to Mafor Mrs Thomson who also initiated and trained me with State Department funds in American Diplomacy. It goes to Mathieu Kwentcheu for the great support he has always given me a brother and friend. I got my discipline and drive to work from the Americans who right from my early boyhood days instilled in me through the Peace Corps Volunteer Programme the First Kennedy Peace Corps who taught us science, mathematics, arts and literature at Saint Joseph's College, Sasse, Buea, as early as 1962. I did not know that my life will evolve inter-weavily and still intensify at its zenith with the American very focused and go-getting and progress-driven lifestyle.

And if America applied that selfless spirit of success-driven and human-capacity building more, than the military battling prone syndrome that some Americans with the old timers' hangover are projecting today, then they would make more gains in human development than in military prowess.

The truth is that everybody loves America and the Americans. But the snag is that there are some Americans who still believe that the going must be on a hard iron boot-stamping of the world and dominate people instead of building people and making lasting friends out of them.

It was through this concern and love for America, especially after the Taliban attach on American Embassies in East Africa – Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, on August 7, 1998 that in commemoration of the dastardly incidents and casualties that ensued that I decided to be a Whistle-blower to alert America of some misgivings before it backfires that composed this poem when I served in the American Diplomatic Mission of Cameroon, titled:

The U.S.A. Mission Policy Medal

*You could absorb me into your youthful drudgery
As I could smell and inhale you in the electronic Wireless Files
Feeling and sensing how fleeting and ungrateful
This elusive life of 'African Salaries' seems unbefitting
For refinedly groomed actors in the Colonial Diplomacy who are obliged
Like me positioned in your shadow and urged to believe in a false halo...
I heard you had to leave us in a forensic anthropometric comma
Retracing the mysteries and intimacies of the Divine Comedy
We all play on time tracing out our birth to our forced destiny
Only to find out we are worth just a mean iota
When it comes to analysing and keeping data
In our belief to harness and control matter
In the values and empty titles we accumulate
In the people we tend to respect and emulate...
Dear Paul-Henri, my early dawn colleague Eboua
Confided and intimately confirmed to me
How the harsh anthropometrical relations
Between Big Boss and you had hastened
Your transition just like he too was hastily dispatched
To meet you in yonder-land of Sweet Chariots entrenched
To swing and carry you to freedom from indentured slavery
Because he too was not allowed to enjoy
The prescribed healthy bed rest
From the ergonomically frustrating
Wireless Files' morning routinely down-loadings
That are priced more precious
Than Human Life even though
You hold it as irreplaceable
And irretrievably Divine...
And I still wonder how long
Will the West keep on sending ungroomed
And Corrupt Diplomatic Missions
To Africa interested only in inhumane gain
And the corrupt racist discriminatory
Visa refusals based on the red tape bureaucracy...
Which not only breeds corruptions but
Measures the weight of the political status
Or the heavy moneyed pockets of the demanders*

*Swindled in the high racketeering diplomatic market
 Where the buyer is never given the rightful change
 And consideration even after the requested goods
 Cannot be delivered under pretext of no valid proofs
 Of returning from that First Nation People El-Dorado land
 Where no migrant settlers can claim exclusive rights
 Of sovereignty before Columbus and Montezuma
 The May Fair Refugees and the Pilgrim Fathers...
 Yet they are asked to re-invest for another gambling
 After six cyclic months without any consideration...
 How I wish I knew how
 To appreciate you better before...
 How I wish I could live frugally
 To honour you well enough...
 For the sturdy footprints you traced
 For me to tread so strongly upon...
 For the hot seat you left for me
 A support so strong and fragile...
 The apprehensions I had of you
 Now fade fast with dead time
 As my mind now embraces your flares
 Mystically in your God-light...
 They pay you and I racist African salaries
 Under the insulting braggery
 That there are many jobless hands to hire
 For any trash in spite of our grey matter
 Yet they admonish us to render
 American Jobs and Refinement
 Under slave driving bullies and squealers
 About Comrade Napoleon always being right
 In his might of a Drunken Mission
 Of Neo-Colonial Globalisation Diplomacy
 Of CLAd faked up dangerous Terrorists
 Based on a racialisation syndrome laced
 With religious systemic snow-ball sampling
 And Talibanisation of Africa to take control
 Of its natural resources,
 Its Wild Life resources banks
 And mineral resources
 In the rich crude oil*

Pipe-lined from raped Mundu-Chad to impoverished Batanga-Kribi
Or from Agades to Algiers and Oran to enriched megalomania Europe...
In the cobalt and nikel mines
From Lomie to Dja-et-Lobo...
And the Human Diveristy Lottery Visa
For Muscle and Brain drain Vital Forces
With high Brain-trust and think tanks
Certified to be HIV/AIDS virus-proof free...
To resuscitate the decadent
Inhumane economy of profits first
Before human life Ben-Ladenised and Talinabised
To justify the greedy economic stranglehold
On Africa's God-given natural wealth
Against Impoverished Africans
Tantalised and abused to fight the lost wars
Of America versus Russia
And Mao's Mighty Rising China...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, 21st April, 2000.

My name Kini-Yen Kin(n)i in “Ítángkóm” means “Search and find and keep on searching.” I remember my father, even though he was very fond of me, telling me that I should not stop at anything till I am satisfied to have reached the source and summit of my endeavour and achievement. He taught me to be inquisitive from childhood. He and my mother used to tell us that “*Your treasure is your brain, because they can steal what you horde and keep. But nobody can steal what you have and store in your brain.*” My father and mother matched these words with deeds. He contributed by sending me money while in Europe, even though I was on scholarship, and encouraged me to travel to other parts of Europe and discover them for myself. He made me attend Summer Schools in other European countries. My mother also used to back up by sending me money for books. That is how I developed a huge library and successfully earned many degrees, certificates and diplomas in multidisciplinary fields of the Arts, Humanities and Sciences including Philosophy and Theology, Sociology and Anthropology, Archaeology and History, Political Sciences and International Relations, Clinical and Social, Child and Educational Psychology, Linguistics, Etho-Botany and Ethno-Zoology, Visual Anthropology and Ethno-Cinema, General Linguistics and Philology, Psycho-Linguistics, Ethno-Linguistics and Sociolinguistics; International Law and Comparative Law; and became a globe trotter visiting

the entire Western Europe and some Eastern European, countries including Russia and the Americas, learning and speaking German, French, English, Italian, and some survival Spanish; and discovered Europe, the USA, the Americas and half the world as Christopher Columbus and Mugo Park are said to have discovered the Americas and the source of the River Niger.

My father was so keen that I defend my PhD thesis before coming back to Cameroon. That is how I spent the first 19 years studying and researching in Europe without setting foot in Cameroon. When I decided after 26 years in Europe to come back to Africa, my Supervisor and mentor, Professor Michel Alliot, gave me the forms to fill for the French nationality. Because according to French Law, any foreigner who studies in France and defends the “Doctorat D’Etat” Thesis is given the French nationality just by mere application. I was offered teaching positions at the London University School of African Oriental Studies – SOAS by the Visiting Professor, Anthony Allot, in International Comparative Law on African Law at the University of Paris Sorbonne; as well as at the New York University by two Visiting Professors who were Visiting Lecturers in International Law offering lectures in Diversity Studies and American Law at the Sorbonne.

I remembered what my father used to tell me. Wherever you shall go, never forget to return home and share what you have achieved with your people and be of service to those less privileged than you. That is how I decided to make a try even though it was not so easy, even though my friends told me I was mad coming back to Africa after 26 years of studies and research in Europe. It is the fruit of this resilience, love and determination he instilled in me that I really am proud to share this achievement with my readers today, while I give him this endearing everlasting gratitude in recognition and honour.

This work would not have taken the aesthetics and its visual anthropological dimensions had it not been for the contributions of the various photographs that adorn this work with pictures of African and African American Personalities and Leaders from the African News Wire and the Pan-African News Wire File Photos' Photostream, as well as the Google Pictures Encyclopaedia. I cannot thank these great photographers enough who were so smart to catch and document for posterity to eternity these fleeting historical moments and personalities.

“The tragedy of life is not that we die, but what dies inside a man while he lives.” (Albert Schweitzer).

It has been a great experience to have mingled for some years now with a resourceful critical analyst and all round researcher, such as Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, for he is living and what lives in him is alive. It is a fascination as observed as to why young researchers will love to emulate him. This eclectic work and contribution to Pan-Africanism, has made him much more a proctor of the African Dream. If there was ever a time in history when humans should be aware of their identities; it is no time but now. All over the globe humans are facing identity crisis. In Africa particularly people are still starved from their own identity as the lack of awareness exist. Growth is progress and progress depends upon awareness.

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni has succeeded in this fantastic Herculean work on Pan-Africanism to reconstruct and present in one volume, for Africans and Africans of the Diaspora, the live-line of African awareness and their struggle to reconstruct and preserve a common ideology and philosophy to project their personality, identity, culture, and religious ramifications; as well as a policy for African Liberation and Governance from the 18th Century to the 21st Century.

At this point in time therefore this colossal work stands out as an evaluative mile-stone at the road-map-end of an epoch, and the opening of a more innovatively critical Liberation Philosophy and more challenging logistics and strategies for Black People to initiate a more racially-integrative people-driven sustainable political-economic governance at the threshold of the 21st Century. The task that lies ahead is like in Fongot Kinni's own words “...picking up the ugly shreds of a broken vase of the human ignorance and blood-letting conflicts and racial differences and to build up a more beautiful inclusive and harmonious melting pot of the Universal Humanism.” Fongot Kinni reconfirms Nyerere's Ujamaa saying of the African Cultural-socialist Philosophy of “I Am because We Are; and We Are because I Am” in this Universal Humanism by also insisting on what he calls the Chamba-Tadkon African Philosophy of: “*Mùn Bò Nùù Ntùn*,” “*Man Is The Greatest Essential Force/Cause of Being*”; which then leads to the other implication they hold that: “*Mùn Wú' Bò Nì Bùn*,” “*Man is Great only in People; for without People Man Is Nothing.*”

This philosophy of People-Driven Dynamism in Integration and Production is the end objective of Pan Africanism. This is end-purpose of the

Liberation Struggle for Humanity which Amilcar Cabral defines as the integration of all the *“Productive Forces of Humanity to build up the Common Heritage of Humanity for a more sustainable Universe.”*

Fongot Kinni-Yen Kinni, the African renaissance philosopher and researcher has not only furnished and provided his readers and future researchers with a new open space and a breathtaking linguistic anthropological literary wealth of modern and post-modern African thought as portrayed in the prose, poetry and music of modern Africana. He has also used his visual anthropological skills to make this work one of the most critical work, if not the richest work ever produced, on Pan Africanism and Pan African Philosophy of Africa’s Cultural Identity, Political-Economic and Religious Liberation Theology and Governance. The richness of the Visual Anthropological data hold the readers spell bound as they incite very deep emotions on beholding the actors and victims in their best or worst states in life while struggling to hand the baton of Pan Africanism to the new generation pf Africans who might not have had the privilege to live at that critical of the throes of Pan Africanism, as an Ideology, a philosophy and a way of life to African Liberation Fighters of all shades and colour.

This colossal work marks the turning of a new page of pro-active bonding and integration for all Africans and Peoples of African descent as well friends of Africa today, just as it can be identified as the “Final Call to End Slavery, Racism, Discrimination and Exploitation in the new integrative Globalisation of Peoples of the entire Human Race, their environmental, cultural and social resources for the common good of Humanity.” Wherefore it becomes very pertinent as it appeals to all Africans to turn a new page in their documented history of victimization and enslavement and become victors through their Resilient entrepreneurial Spirit of the African Phoenix always rising from the “Ashes of Doom and Deprivation” perpetrated by ignorant and immoral minds.

For the first time an erudite and assiduous African scholar has been able to give in a nutshell a coherent picture and both a critical mind-searching and exciting panoply of the African Renaissance since Slavery and Colonisation, on the common Ideology, Philosophy, the Cultural and the Liberation Theology and Practice for African Liberation, Governance and Development running through five centuries till this day. This work can rightly be called the coherent compendium and encyclopaedia of African Liberation Philosophy and Renaissance Practice for African Development and Governance.

What is entertaining in this Neo Pan African Philosophy propounded by the author is that while documenting on the atrocities Africans have gone through in the hands of very unscrupulous Nations and Peoples of other sub-

racess of the Human Race, he advocates for a new reading of the raw facts as documented; insisting on the softer heart of forgiveness and finding new strategies and developing stronger coping skills and the equitable distribution of the wealth of nations as a common heritage to be enjoyed by everybody and all Humanity.

Advocating and promoting Pan-Africanism is a huge responsibility by the founders that is built on awareness, truth, freedom, equality and justice through Good Governance and Sustainable Development. Pan-Africanism is Pan-Humanism with more emphasis on the Black persons, their emancipation, freedom, interactions and above all their Awareness, Mentally, Spiritually as well as Physically in the Distribution of Power and Recognition of their Identity. Freedom lies not only in our actions but also in our desires as humans and Africans to enjoy our God-given Rights as Children of Light.

Therefore Black Humanism is not Anti-White but against inequality in the human race and disrespect for any of the Identities be they White, Black or any other Identities. Pan-Africanism is then an advocacy geared to completely break the boundaries of geography and geopolitics; as well as geo-racism and put a stop to the idea of isolation and repression of cultures. It is a Practice of Freedom open to everyone no matter the race or gender. It is a call for people with Awareness and Respect for the Human Identity and Freedoms that go with them. It is therefore imperative to know that, no practice or way of life will survive if its birth cannot be traced and its founders, initiators, prompters, proctors and advocates acknowledged.

Thus Pan-African cannot be examined without the possibilities of first possessing the clarity on who did what and what led to what, which is a very essential part of this encyclopaedic work. For it is in the Aspirations of the founding fathers and mothers, that our inspirations are born. The founders, prompters and proctors approached the struggle from different angles and directions with diverse strategies, using fearless initiatives to arrive at the same results. This was stimulated by an awareness of internal and external freedoms, through the interpenetrations of contraries to create harmony and stability. The final objective was to show how the essence of Blackness flows as a vital grounding asset to Humanity.

The Commander in Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture and Captain Jean Jacques Dessalines opted for armed revolution against their French Slavers and suppressors. Marcus Garvey dreamed and planned the Black Exodus of all Black people held in bondage in the Americas back to Africa their motherland. Booker Taliaferro Washington proposed that Black people accept the superiority of the White people and their inferior position, and settle down to develop their technical skills and agricultural skills. William Edward Bourghadt

DuBois proposed the theory of the Talented Tenth best few Blacks who were to be entrusted with the leadership and liberation of the Black people. Malcolm X opted for the theory of violence for violence and the Toussaint L'Ouverturean theory and practice of Armed revolution as the only solution for those who were under suppression and deprivation; Martin Luther King Jr. advocated for the Non-Violent Pragmatism of creating awareness in the mind of the Oppressors to lead them back to right reasoning. All these and others form the uncountable prompters and initiators who in their manners and strategies constructed a path for Africans to follow. Then the New-Wave Pan-Africanists in the persons of Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral, Muammar Gaddafi, Julius Nyerere, Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela to name a few focused towards the unification of the main land Africans, and Africans of the Diaspora, through reconciliation and the willingness to share truth and love, (UBUNTU) and basing their proctorships on the African Philosophical truth which teaches us that all of us are born great; and everyone has to work hard and share with his brother and sister; and pray to God to show him or her how to use their talents to achieve that greatness and become the great persons they were all destined to be in their particular contextual individual ways.

The New-Wave Pan-Africanism is therefore more than an ideology and a philosophy. It is above any religion, it is a way of life, a calling to higher awareness for humanity. It is this awareness that is needed for the establishment of our personality and our identity as Humans and Africans. So in this era that Africans are being flattered with more passion than ever before, a period of dynamic transition not static tradition is inevitable. It is then time to revisit and take deeper meditations with awareness on the words written in the anthems and stories the founding fathers sang and wrote the strategies they used. Thus in such a time more astonishing to the out-spoken “mental and academic vigilante” Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni has become, when isolation has much given way to globalisation in all spheres of life, Pan-Africanists, must therefore continually advocate equality, justice, pro-humanism, Good Governance, Sustainable Development and in all Economic and Political Integration of Africa and its Peoples.

We are opportune to be in this era of the Golden New Dawn of Inter-racialism and inter-racialisation, which is deeper and higher than the age of Enlightenment which was only Eurocentric and Racist. The political and ideological awareness and the imperatives of all good creativity, no matter the spring, are strategies for the promotion of self-awareness to the universe and all its resources that are a common heritage for all humanity to savour, by

adopting, adapting and assuming creative strategies for their transformation and distribution.

Though there are still some challenges to the collective endeavours of the founders, prompters and initiators in the endless struggles in contemporary Africa to establish formal integration and development, the major challenge which all Africans must face and tackle is the Unity of Africa. This was the dream of Marcus Garvey, taken up by Nnamdi Azikiwe, by Kwame Nkrumah who initiated the Organisation of African Unity, celebrated in song by Rastafarian Prophet Bob Marley, and consecrated by the new patriotic Pan Africanist Muammar Gaddafi who initiated the African Union. Though Africa is still tackling the challenges of national divide, corruption, induced poverty, social stratification, ignorance and both physical and mental enslavement, there is still a firm and emerging practice of advocacy to continually support and gradually confront these continental and global blisters with much awareness and self-determination, which are the keys to true freedom and emancipation.

Humanity therefore is fighting against injustice, against physical, mental and spiritual enslavement. Africans are fighting to gain equality and respect, by advocating Gender Equality and preaching the politics of Integration and Freedom through Good Governance and Sustainable Development. Pan-Africanism and its Humanistic Philosophy and practice are therefore the machinery for the attainment of this noble objective.

Pan Africanism and African Re-Renaissance are not fighting flesh or colour. Pan Africanism and African Re-Renaissance are fighting against a philosophy of slave-driven capitalist economy of exploitation and anti-humanism. Pan Africanism is using the creation of Awareness and Consciencism through an all Inclusive Racial Engineering and Pragmatism – IREP.

For humanity particularly Africans have been released since “Independence” from the hyper-physical presence of the slavers; but they are still subjugated, under their hyper-mental and spiritual colonisation suffering from the hangover-influence and hypnotic control which Nkrumah and Gaddafi identified as Neo-Colonisation.

This Neo-colonisation manifests itself in the process whereby the African has been groomed to become the new Slave-Master and Coloniser of his own people. These are the same Africans who are a hindrance to African Unity who opt for the Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism based on the same slave-driven capitalist economy surrogates in the persons of some contemporary African leaders. It is therefore time for the Awakened and highly Aware Africans to say:

‘We are Pan-Africanists, we are Pro- Humanism. We proclaim Pan-Africanism. Our whole Thought and Action belong to Humanism. We see no National or Continental Divide, or Racial Distinction before us, but a World of people who are joined by Blood, United by a Struggle for Freedom by Awareness and Subjected to the same cause.

This work therefore will establish equality in the milieu of differences and forge a higher awareness of freedom in the midst of religious divergence, cultural disparity and variations in both human and natural resources, enforcing a shared sense of camaraderie in the African Identity, in our Common Humanism.

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Introduction

This Book is the outcome of a long project begun thirty years ago. The book can be read as a summary of most of the Crimes Against Humanity ever committed against Black People of the World and People of Black descent for over two thousand years of the Semitic Judeo-Abrahamic-Arabic-Islamic, Judeo-Christian-European-American initiation of the Slave-Driven Capitalist Economy and model of production. It can also be read and should be read as essentially depicting the various mind-sets of Ideological and Philosophical thought, skills and strategies Black People and people of Black descent re-invented the Renaissance Wheel by their resilience and strength of mind and spirit, to rise up and transform their situation of enslavement and poverty to craft the Renaissance Philosophy and Theology of Black Liberation for the entire Humanity. It is this story of the rise from the shackles of slavery and poverty to the summit of Victors of their Renaissance Identity and Self-Determination as a People.

This work was first presented for my Master Thesis in History at the University of Paris VII, where I worked on the contributions of the African American and the African Caribbean leadership in the initiation of Pan-Africanism and the founding of the Organisation of African Unity.

I later continued the study and research for the Doctoral thesis in History in the same University, then let it to lie in favour of my Doctoral thesis in Political Science at the University of Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne and for the Doctoral thesis in Anthropology at the University of Paris VII. As I later continued the research on the subject I was able to read and discover that I was delving into one of the richest Moral Political Economy and Cultural Philosophy of Black Liberation which contributed to lay the foundations of Pan-African Humanism.

When I returned to Cameroon after my untiring twenty-six years sojourn for study and research in Europe, I decided to complete this mammoth work, looking into the recent developments of the OAU leading to the foundation of the African Union in the 21st century and the issues of governance, democracy and socio-economic and cultural sustainable development of Africa in the third millennium.

I was able to examine the most crucial issues confronting Africa fifty years after the founding of the OAU and the development of a blue print that was given by Kwame Nkrumah and the members of the Casablanca group for the development of African Unity and the eventual development of the United States of Africa.

It was interesting to see how after 50 years, a new Kwame Nkrumah was born in Colonel Muammar Gaddafi the new wave visionary and revolutionary who saw the vital need for Africa to be united and form a stronger productive force to take its place in the third millennium platform to pre-empt the tendency of imperialist globalisation and domination that would be worse than colonialism.

It would seem Africa is still ruled by the old school of the Monrovia club of those leaders who are very comfortable with the pigeon-hole so-called nation-states of Africa. The problem of balkanisation of Africa on post-colonial affiliations and colonial linguistic lines has taken its toll on Africa's building of its common identity and personality. The result is that Africans are more remote to each other in their pigeon-hole-nation-states which put more restrictions for African inter-mobility, coupled by education and cultural affiliations, the communication and transportation and trading networks which are still tied more to their colonial masters than among themselves.

This book looks into the problem of the new wave of Pan-Africanism and what strategies that can be proposed for a more participatory Pan-Africanism coming from the masses and not just from the club of the elitist class and the political class of kleptocrats and despots of the so-called autocratic democracies that have been popular in Africa for the past fifty years.

Bearing in mind that the bulk of the African population is young, that is made up of those born between 1970 and 1995, I realize that it is necessary to initiate the youths into the vision and history of Pan-Africanism so that they can get a clearer grasp of their past and those who fought for the liberation of Africa. It is intended to present a full concise picture of the African Political Liberation Philosophy, and to boost up their intellectual curiosity to see if they too could come up with alternatives for Africa's Unity and collective sustainable development.

That is how this book becomes at the same time an encyclopaedia of Who is Who and What is What in African Unity and Pan-Africanism. It is a very detailed research on the ideology and the humanist philosophy of Pan-Africanism. It is a celebration of African Americans, African Caribbeans and Continental Africans in their demise and tireless efforts which led to their success as a people who stood up to defend their human rights at a time when the neo-liberalist capitalism, racism, deprivation and colonization stood against their aspirations and self-determination.

This well researched book brings to the front stage the role counter-power plays in the arena of politics and socio-economic power distribution, and the obligation we all have as humans in projecting of the voices of the voiceless. This is where Marxism and the Commintern, Russia, China and especially

Cuba and some Western Humanist States like Sweden stand out tall, highly respected and beautiful in their fight against the perpetration of inhumane injustices and greed of some humans against other humans; and their fight against human rights abuses, no matter by whom they might be committed.

This book celebrates the tireless efforts made by anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist countries like Russia, China, Sweden, Norway, Finland and especially Cuba of Fidel Castro who did not spare their courage and determination, their financial, technological and material assistance, to bring an end to five hundred years of Western European Slavery, Racism, Exploitation and deprivation of the Black-African people and their descendants in America, Europe and Africa. Cuba sent Che Guevara to train the liberation fighters of Congo and Angola. Troops of Cuba fought for the independence and liberation of Angola, South West Africa, without any payment in return. Fidel Castro can be crowned the father of Southern Africa's liberation and the Cuban Dragon who strangled the Apartheid monster of South Africa. Africa can never pay him and Cuba for their humanitarian action and devotedness.

It is true that had these Humanitarian conscious nations of Europe, Russia, China and Cuba not dared to stand up to tell their Western Imperialist brothers and sisters that enough was enough; the Genocides, Slavery, Colonisation, Racism, Deprivations, Exploitation and Exclusion, as well as the rampant creation of Poverty would still have been going on to this day. And these ignorant Imperialists would have declared themselves the "Chosen People" and would still have been praying with the Pope like Pope Nicolas V who approved Slavery and the genocide of Black People because he classified them as animals and half humans; just like Pope Pius XII who approved the genocide of the Jews by Hitler, because they were accused of polluting the Arian Blood with Black Blood, to save the Vatican; as they would still have continued to pray and gloat over their crimes, thanking God for having created some people to be slaves and servants of the strong and mighty forever. And as Frederick Douglass puts it succinctly, we should have forever remained thanking God for having made us inferior, when he gives his experience as a "Christianised Slave" who was always reminded by the Preacher to thank God for his sufferings and poverty:

"Oh! how grateful and obedient you ought to be to your masters! How beautiful are the arrangements of Providence! Look at your hard, horny hands--see how nicely they are adapted to the labor you have to perform! Look at our delicate fingers, so exactly fitted for our station, and see how manifest it is that God designed us to be His thinkers, and you the workers--Oh! the wisdom of God!"--I used to attend a Methodist church, in which my master was a class leader; he would talk most sanctimoniously about the dear Redeemer, who was sent "to preach

deliverance to the captives, and set at liberty them that are bruised"--he could pray at morning, pray at noon, and pray at night; yet he could lash up my poor cousin by his two thumbs, and inflict stripes and blows upon his bare back, till the blood streamed to the ground! all the time quoting scripture, for his authority, and appealing to that passage of the Holy Bible which says, "He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Such was the amount of this good Methodist's piety."

The Western neo-liberalist capitalist countries are competing and accusing today these very countries, who contributed to save Africa out of their Humanitarian Spirit, of recolonising Africa. But they forget that what these countries like China and Russia, Japan, Korea and some of the Humanitarian countries like Sweden, Norway, Finland, have to show for the short time, say fifty years in their transactions with Africa and development missions in the field of education, technological transfer, infrastructure, cross-cultural development and others, is by far and immeasurable as compared to what the colonial imperialist countries have done in five hundred years of transactions and inhuman exploitation of Africa.

This is how this book on Pan-Africanism becomes also a celebration of those humanitarian and philanthropic individuals, collectivities/communities and nations who stood their ground to break the vicious cycle of human rights abuses, racism and deprivation of Black people of the United States of America, Europe and its colonisation mission and enterprise of the people of Africa and the Apartheidised people of Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, (Zambia and Zimbabwe), South West Africa (Namibia), and South Africa.

This research goes into the details of the radical revolutionary Pan-Africanism of Southern Africa by the ANC, the revolutionary movement of Northern and Southern Rhodesia – Zambia and Zimbabwe; and in the Portuguese colonies of West African Guinea Bissau and Southern African countries of Angola and Mozambique.

What this book brings new to the public about Pan-Africanism is the balanced gender touch and diagnosis of the Women actors of Pan-Africanism which was very much lacking and was never celebrated by the hyper androgynous and patriarchal programme that Pan-Africanism was reduced to. Classical Pan-Africanism has always been presented and seen as a masculine project with its high patriarchalism. I have therefore endeavoured in this book to research on the various African women both in the Diaspora and on the continent who were the initiators, movers and shakers of the imposed sclerotic human rights abuses and repression of Black people and the fostering of the Pan-African project right from its inception. We have to celebrate and thank

them and let our children learn to give them that invaluable honour they deserve. We have to celebrate that duality that African civilization has always been made of and celebrated right from Ancient Nubia-Egypt, land of Kemet still towering and displaying today in its Pyramidal tombs and University Temples, the ineffaceable dignity, identity and power of the man and woman as beings created equal by God.

It thus becomes a vital contribution to Gender and Women Studies Departments in the world to appreciate the contributions of African American, African Caribbean women and African women on the continent from time immemorial, from Ancient Nubia-Egypt, and especially from Arab and European Slavery, Colonisation in Africa and during the Apartheid regime blunder of South Africa.

This poses the question of women's leadership in modern the platform of Pan-Africanism and the African Union; and in neo-post Colonial Africa; and the need to fostering the new Revolutionary Wave of Pan-Africanism at the grass roots and among the youths of Africa and the African Diaspora in America, Caribbean, Mezo-America and South-America, Europe, Asia, Papua, Australia and Oceania. It also poses the role of African youths and their initiation into Pan-Africanism as the future initiators and movers of governance, sustainable entrepreneurship and development in Africa.

It also poses the question of UBUNTU as proposed by Nelson Madiba Mandela and Desmond Tutu of South Africa and the problem of African Renaissance and African Identity and Personality; which, on the contrary, is thwarted by the very xenophobic tendency of the youths of South Africa today against Africans from other regions; despite the fact that these were the very people who helped to contribute to the South African fight for liberation.

The study of Pan-Africanism has a vibrant lesson to teach all disinherited people of the earth, just as it shows how self-determination and non-violence, at every stage in life is what is necessary for success. It shows that the spirit of the African Philosophy of the interpenetration of contraries, according to Dika Akwa Nya Bona Mbella; as opposed to the Indo-European Semitic permanent opposition binary vengeful contraries an Eye for an Eye, of White against Black, Good against Evil, God against Satan. It teaches us that self-determination and non-violence building for peaceful and harmonious coexistence of humans and nature does not end till our life span is over and our contribution to the uplifting of humanity is finally achieved.

That gives me the honour to present this book as the tribute and celebration of the efforts of the African American and African Caribbean Diaspora who took the initiative and the audacity to fight and liberate themselves from the shackles of slavery, starting with Toussaint L'Ouverture,

Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey Douglas, Marcus Garvey, Booker Taliaferro Washington, William Edward Bourghadt Du Bois, Harriet Truman, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary Morris Burnett Talbert, Mary McLeod Bethune, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, Julia Cooper, Rosa Parks, Zora Neale Hurston, Claudia Cumberbatch Jones, Marian Anderson, Zora Neale Hurston, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Amy Ashwood Garvey, Hubert Henry Harrison, James Mercer Langston Hughes, Paul Leroy Robeson, Countee LeRoy Porter Cullen, George Padmore, Harry BelaFonte, Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, James Baldwin, Una Maud Victoria Marson, Amy Jacques Garvey, Paulette Nardal, Susan Césaire, Aimé Césaire, Léon-Gontran Damas, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Angela Davis, and those many other contributors I cannot name here. These valiant brothers and sisters of African Diaspora took the initiative to emancipate themselves through their dogged self-determination and to tend the humanitarian hand towards their brothers and sisters condemned in the indentured slavery of colonial Africa. That is the reason I duff my hat to celebrate their invaluable efforts and contributions to African liberation. Africa owes them this duty of honour and respect.

The lesson they all taught Africa is multiple: it is true that if we have to remain always lamenting about slavery, colonisation and victimisation and transforming ourselves into victims instead of using the very negative resources that have colonised us and enslaved us and rebuild ourselves like the Black enslaved People of the Americas, the Chinese or the Koreans of Asia to become victors; then we shall never provide new alternatives for change and development, as Martin Luther King Junior did, when he said “I have a Dream,” and walked and worked towards achieving that dream some fifty years ago.

This book also celebrate those Africans who in their own way, carried the torch of inspiration and resilience to save and reconstruct the Free Humanism of Africa, like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkruma, Jomo Kenyatta, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Hastings Banda, Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Patrice Lumumba, Lamine Guey, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Houphouet Boigny, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, Steve Biko, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Amilcar Cabral, Sam Nujoma, Agostinho Netto, Samora Marchel, Chris Hani, and all those Freedom Fighters who endeavoured to interact with the African Americans and especially the African Caribbeans to initiate and foster the liberation of Africa. Credit still goes to those African Americans and African Caribbeans who had finally settled in Africa, like Edward Wilmot Blyden, James Africanus Beale Horton, Herbert Macauley, Joseph Merrick and others who settled and took the initiative to foster the

African identity and personality as well as the African liberation from within Africa.

Pan-Africanism also found a strong voice, support and following in the Arab world, starting with the efforts of Duse Mohamed Ali of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Habib Bouguiba of Tunisia, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Muamar Gaddafi of Libya. And this is why notwithstanding the fact that the Arabs were those who first started slavery in Africa and finally colonised Africa, they were able to see the indecency, the human rights abuses and deprivations that slavery caused and the negative aspects of barbaric colonisation which did not cater for the integration and interest of the colonised. That is how with their conviction in the humanism of Pan-Africanism, the Arabs turned around to support the fight against colonisation in Africa. The Arab states of northern Africa were in the forefront in sponsoring financially and materially the liberation movements like the ANC, SWAPO, ZANU in South South Africa, Zimbabwe and South West Africa. Muammar Gaddafi contributed much to the ANC fight against the Apartheid regime, as Mandala Madiba confirmed.

It was for this reason that Muammar Kaddafi in 1989 founded the Al-Gaddafi International Prize for Human Rights, to be awarded to figures from the Third World who had struggled against colonialism and imperialism. In nominating Nelson Mandela as the first year's winner as a South African Anti-Apartheid Activist, he was recognising and advocating this alternative Victor-Hero of Change for Africa and the world that Nelson Mandela had become.

So also when in the spirit of Pan-Africanism Muammar Gaddhafi on October 2010 apologised openly for the Arab Slave Trade that contributed to decimate, dehumanise and impoverish Africa, he was, thereby assuming the Vicariate Responsibility, telling Africans that if Arabs had reduced them to "Victims" of the human ambiguities of the "Inferno," "Hell" of the Human Comedy; then now is the time for Africans and Arabs to rise up as "Victors" of their Differences, and establish the permanent interpenetration of their Contraries, for the good of Humanity and Africa.

The celebration of this "Black Victory" would not have been possible without that brave and courageous decision of a Giant of Humanism John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who, against all odds, rose up against the American Ku Klux Klan – KKK ideology of White Supremacy and Dominance for ever. Like Martin Luther King he stood up to say "*There comes a time when silence is betrayal of humanity.*" And though he had to pay with his life and blood to break the chains of Racial Segregation and Deprivation of Black people in America, His heritage for humanity will ever rise to tower high in the minds of all human generations to come. He, like that Prophet who was not only rejected

but also assassinated by his own people because he dared oppose the inhumane wrongs and injustices of some powerful humans against weaker humans, tended to America a Manifesto of Change on a Platter of Gold when he created the Peace Corps Volunteer Movement. Because he was a man ahead of his times he foresaw and opted, in the heart of the Cold War, for peace-building to debunk the American defeat and hate in Vietnam. As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of his assassination and legacy which has for ever created the awareness of his humanism in the minds of the new generation, must all become the Kennedy Peace Corps torch-bearers in the world today to foster a more humanistic and peace-driven world.

Kennedy had hoped to prove Frederick Douglas wrong who said that: *“America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future.”*...when he initiated the Peace Corps to propagate his mission of Love and not War. Had his prophecy been heeded to, America would not have created today the Talibans and the Alquaeda and the War-Mongering George Bush or the Drone-Addicted Barack Obama. America would have used and invested the zillions of Dollars he has spent and is still spending in aggression and WAR in the Peace Corps to bring hope and the American Dream to the world.

Had America embraced the Kennedy Peace Policy, America would not have created the Afghanistan, the Iraq, the Palestine, the Libya, the Egypt, the Syria, the Liberia of Blood Diamonds, Sierra Leone of Child Soldiers, the Genocidal Rwanda, the alleged bomb-test earthquake of Haiti like the alleged genocide Neutron Bomb Test on Lake Nyos and the recast of the Ghosts of King Leopold “Congos” we have in Africa and the world today.

And the World Super Powers would have invested in the scientific research for World Peace-building instead of their craze for the development of weapons of mass destruction - WMDs, biological weapons – BWs, and the Nuclear Bomb and Neutron Bombs which the Super Powers are vying to out beat each other in excelling in their productions while dissuading Iran from possessing her own Nuclear Bomb like the Israelis, France and the U.S.A.; who are accused for not being satisfied with their Nuclear Bombs, which France had the guts to test in 1954 in the African Sahara, but went ahead to produce their Neutron Bombs in the 1990s.

Had it not been for the obstinacy of Western Powers and the other Super Powers like Russia and China who instead in investing for scientific research on World Peace-building, have excelled in scientific research on the production and proliferation of these weapons of mass destruction – WMDs, like the biological weapons – BWs they sold to Syria and even to the Highly Indebted Poor Countries – HIPC; the Emerging World Powers – EWPs like

North Korea, India, Pakistan and Iran would not have embarked on producing their Nuclear weapons and all sorts of WMDs despite their stark social injustices and stark poverty of the masses.

The Super Powers would not have provoked the popular suspicion (Ngwa, 2013) in the minds of the helpless poor which holds that the Lake Nyos disaster of 26th August, 1996, just like the disasters in Twin Lakes Mounoun in Fumbot, Cameroon, in the 1990s before Lake Nyos, were Neutron Bomb tests of America and Israel as well as of France in Cameroon. Popular opinion would not have been promoting the notion of the old racist theory and the racial-divide syndrome when it comes to experimenting of weapons of mass destruction, biological weapons, and weapons of mass poverty – WMP in the Third World Countries and far away from the Super Powered countries where these WMDs are produced.

Even though John Fitzgerald Kennedy was not Black and African, he was that mighty Pan-Africanist who embraced the Humanitarian Ideology of Pan-Africanism and fought in the ranks of its militants and gave his life for their cause. He has since been fighting through the Peace Corps not just the Civil Rights War in America, but also the Neo-Colonial War, the Mental Liberation War of Ignorance, Poverty and Hate in Africa and the World. John Fitzgerald Kennedy will forever stand top high as one of the Greatest Assertive Sphinx of Humankind, by Martin Luther King Jr., who used non-violence to fight for the “African Renaissance” and the engendering of Peace Plant (Corps) and Love to the World. It was for this Kennedean Humanitarian Resilience and Foresightedness that I was forced to pay this humble Homage and Recognition in this Poem entitled:

Celebrating Kennedy’s Peace Corps

*The Valiant Kennedy Dream
Girls and Boys were called
‘Miss’ Betty Hughes, ‘Miss’ Pena,
‘Mr’ Bismyer and Douglas Dorr
The star studs on the
Ambassadorial role models and
Flag-Bearers of the Kennedy USA
World Peace Corps at a Cold-War era with
The Heated Vietnamised-Cambodiased
War in Asia, the
Congolese Lumumban Domino
Civil War in Colonial Africa and the*

*Che Guevara Castroan War in
Central and Latin America
Through Southern Apartheidist Africa...*

*In the Sasse College
Victorian-Eton niche by the Buea
Mountain forest young critics doubted
The irony of Peace-Corpsing coming
From a country whose hands were
Still vilely wet with the blood of the
Southern vibrant Civil-Rights NAACP Activist
Medgar Evers cold-bloodedly lynched by
The White Supremacist Ku Klux Klaners
Who do not believe in the DIVINE
HUMAN RACIAL EQUALITY Doctrine...
Nor in the fact that all Americans
Are equal under the same banner...
Under the Amended Constitution...
Under the same Monroe Doctrine of
America for All Americans...!*

*The triple Kennedian policy of
Bringing in the new Peace Message...
Of bridging the chasm of ignorance
Racial misunderstanding and jingoism...
Learning new cultures and bringing
Back home to head-start America's
Investing in the new Humanitarian
Dream bridging up racial
Divides and cultural contradictions
And beliefs into a mellow
Streamliner in the renaissance world
Of dialogue spurred up the
Courage of Resilience and Determination in every
Mind, Heart and Muscle to plant the
Evergreen Peace tree...
At every shore...
On every mountain...
In every valley...
In the Universal Planets...*

*In every Black Holes Exhaustions to
Reach God the All-Mighty Creator...*

*For almost half a century of contradictions
The Peace Corps Tree has grown and
Succeeded to root its imprints and essence
In the hearts and minds of every
Admirer and stakeholder in the
Brave venture which brought together
Devoted men and women of all callings to
Build on the human strengths and
Weaknesses of those great pioneers to
Recreate a world void Spiritual Feelings and Knowledge...
Full of Human Ignorance and Misunderstandings...
Hunger, Sickness and Poverty...
Of Misinterpretations and Misrepresentations...
Racism, Hatred, Biases of Apartheids...
Building Impermeable Racial Greed–Hate
Walls which only Peace, Love and Service to
Humanity can Eternally Break Down...
To Mould New Mettle-Chains of Golden-Peace
For Golden-Humanity Enmeshed in Golden Unity...*

*Proud Product of this great endeavour
Uniting great hearts and minds the world
Over, I now stand in all honour
A living testimony to this
Kennedy American Dream to which
I pay vibrant homage in all humility and
Grateful recognition to all U.S. American Peace
Corps Volunteers wheresoever
They may be found today to Celebrate
The Devotion and Love Freely and Generously Given to
Those who in their own little
Way are contributing to make the
Kennedy American dream a
Living Uniting Force for all
Humanity to Raise up high the
Torch of Enduring PEACE and
Enduring LOVE for the World...*

For Humanity...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Buea, 14th September 2001

This is how in the same spirit of “Victory” of Pan-Africanism, we should celebrate the Humanism of Pan-Africanism in the same manner in which Bill Clinton, in 1998, apologised for the American Slave Trade. By his pronouncement he thus paved the way for the Victory of the once Black enslaved people through the realisation of the Dream of Martin Luther King Junior in Barrack Obama who, like Madiba Mandela, has become the Symbol of Victory of the Humanism in Pan-Africanism; and the embodiment of the monumental Victory of all Black and White people in America, in Africa and all the oppressed People of the World.

But credit must also go to Hilary Clinton who in her own little but very significant manner took the more pragmatic part to broke the glass ceiling for Africa; just as she broke the glass ceiling for Women in America by standing for the Presidency, when she stood up to challenge Aid syndrome for Africa to propose Free Trade. Hilary Clinton said that it was high time America empowered Africans by opening the free market doors for African goods into America. She was the advocate and initiator of AGOA – the African Growth Opportunity Act, which would empower Africans by giving them and their productions in Art, Textiles and Clothing, Food and you name them, access to the American markets without tax. By introducing the AGOA, Africans have been empowered to take charge of their own destiny and money making, instead of depending on the Foreign Aid vicious cycle. So we must say Kudos to Hilary Clinton and to George Bush who supported the AGOA during his term of presidency to make it real and successful to benefit Africa.

It is my prayer and hope that this book will be adopted by the newly opened Pan-African University and other Universities in Africa and higher institutions of learning in Africa and the African Diaspora. Pan-Africanism must become a bed-side Bible for the New African, for the New Humankind. It would also be very timely for Western and European Universities to enlighten their youths about the atrocities of Slavery, Racism, Imperialism and shameful and inhuman Exploitation of Man by Man perpetrated by some of their ancestors and today leaders.

It is the first book of its kind that gives a comprehensive and multidimensional coverage of Pan-Africanism that has never been attempted by any researcher before from my knowledge and long years of research on Pan-Africanism. It becomes a very timely and vital compendium for philosophers, historians, anthropologists, political scientists, political economy specialists, governance and policy studies, peace studies, human rights and

minority studies and gender studies on Africa, the Caribbean, America and Europe.

My readers should take note that I have used throughout this work the term “Congress” deliberately, ignoring the separation between Congress and Conference. I take the definition at face value as synonymous as being a gathering of delegates of international calling for discussions on matters of common interest or concern. Seeing that right from its founding the Pan-African Congress of 1900 was comprised of delegates of international calibre, I decided to call all the various congregation of Africans seeking a common ground of interest and concern for solving African issues, Congress to give a simple chronology for the linguistic neophyte. It is deliberate to reach the grassroots instead of remaining on the superficial quarrelling with semantics that is fruitless.

Glossary of Acronyms

AB - Afrikaner Broederbond
AAPC - ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
AETD - Applied Engineering and Technology Directorate
A L - Arab League
ACOA - American Committee on Africa
ARPS - Aborigines Rights Protection Society
ANA - American Negro Academy
AGOA - Africa Growth Opportunity Act
AGLOSO - Attorney General's List of Subversive Organisations
AU - African Union
BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation
“Boko-Haram” – Western Education and Culture are Anathema
CAA - Council on African Affairs
CAW - Congress of American Women
CFGT – Confédération Française Générale des Travailleurs, “French General Confederation of Workers” (the French Communist Labour Union)
CM - Crisis Magazine
CommIntern - Communist International
CNDP - National Congress for the Defense of the People
CofC - Committees of Correspondence
COMESA - Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CP - Communist Party
CPGB - Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSA – Communist Party of South Africa
CPUSA - Communist Party of United States of America
LCP - The League of Coloured Peoples
CRC - Civil Rights Congress
CUWS - Congressional Union for Women Suffrage
DFID – Department of Foreign and International Development
DGSE - General Directorate for External Security - *Direction générale de la sécurité extérieure*. It is the military external intelligence agency, which succeeded to the *Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage* (SDECE) in 1982 (itself preceded by the *Direction Générale des Études et Recherches* (DGER), dependent of the BCRA.
ECA – Economic Commission for Africa
ETA – Euskadi Ta Askatasuna – Basque Homeland and Freedom (Basque Nationalist and Separatist Organisation in Spain)

FAAS - Foundations of African American Sociology
 FAO - Food and Agriculture Organisation
 FBI - Federal Bureau Intelligence
 FDLR - Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda
 FGM - Female Genital Mutilation
 FLN - National Liberation Front (Front de Liberation Nationale)
 FNLA - National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola)
 FAM - Free Aceh Movement (Indonesia)
 FRELIMO - FRENTE DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE, English
 Mozambique Liberation Front,
 IAS - International African Service Bureau
 ICGR - International Crisis Group Report
 IWW - Industrial Workers of the World
 LMP - Lonmin Makarina Platinum
 KKK - Ku Klux Klan
 MNLF - Moro National Liberation Front (Philippines)
 MPLA -- Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola)
 MSF - Medicines Sans Frontier
 NAACP –National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
 NACW - National Association of Colored Women
 NATO - North Atlantic treaty Organisation
 NCBWA - National Council of British West Africa
 NEC - New Era Club
 NCCW - National Conference of Colored Women
 NCNW - National Council of Negro Women
 NVC - Nasserite Volunteers Centre
 OECD - Organisation for European Economic Development
 OAU – Organisation of African Unity
 OIC - Organisation of Islamic Conference
 PAIGC - Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinea e Cabo Verde
 NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 PAIGC - African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde),
 PDA - Democratic Party of Angola (Partido Democrático de Angola)
 PRDS - Democratic and Social Republican Party
 RB - Red Brigades (in Italy)
 RAF - Red Army Faction (in West Germany)
 RA - Red Army (in Japan)
 RDA - Rassemblement Democratique Africain

RMN - La Révue du Monde Noir
 SAP – Structural Adjustment Policy
 SBLF - Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua
 SFIO - Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière – French Section of
 International Workers (the French Socialist International Workers' Union)
 SLWM - Sierra Leone's Women's Movement
 SLPP - Sierra Leone Peoples Party
 SNCC - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.
 SWAPO - South West African People Organisation
 T T – “Tallented Tenth”
 UAC - United African Company - Richard Lander Company
 UAR - United Arab Republic
 UCLA - University College of Los Angeles
 UK – United Kingdom
 UNAIDS – Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
 UNDP - United Nations Development Plan
 UNCTAD - United Nations Conference for Tariffs, Trade and Development
 UNESCO - United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural
 Organisation
 UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women
 UNFPA – United Nations Fund for Population Activities
 UNGA - United Nations General Assembly
 UNIA - Universal Negro Improvement Association
 UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund (formerly – United Nations
 International Children Emergency Fund)
 UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União
 Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)
 UNO – United Nations Organisation
 UNFP - Union Nationale des Forces Populaires
 UPA - Union of Angolan Peoples (União das Populações de Angola)
 UPC - Union des Populations du Cameroun
 USA - United States of America
 USAID - United States Assistance for International Development
 USWCCP - United States National Women's Commission of the Communist
 Party
 USSR- Union of Socialist Soviet Republic
 WFs - White Feminists
 WASU - West African Students Union
 WASP - White Anglo-Saxon and Protestant
 WISFA - White Superiority First Alliance

YCL - Young Communist League

YMCA - Young Men's Christian Association

African and English Caribbean Contributions to the Ideology of Pan-Africanism

The history of Pan Africanism will never be told without appreciating the immeasurable contributions and the role played by Ethiopia and its rulers to uphold the sovereignty of the Empire for three millennia and over. Ethiopia, the country which has maintained its Africanness, its Africanity, its Civilisation from the cradle of humanity, is the oldest civilization of the world. It embodies the Nubian-Meroetic-Pharaohnic Egyptian Civilisation, with its legendary civilization of inventions including writing, mathematics, the physical, natural and chemical sciences, and above all, religion.

Through all the travails of Arab incursions on Africa for slaves and finally for the occupation of northern and eastern Africa, the rulers of Ethiopia stood their ground to defend Africa and its civilisations and territories. That is why, if Africa were to unite, it would only unite around Ethiopia to pay Ethiopia the tribute and honour it deserves. It was this tribute that Kwame Nkrumah decided to pay to Ethiopia and chose it as the seat for the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963.

But the mistake Africa did was not to choose the Ethiopian language as a lingua franca for Africa. How come it that Africa accepted to deprecate and honour Ethiopia without investing in its “Primordial” language?

I have decided to present just what I would call a tip of the ice berg of this millennial history of African Pan Africanism taking just Ras Makonnen Wäldä-Mika'él Guddisa who was among the last of these building blocks of Pan Africanism when Pan Africanism started in the Diaspora.

This proto-Pan Africanist who was brought at the age of 14 to court of Negus Menelik, who was then the ruler of Shewa, became a special companion and adviser of Menelik. He started laying the foundations of a strong renascent Pan African image and humanism that would inspire the future rulers of Ethiopia and many future Pan Africanists in Africa and the African Diaspora.

Becoming the Governor of Harar in 1887 at the age of 35, after Harar was incorporated in the Empire of his cousin Emperor Johannes IV, he endeavoured to impress this Pan Africanism in his daily preoccupation of governance and administration. It was this spirit that raised Ras Makonnen to the admiration of his followers, citizens and the Emperor and he was

promoted to serve as Governor of Tigray when the rebellious Ras Mangasha Yohannes was removed.

Ras Makonen fearlessly showed his governorship skills as a strategist and as a rallier of people for just and good humanitarian causes during the first Italian colonial invasion where he played the leading role, (Fongot Kinni, 1976) at the Battle of Adowa in 1896, of rallying the Ethiopian army and routing the Italian 20,000 strong forces from Ethiopian territory.



Photos 141 (a), (b), (c) & (d): Ras Makonnen - Ras Mäkonnen Wäldä-Mika'el Guddisa also Makonnen Wolde Mikael Gudessa May 8, 1852 – March 21, 1906) or simply as Ras Makonnen

It is sad that Italy had underestimate Ethiopia with a much larger and formidable (Dugdale-Pointon, T. (19 February 2009), force of 100,000 strong and well trained men in artillery that resisted the Italian forces.

The Battle of Adowa (Adua) (Fongot Kinni, 1976) has remained in history of Pan Africanism as the turning point of the history of modern Africa. It was

the first defeat of the European colonial imperialist power in modern times, by an African nation very jealously and consciously grounded in its sovereignty rights. It was a turning point in modern African history with a European Colonial power being defeated and brought down on its knees before Ethiopia which was hailed and recognised as a sovereign nation state by the imperial European powers. Ethiopia had long learned its strategies and tactics how to keep away and defeat all colonial and imperialist invasion of Africa starting with the Semitic Arabic invasion of the continent and the perpetration of Slavery.

It is a historic fact that if the Semitic Arabs and their Islamic-drive and conquest, had not decimated the African Empires through the various slave raids, Africa would not have been easily run down by the Western European and American invasions that reduced African sates to slavery and much later to colonization and Western imperialism. If African Empires had been able to preserve their sovereignty like Ethiopia did, Africa would not have been reduced today to be a battleground for vying Islamic Ideologies against Christian Ideologies as it is still happening today in Egypt against the indigenous African Coptic Christians, in Sudan, in Eritrea, in Mali where the Arab Al-Qaeda-driven rebellion is destroying African-Islamic heritage; and worse of all in Nigeria where the Al-Qaeda-driven Boko-Haram is wreaking havoc and hate in a peace-loving country.

Ethiopia has always held up this Pan Humanism in Pan Africanism from the Mereotic-Nubian-Egyptian Pharaohnic civilization that gave birth the world's modern civilization. Even after the defeat of Semitic Islamic Arabs, Ethiopia had used both the Pan African Philosophy of the interpenetration of contraries and differences (Dika akwa, 1984), the Pan African Humanism, to accommodate Islam in Ethiopia. After the defeat of European and American colonialism and imperialism, Ethiopia was able to use its preventive and open door diplomacy to initiate international and humanitarian relations with European and American nations without any complex of inferiority or superiority, as expounded by Emperor Haile Selassie (1963) to the United Nations General Assembly.

Ethiopia had set the records right for all Pan Africanists and all men of Good Will or Bad Will to follow rigorously and consistently if they want to be part of this Pan African Humanism. Non-Christians of African Traditional Classical Religions, Christians of all denominations, Islam of all denominations, Blacks of all ethnicities, Whites of all ethnicities, Semitics of all ideologies and traits, Chinese, Indians, Malasians are welcome in Africa, the cradle of their origins and civilizations, (Desmond Tutu, 2007) as long as they would respect, imbibe and apply rigorously to the letter, this spirit of Pan

African Humanism. This Pan African Humanism which is based on the respect of differences and the interpenetration of contraries, to build up the harmony of peoples and nations, in a non-violent manner. For Pan African Humanism, there are no “Chosen People,” there are no “Rejected People,” there are no “Unsaved People”. If one has to come to Africa to look for any of these ideological invented species of human beings, let that person know that he or she is in the wrong place. Let him or her know, in the words of Haile Selassie, the Rastafarian Image of God incarnate, (1963) that Pan African Humanism knows no boundaries, just as it favours no particular race, no particular peoples, no particular ideologies or particular religions, as superior of inferior to others.

Ras Makonnen was later raised to the level of Foreign Minister and played a great role in preventive diplomacy with foreign European countries. Actually he had played this role since the period of “Shum,” “Governor” of Harar in 1880, when he became the close friend of Arthur Rimbaud, who was living and doing business in the province.

As Foreign Minister, Ras Makonnen participated and represented Ethiopia in many international events and representations. He attended the coronation of King Edward VII in England in 1902, and paid diplomatic visits to Italy, France, Turkey and Germany. He also received many decorations in recognition from foreign governments including the: Badge of St. Michael and St. George (Knight Commander), from England, Star of the Russian Order of St. Anne, Star of the French “Legion d’Honneur” (Third Republic), Star of the Crown of Italy, Star of the Ottoman Order of Osmania, and many other decorations from the Emperor of the Ethiopian Empire for his valour and geo-strategic diplomacy.



Photos 142 (a) & (b): Emperor Haile Selassie born as Lij (Ras) Tafari Makonnen July 23, 1894 - 1975

One of the things historians have never recounted is the fact that Ethiopia in all the millennia of its history has not practiced the Slavery of the Arabs or of the Indo Europeans and the Americans.

The reason being that even though Slavery could have been practiced in Ethiopia, just as it was practiced in ancient Meroetic-Nubian-Egyptian Pharaonic system of governance, Slaves enjoyed all the freedom and social and economic mobility every individual in society, including children, women, physically challenged and men without any distinction. Actually the status of Slave did not condemn one not to aspire to rise in the echelons of power. A Slave by meritocracy could aspire to become a King.

Marcus Garvey, the great visionary Pan Africanist and pragmatist recognized in Ethiopia and its leaders as the incarnation of God's guiding hand and direction in the liberation of Africa and its suppressed people. It was this vision of Marcus Garvey which ignited the Rastafari Movement in Jamaica in the 1930s where Ethiopia and its leaders symbolized the beacon of hope for a nascent Pan Africanism. Symbolically, Ethiopia's leader represented this incarnation of God and the manifestation of the All-Mighty the All-Powerful and the All-Merciful.

Hence the coining of the name of the new movement as Rastafari (movement) derived from Emperor Haile Selassie imperial name – Ras – meaning Head and Tafari Makonnen, was only the symbolic marker of a deeper spiritual and profound meaning, beyond the reach and understanding of frail human minds; a spiritual and deeper meaning which will only resonate and fill all Africa and the world with the humanism of Africa when Africa will become totally free from all imperialist domination and establish the true nascent vision of Pan Africanism and Pan Humanism. It is in this symbolic interpretation of phenomena that we must appreciate the Jamaican creative and entrepreneurial initiative to trace a nascent path for Pan African liberation.

The fact that the Jamaicans hold Emperor Haile Selassie as God incarnate should be taken in this symbolic sense of a people trying to create a "Messiah" who is always mentally visualized as supernatural, pure, magnanimous and merciful. Wherefore amidst all the Semitic and Indo-European and American "Barbarism" Jamaicans and Africans had been subjected to, there could not be any living Pan African living "Messiah" but Haile Selassie, whom they saw the incarnation of God, the All-Mighty, the All-Powerful, the All-Merciful. It is in this symbolic incarnation of the new order that Haile Selassie was perceived by

the peoples of Africa and the African Diaspora as the symbol and leader of the African Freedom. His Official titles coincided with this symbolism and vision as he was officially known as the “Conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah and King of Kings and Elect of God”. He was also officially known as the direct descendant of the King Solomon and the Queen of Shaba (Sheba).

It is this Pan Humanism in Pan Africanism which Haile Selassie was upholding and propounding when in 1936 Ethiopia was invaded by Fascist Italy; when he propounded the philosophical theory of universal governance for the sustainable development of humankind. In 1936 he expounded before the League of Nations that:

“Apart from the Kingdom of the Lord there is not on this earth any nation that is superior to any other. Should it happen that a strong Government finds it may with impunity destroy a weak people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League of Nations to give its judgment in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgment.”

It was this very ardent desire to maintain the humanitarian Pan African spirit and theory of the equality of all people, all races before God, that Emperor Haile Selassie reiterated the humanism in Pan Africanism, in the philosophical speech he presented before the United Nations in 1963. This translated version of this speech was later taken up by Bob Marley, that Pan African musical prophet from the same Jamaica of Marcus Garvey, and given popular voice in the song he titled “War” against all “infidels” who decide to consciously ignore this Pan African philosophy of humanism, and geo-strategically keep other peoples or races under bondage and exploitation as the combined forces of Semitic Arab “Barbarism” and the Indo-European-American “Barbarism” did perpetrate their ideology of domination in Africa for almost two millennia.

Before being crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, in 1930, Ras Tafari Makonnen, as Haile Selassie was called, had taken very unpopular and progressive measure to foster education of men and women in the country, as well as to free slaves that were imprisoned. It would be interesting to read what Joseph Cardillo (1998) writes about him as he elaborates his article saying:

“From the beginning, Ras Tafari pushed the development of Ethiopia and stressed the importance of education. The Ethiopians had steered away from this direction for thousands of years, avoiding the dreaded foreign (foreigners) and their ways of life. Sadly, education was viewed as one of the foreigner’s ways, and so more than ninety-nine percent

of the Ethiopian population at that time was illiterate. Education was also kept from the people because once a culture learned to read or write, it was only one step further to be able to think. This was a way of ensuring power to those in control, and keeping it from those not in control. It was an Amharic trait to hoard power and to keep it from those that didn't have it. Ethiopia still had hundreds of thousands of slaves. Addis Ababa, founded less than a generation before Ras Tafari came into Menelik's court, was a mere mud village with no paved roads. There were no highways or railroads that connected Ethiopia. What is worse is that there was a severe lack of professional men: no engineers, no doctors, no teachers, no educated men or women. World War I came to an end and the League of Nations had been developed. Ras Tafari pushed Ethiopia onto the international level when it was accepted to the League of Nations in 1924. After being accepted with some of the greatest powers in the world Ras Tafari took it upon himself to see the Europe was truly like. He visited London and Paris delivering lions as gifts to the King of England and the King of France. Ras Tafari was impressed by what he saw in these foreign lands. What is more is that he now recognized the importance of education. If Ethiopia was to pull itself out of the dark ages, it would have to educate itself. He saw the paved roads, and the grand buildings that these old towns had built over the years. Tafari wanted the same for his country. He pushed reform harder than before and the abolition of slavery was added to the list. Hapta Giorgis and the Archbishop, two of the head figures that were standing in Tafari's way of reform, died within a few months of each other. Tafari quickly moved his men into Giorgis's territory before the Empress could act, and freed the slaves of that province."

Emperor Haile Sellasie was just stretching the hand of Pan African Humanism to the world when in 1963 he made his philosophical discourse before the United Nations General Assembly, insisting:

"That until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned: That until there are no longer first-class and second-class citizens of any nation; That until the color of a man's skin is of no more significance than the color of his eyes; That until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all without regard to race; That until that day, the dream of lasting peace and world citizenship and the rule of international morality will remain but a fleeting illusion, to be pursued but never attained and until the ignoble but unhappy regimes that hold our brothers in Angola, in Mozambique, and in South Africa in subhuman bondage have been toppled and destroyed; until bigotry and prejudice and malicious and inhuman self-interest have been replaced by understanding and tolerance and goodwill; until all Africans stand and speak as free human beings, equal in the eyes of the Almighty; until that day, the African continent shall not know

peace. We Africans will fight if necessary and we know that we shall win as we are confident in the victory of good over evil."

It was this "Barbarism" from the Semitic Judaism, Arabic, Indo-European and American peoples who have systematically subjected Africa and the rest of the world to. It was also that barbarism which C.L.R. James from Trinidad was also alluding to when, coincidentally but timely and in God's revelation and direction, in 1936, (Anna Grimshaw, 1991) he wrote the play "Toussaint L'Ouverture" which he made Paul Robeson the major actor. Anna Grimshaw attests to this Pan Africanism in C.L.R. James (1991) very elaborately when she goes on to analyse James's work and humanitarian mind as she makes her point:

"The Ethiopian crisis of 1936 was a turning point, as James was forced to confront the equivocation of the British labour movement in the face of imperialist aggression in Africa. His essay, Abyssinia and the Imperialists (1936), was an early acknowledgement of the importance of an independent movement of Africans and people of African descent in the struggle for freedom. It was a position James developed more fully during the second half of the 1930s, particularly through his close collaboration with George Padmore in the International African Service Bureau. But James also drew upon his extensive historical research into the 1791 San Domingo revolution. The slave revolution led by Toussaint L'Ouverture raised very concretely the question James was seeking to address in his revolutionary politics – not just the nature and course of revolution itself, the changing relationship between leaders and the people; but the dynamic of the struggles situated at the peripheries and those located in the centre. It was a question which turned up in different forms throughout James's career – at times it was posed as the relationship between the proletariat of the imperialist nations and the indigenous populations; at others, as the connection between the struggles of different sections of a single national population. Since James's arrival in England, he had been actively working on a book about the San Domingo revolution. In 1936 he decided to produce a play, Toussaint L'Ouverture, from his drafted manuscript, casting Paul Robeson in the title role. It was a magnificent part for Robeson, given the severe limits he found as a black man seeking dramatic roles; but there were other political considerations which lay behind James's decision to stage the play at London's Westminster Theatre. It was planned as an intervention in the debates surrounding the Ethiopian crisis. James presented to his audience a virtually forgotten example from the past – of slaves, uneducated and yet organised by the mechanism of plantation production itself, who, in the wake of the French revolution, rose against their masters and succeeded not only in winning their freedom; but, in going on to defeat the might of three colonial powers, secured their victory through independence. At the centre of this

outstanding struggle in revolutionary history was the figure of Toussaint L'Ouverture. He was the natural focus for a dramatic account of these tumultuous events; and James's play focused upon his rise and fall as leader of the slaves."

Emperor Haile Selassie employed the tactics of the repressed who had no choice but to stand up and fight back with all the force it could muster, just as J.C. R. James had predicted in Toussaint l'Ouverture, with his uneducated and unschooled strategies in the modern war tactics. Just like the call of Toussaint l'Ouverture, Haile Selassie was reinventing history in his call to his people to stand up and fight resistance against Italian invasion. Joseph Cardillo gives us a taste of that terse and crucial moment when Haile Selassie stood behind his people with all encouragement to fight for the preservation of Freedom and individual and collective sovereignty of their homes and nation against the treacherous impostor and oppressor:

"If you withhold from your country Ethiopia the death from cough or head-cold of which you would otherwise die, refusing to resist (in your district, in your patrimony, and in your home) our enemy who is coming from a distant country to attack us, and if you persist in not shedding your blood, you will be rebuked for it by your Creator and will be cursed by your offspring. Hence, without cooling your heart of accustomed valour, there emerges your decision to fight fiercely, mindful of your history that will last far into the future... If on your march you touch any property inside houses or cattle and crops outside, not even grass, straw, and dung excluded, it is like killing your brother who is dying with you... You, countryman, living at the various access routes, set up a market for the army at the places where it is camping and on the day your district-governor will indicate to you, lest the soldiers campaigning for Ethiopia's liberty should experience difficulty. You will not be charged excise duty, until the end of the campaign, for anything you are marketing at the military camps: I have granted you remission... If you withhold from your country Ethiopia the death from cough or head-cold of which you would otherwise die, refusing to resist (in your district, in your patrimony, and in your home) our enemy who is coming from a distant country to attack us, and if you persist in not shedding your blood, you will be rebuked for it by your Creator and will be cursed by your offspring. Hence, without cooling your heart of accustomed valour, there emerges your decision to fight fiercely, mindful of your history that will last far into the future... If on your march you touch any property inside houses or cattle and crops outside, not even grass, straw, and dung excluded, it is like killing your brother who is dying with you... You, countryman, living at the various access routes, set up a market for the army at the places where it is camping and on the day your district-governor will indicate to you, lest the soldiers campaigning for Ethiopia's liberty should experience difficulty. You will not

be charged excise duty, until the end of the campaign, for anything you are marketing at the military camps: I have granted you remission..."

The moral ferocity and tenacity of Haile Selassie is evident in this admonition to his people to stand as one dedicated and decided people to fight for their rights. Looking at him he gives the impression of a man made of iron wired nerves that defied all human challenges. His royalty seems to be marked by some self-imposed rigorous austerity in life that surpasses that of an ordinary human being indicating a kind of constant communion with the Supernatural. This could be the source of Haile Selassie's strength which he incarnated into Ethiopia which made it impossible for any human garrison to face it, not to talk of fighting against it, as Anthony Mockler (2003) testifies when he writes about Haile Selassie's War saying:

"To cast an army of nearly a quarter of a million men, embodying the flower of Italian manhood, upon a barren shore two thousand miles from home, against the goodwill of the whole world and without command of the sea, and then in this position embark upon what may well be a series of campaigns against a people and in regions which no conqueror in four thousand years ever thought it worthwhile to subdue, is to give hostages to fortune unparalleled in all history... To cast an army of nearly a quarter of a million men, embodying the flower of Italian manhood, upon a barren shore two thousand miles from home, against the goodwill of the whole world and without command of the sea, and then in this position embark upon what may well be a series of campaigns against a people and in regions which no conqueror in four thousand years ever thought it worthwhile to subdue, is to give hostages to fortune unparalleled in all history..."

At the coronation of Ras Tafari at the age of thirty-seven on November 2nd, 1930, he quickly tried to settle the power squabbles in the Empire and tackle the problem of progressive governance and nation building. Haile Selassie, even though he had very meagre financial means at his disposal, tried as much as possible to develop his nation to a very modern state even though still conserving its original indigenous culture, belief system and philosophy. He invested all his energy the education of his people as Joseph Cardillo (1998) elaborates in his critical analysis when he says:

"Haile Selassie accomplished many great things during his reign as Emperor of Ethiopia. Perhaps his most important contribution was his efforts to further the education of his people. Education was pressed forwards on all levels - primary, secondary and at the university level. What is even more important is that this education

was offered to both boys and girls. He sent numerous students to study abroad in some of Europe's and America's finest schools. He built numerous primary and secondary schools, including a university which he named after himself. In 1951 the University College of Addis Ababa was also formed. He was also a key founder in the Organization for African Unity. As far as civil rights were concerned, the Emperor had pushed for the abolition of slavery since he was regent back in the 1920s. He also promulgated a new constitution in 1958 which gave the citizens the right to vote. In the government judicial systems were reformed, the power of the Rases was controlled by the government, a State Police Force was formed, and the army was modernized. Ethiopia had developed its own currency, backed by the United States dollar held by the State Bank of Ethiopia. Selassie was also a large advocate for peace. In his speech to the United Nations in October of 1968, he stresses the importance of disarmament. Disarmament has become the urgent imperative of our time. I do not say this because I equate the absence of arms to peace, or because I believe that bringing an end to the nuclear arms race automatically guarantees the peace... Disarmament is vital today, quite simply, because of the immense destructive capacity of which men dispose. In that same speech, his words have become immortalized in the Bob Marley song, "War"..."

Haile Selassie's belief and investment in the rightly focused and good education as the basis for all progress and sustainable development was very clear and indisputable. He also believed in the respect of human rights and freedoms of citizens as the basis for all Pan Africanist humanitarian pursuits. But he also believed in the responsibility of service to humankind for the enhancement of the quality of the situations in life which freedom imputes on individuals. This philosophy of education, human rights promotion for the freedoms and enhancement of services and responsibilities for the pro-active management of the sustainable quality of life of citizens was amply elaborated in the speech he delivered to the graduating batch of 1963 students from the University of Addis Ababa, (Haile Selassie, 2nd July, 1963) when he reiterated:

"Misguided people sometimes create misguided ideas... A qualified man with vision, unmoved by daily selfish interests, will be led to right decisions by his conscience. In general, a man who knows from whence he comes and where he is going will co-operate with his fellow human beings. He will not be satisfied with merely doing his ordinary duties but will inspire others by his good example. You are being watched by the nation and you should realize that you will satisfy it if you do good; but if, on the contrary, you do evil, it will lose its hope and its confidence in you."

Haile Selassie, was a staunch believer in national and international justice that is put in the service of humanitarian alleviation of the frail and insecure

human condition due to the uncurbed and irrational greed in human nature. He felt that if Pan Africanism would succeed its first priority must be in putting on the forefront of its leitmotiv the advocacy of justice for all citizens, the speaking out against all forms of injustices no matter from where and from whom they might be caused or initiated. Hence he warns all governments who are entrusted with the lives of innocent citizens to be wary about enhancing the cause of justice and the rule of law in all walks of life of their people and the people of the world. He further was of the opinion that people and nations should not fear to speak out in advocacy for the rights of the weak and unprotected and against the injustices of the world of the strong and the haves against the weak and have-nots. In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly in 1946, he reminded the world powers of this responsibility which the Pan African Humanitarian philosophy was propounding to the world:

“Throughout history, it has been the inaction of those who could have acted; the indifference of those who should have known better; the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most; that has made it possible for evil to triumph. Today I stand before the world organization which has succeeded to the mantle discarded by its discredited predecessor.”

Haile Selassie would go down in history, despite all his shortcomings, as the noble son of African and a devoted Pan Africanist whose vision was to hoist the Pan African Humanitarianism to the highest peaks of the universe for all to see and adopt and make their own for the interpenetration of different cultures and ideologies and the peaceful cohabitation of humanity as one people, with a common destiny. That is why Joseph Cardillo (1998) rightly corroborates this humanitarian philosophy of Haile Selassie as a Pan Africanist when he affirms that:

“Haile Selassie ruled Ethiopia nobly. He looked for the betterment of his people, and the modernization of his country. He wanted the benefits of what a good education can do for a country. He compared his simple country to the great nations of Europe. He brought Ethiopia into the international scene when it was accepted into the League of Nations in 1928. He made the world understand that his country lived and bled like all others when he pleaded for help against the Italians in Geneva in 1936. He held his people in regard when he drafted Ethiopia’s two constitutions in 1931 and 1958. Selassie wanted to pull Ethiopia out of its dark ages and bring it into modern times.”

Haile Selassie always showed a lot of restraint as a leader and Emperor. He did not believe in war as a means of solving the problems of injustices and

repression. That is why he said in his moral and philosophical conviction that war should be the last resort, and only employed only when all other means fail. This non-violent philosophy which is very Pan African Humanitarian Philosophy is brought out clearly by Anthony Mockler (2003) who highlights Haile Selassie's Radio address on the occasion of Ethiopia signing the Covenant of the League of Nations when he reminded the world that "*War is not the only means to stop war.*" Just as Joseph Cardillo admits in his critical analysis that:

"It is also known that he pushed the idea of peace in all that he did. He worked for the betterment of his country and the education of his people. He saw what education had to offer a society, and aspired to bring his country out of his dark ages and into the twentieth century. He gave citizenship to the people of Ethiopia, and brought his country onto the international level. He had good in his heart and good intentions."

It was in honour of Haile Selassie and consideration of all Ethiopia had done for the preservation of the Independence and Sovereignty of Africa that I wrote this poem titled:

AMESEGNALEW ETHIOPIA

*Timeless Fossilised Spaces
In Eternalised Emotional Spices
Betrayed my Panthered Heart of
Ancestralised Legacies
The Lion of Ethiopia bequeathed
For the teaming Generations
Of Africa and its Diaspora of Lucie
Peopling the pregnant Universe
Of Millennia Human Mobility
Miscegenation Dynamics to preserve
The Sweet Love Story
Of Queen Candace
Of Shaba-Ethiopia-Nation
Enchanting the World with its Divine
Perfumes that have Immortalised
Her Offspring from Beloved Tufa-Solomon
To Queen Hatshepsut
To Emperor Menelik,
Empress Taitu Bitul
To Haile Selassie
The Rastafarian Messiah Emperor of*

*African Renaissance and Resistance
To Foreign Imperialism, Humiliation
And Indentured Judeo-Christian
Slavery and Vile Barbarism;
The Great Lion of Axum Fearlessly
Asserting Africa's Identity and Holy Dignity,
Her Indomitable Sovereignty Bastardised by
Alien Agents of Ruthless Vile Monstrosity*

*Wherefore in Filial Recognition,
Humble Prideful Appreciation I say
'Amesegnalew' Ethiopia Land of the
African Renaissance Budding Lotus and the New Dawn
Of Beautiful Men and Handsome Women
Majestically Adorned in the Enchanting Grace
Of the People-Centred Nation-Building Faces
Inter-weaving and exchanging subtle smiles
Lighting the Sky of a People Freedom-bound
And chanting the Glory of the Unsung Martyrs
O Ethiopia the Beautiful Anointed Land of
Valiant Slain Princesses and Princes...*

O Haile Selassie...

*From whose Ritualised Ashes
The Renascent Phoenix Sun of African Liberation
And Triumphal Re-Incarnation will Rise
With its Eternally Golden Rays of Peace
To Shower this Tattered Earth of Inequities
With Healing
And will set no more...*

But will impose Her Primacy...

In the eyes of Her Detractors...

Who have never understood Africa...

The Sleeping Giant...

That will awake to stand Tall...

Like the Obelisk of Axum...

'Amesegnalew' Ethiopia...

Thank You Ethiopia...

Long live Ethiopia...

Cradle of Humanity and Civilisation...

Long Live Africa...

Cradle of Humanity's Mobility...

Long Live Humanism...

Long Live African Unity!

FONGOT Kini-Yen Kinni, Addis Ababa, 21st November 2014

*(In Filial and Humble Recognition and Tribute To All the People Of Ethiopia,
All the Valiant Queens and Emperors of Ethiopia and Haile Selassie).*

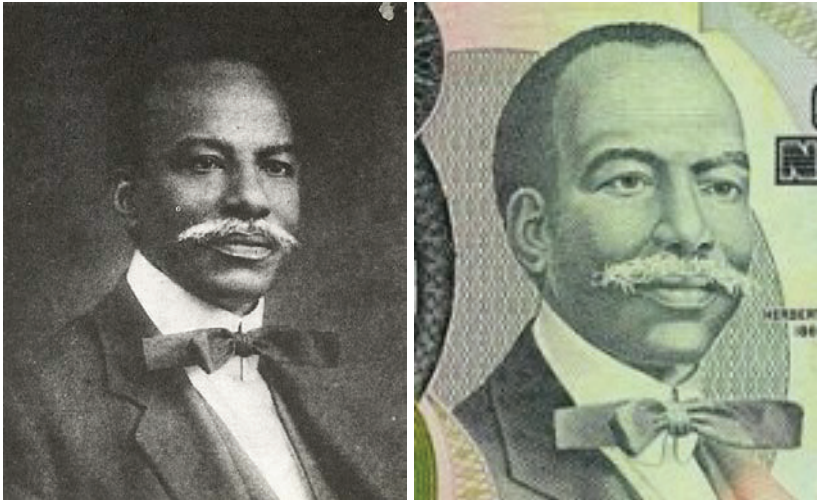
Nigeria, the giant of Africa stands out as one of those countries which engendered the fertile intellectual breeding grounds for Pan Africanism. This spirit of Pan Africanism manifested itself as early as mid-1800s with the birth of Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay, the grandson of Bishop Ajayi Crowther. His activism would start after his graduation from the Christian Missionary School and when he was engaged in Lagos Department of Public Works as a clerk. After graduating from the University of Plymouth where he studied civil engineering from 1891 to 1894, he returned to Lagos where he worked as the Inspector for the Crown Lands. Due to his strong opposition and distaste for the British rule and policy over the Lagos Colony “and the position of Yoruba land and the Niger Coast Protectorate as British colonies...” (http://www.browsebiography.com/bioherbert_macaulay.html).



Photos 143 (a) & (b) Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay: November 14, 1864 – May 7, 1946

Herbert Macaulay was the initiator of the fight against racial discrimination and class stratification that was started by the British in their “divide-and-rule” policy. He was born into this seething hotchpotch of racial and class discrimination he decided to put an end to through pro-activism. As recounted by Encyclopedia of World Bibliography gleanings from James S. Coleman’s (1971) work on Nigeria: background to Nationalism and that of James Bertin Webster; Boahen, A. Adu; Tidy, Michael (1980), on “The revolutionary years: West Africa since 1800”:

“...he was born into a Lagos that was divided politically into groups arranged in a convenient pecking order – the British rulers who lived in the posh Marina district, the Saros and other slave descendants who lived to the west, and the Brazilians who lived behind the whites in the Portuguese Town. Behind all three lived the real Lagosians, the masses of indigenous Yoruba people, disliked and generally ignored by their privileged neighbours. It was not until Macaulay’s generation that the Saros and Brazilians even began to contemplate making common cause with the masses.”



Photos 143 (c) & (d) Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay: The Great Nationalist and Pan Africanist; (Herbert Macaulay National Currency-National Bank of Nigeria)

His strong stand as an ardent opponent to British rule in Nigeria and Africa made him one of the first champions of African nationalism and pro-activist for the disinherited and poor of the earth. He was very virulent in his attacks against the British colonial administration about the stress and injustice they served and subjected the Nigerian and African people as a whole. When the British claimed that they were governing “with the true interests of the natives at heart,” Macaulay reacted very strongly against these claims as untrue, insisting that:

“The dimensions of “the true interests of the natives at heart” are algebraically equal to the length, breadth and depth of the Whiteman’s pocket.”

Herbert Macaulay was the first African to challenge very openly the British mismanagement and corrupt practices of the colonial administration. One of his success stories was the exposure he made in 1908 of the European corruption in handling the railway finances. Another success story was the ground breaking victory of the pleadings he made on the case of the seizure of

the land of the local Chiefs before the Privy Council in London in 1919. The outcome of this victory was the compensation the colonial government was forced to pay to the local Yoruba Chiefs for their lands that were seized by the colonial administration. In retaliation to his activism for the maintenance of the civil and human rights of the native people Macaulay was arrested and jailed twice by the British colonial administrative system who could not tolerate such audacity from a native African.

Herbert Macaulay was that nationalist African who could not tolerate the racial discrimination that was practiced by the colonial administration and the British government officials in the colonies. His resignation from the civil service as Inspector of Crown Lands was precipitated by this nationalist spirit and intolerance to racism as introduced by the British in Nigeria and Africa. This dogged attitude of a nationalist is testified by the Nigerian biographical presentations (NaijaGist.com-accessed 31-12-2012) and excerpts from the (http://www.browsebiography.com/bio-herbert_macaulay.html) World Biography celebrating this Pan African nationalist in these terms:

“Macaulay’s resignation seems to have been precipitated by his growing resentment for the racial discrimination practiced by Europeans in the civil service. He established himself as a private surveyor in Lagos and slowly over the ensuing years emerged as a spokesman for opposition to British rule in Lagos and all Nigeria. Macaulay addressed himself to numerous issues, usually in articles he contributed to the Lagos Daily Times. He opposed every attempt by the British authorities to expand their administration, interpreting these developments as detrimental to the interests of indigenous Nigerians, who inevitably would be forced to pay the bills in taxes. He agitated against government plans to reform land tenure arrangements in Lagos and Yorubaland. Through his antigovernment activities Macaulay rose to preeminence in Lagos politics. In 1921 he was sent to London by the “eleko,” or king, of Lagos to represent him in the legal appeal of a local land tenure case. In London, Macaulay proclaimed that the British colonial government was eroding the power and authority of the “eleko,” who, he said, was recognised by all Nigerians as the rightful king of Lagos. This episode embarrassed the British, although it did not deter their activities, and established Macaulay as a leading advocate of the rights of traditional leadership in Lagos.”

The assessment of colonial enterprise in Africa brings out clearly the degrees of racism that was practiced in the colonies. It must be noted that the racism transferred to colonies came from the home conception of race and the environmental policy impact (Fongot Kinni, 1988) of home country culture and philosophy that contributed to this racism. It must be noted that of the various European colonists the Belgians, the Germans and the English were

the most racist and practiced segregation of the races. That is how we have the various genocides and lynching committed against African people by the Germans in South West Africa and Cameroon; the genocides and lynching of Africans by the British in their native-land seizure-drives in East Africa, the Kikuyu and Massai of Kenya especially; Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa; and the brutalities and killings of African peoples in the Congo during the reign of King Leopold of Belgium that have contributed the book of Adam Hochschild (1998) entitled: "The Ghosts of King Leopold.". The French, the Spanish and the Portuguese were more class conscious than truly racists. They did not preach the separation of races. Actually the French, Spanish and Portuguese believed in the equality of races and even promoted the miscegenation of the races. They believed that the Mulato which was a product of the mixture of races was a much superior combination of the races. That explains why the harsh racism which degenerated into the colour-bar, the separation of races and apartheid was/is popular more popular in the Anglo-Saxon countries than in the Latin countries. And so the racism based on colour was/is more pronounced in the USA and English Canada, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and the British colonies of Africa; as compared to the mild racism and miscegenation practiced in the French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the world.

It could be understood that Herbert Macaulay's aversion for and opposition to British racism in the colonies of Africa was instigated by his Sierra Leonean Crio culture and heritage. Most of the Crio from Sierra Leone were from former British Slave colonies of America and the British West Indies. It was natural that after emancipating themselves from Slavery, they were already drilled culturally to resist the new forms of racism that were being perpetrated in the British colonies of Africa by the White Settler Communities.

That is how the Crio communities of African returned-freed-slaves that were settled along the coast of West Africa, from Saint Louis to Gore, to Monrovia-Liberia to Free-Town, to Accra-Lome, Cotonou to Lagos-Port-Harcourt to Calabar, to Fernando-Po to Bimbia-Victoria, Hickory Town-Douala-Kribi, to Libreville-Brazzaville-Point-Noir to Luanda to Windhoek to Cape Town, to Port Elizabeth and Durban to Lorenzo Marques of Mozambique, were the hot houses where the early seeds of Pan Africanism took roots to boost and foster the ethnic national and continental Pan Africanism.

And it is very interesting to note that the first virulent opposition and fight against racism emerged much earlier in the Anglo-Saxon British and German colonies than in the Latin French-Lusophone and Spanish colonies of Africa.

And it is also true that the British West African colonies of the indentured Slavery of Africa that was created in Nigeria, Southern Cameroons, Ghana, Togo, Sierra Leone and Gambia came out much forcefully in championing Pan Africanism. That could explain how it was not mere coincidence that West Africa, and especially Nigeria and Ghana, gave birth to the African Champions of Pan Africanism and the independence of Black Africa.

Herbert Macaulay was the architect of this great African nationalism which started with Nigeria, but whose ripples effects caught up with the wave-lengths of the Pan African movement from other West African shores and merged with the great West Indian-Caribbean African Diaspora that projected, along with the African American Diaspora, the Renaissance of what started as the Black African Cultural, Political-Economic Philosophy of Liberation, Governance and Development; which finally culminated into an all embracing Revolutionary New Wave Pan Africanism of the Cultural Political-Economic Philosophy for the New Moral, Ethics and Aesthetics for the Development of the African Humanism.

That is the reason why I invite my readers to read between the lines of the contributions of the Encyclopedia of World Biography and NaijaGist.com (http://www.browsebiography.com/bio-herbert_macaulay.html accessed 31-12-2012) and to understand that Herbert Macaulay, as a pragmatist African nationalist and Pan Africanist, had to focus on a small scale project, which was Nigeria of his origin, to impact on the rest of Africa. And so we must decipher this tribute paid to Herbert Macaulay on a much broader base to understand that even though he focused on Nigeria and may be Lagos, he never lost sight of the broader picture of Africa as it is noted that:

“Herbert Macaulay was a Nigerian nationalist, politician, engineer, journalist, and musician and considered by many Nigerians as the founder of Nigerian nationalism...In 1922 a new Nigerian constitution was introduced providing for limited franchise elections in Lagos and Calabar. In order to contest the three elective seats in Lagos, Macaulay organised the Nigerian National Democratic party (NNDP). The platform of the NNDP sought self-government for Lagos, the introduction of institutions of higher education into Nigeria, compulsory primary school education, the Africanisation of the civil service, and non-discrimination in the development of private economic enterprise. Macaulay’s political activities were limited to Lagos affairs until the very end of his life, when the quest for independence began to pervade all Nigeria. He [resided in 1944 at the meeting of the National Council of Nigeria Students, from which ultimately emerged the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC), Nigeria’s first national political party. Macaulay was elected president of the NCNC and was engaged in a national tour for the party in 1945, when he was taken ill.

Returning to Lagos, he died in the same year...The leadership of the NCNC went to Azikiwe, who later became the first president of Nigeria."

One of the greatest contributions from Africa to Pan-Africanism just like that of Edward Blyden came from an African who had studied in the United States of America. He was Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe the Nigerian journalist who had studied in Howard University, the first Black University of America. He was the publisher of the African Morning Post, in Accra, Ghana; and the West African Pilot, in Lagos, Nigeria, from 1938. He took time to sensitise and urge West African students to go to African-American Universities. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe took time to develop a Pan African Philosophy known as the African Personality. Zik's Pan Africanism was anchored on his policy of peace building and non-violence as foundation for any long term sustainable efforts Africa could rationally invest to attain good governance and development to the utmost levels. Kwame Nkrumah was among the young Ghanaians who were sensitized and inspired to go to America for further studies.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was one of the most accomplished erudite Africans Africa had produced as early as the 1930s. He had personally met during his sojourn and studies in the United States, Marcus Garvey, Booker Taliaferro Washington, William Edward Bourghadt Du Bois, and imbibed their ideologies on Pan Africanism better than any African after Kwame Nkrumah, whom Zik himself had influenced and mentored, could boast of. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, in his one of lectures delivered in 1962, (J. Ayo Langley, 1979), titled "The Future of Pan Africanism," insisted and outlined the four inhuman legacies of systematic genocide and deprivations Africa and Africans had been subjected to in the course of pre-modern and modern history in his analysis of Pan Africanism when he stated:

"Slavery played its shameful role in depopulating Africa; capitalism denuded it of its wealth; colonialism deprived it of birthright, and imperialism emasculated its will to live as a human being and to enjoy its fair share of the bounties of the good earth."

It is due to this unjust and inhuman legacy bequeathed to Africans by the imperialist and racist world that Pan Africanism started off as racial ideology with a political and economic foundation to emancipate a racially bastardised, an ignored and repressed people, by another people. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe explains this racial issue taking into consideration the context in which it was initiated, when he reflects:

"It is true that the roots of Pan-Africanism are, to a large extent, racial, but the evolution of the idea itself took different forms in the last four centuries so that today Africanism cannot be restricted to racial factors. What are these roots? Mainly individual actions and group pressure. Take the individual prophets of Pan-Africanism and it will be found that in all cases they were ethnocentric in their ideas and concepts of Pan-Africanism. For example, Paul Cuffe of Boston was more concerned in the repatriation of freed black slaves to Africa. When Edward Wilmot Blyden of Danish West Indies preached the projection of the African personality he had at the back of his mind the black inhabitants of Africa. The same may be said of Casely Hayford of Ghana, Marcus Aurelius Garvey of Jamaica, Burghhardt DuBois of America, Mojola Agbebi of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Javabu of South Africa, George Padmore of Trinidad, Nwafor Orizu of Nigeria, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Leopold Senghor of Senegal... But when we consider the role of organizations, as distinct from individuals, no rigid line of distinction on the basis of race appears to be drawn, generally speaking. The Anti-Slavery Society and the American Colonization Society, for example, were actuated by humanitarian motives to plan for the emigration of freed black slaves from America and the Caribbean to Africa for permanent settlement. The International Conference on Africa which was held in Berlin in 1885 partitioned that continent without taking into consideration racial, cultural or linguistic factors. The United Native African Church in Nigeria revolted against ecclesiastical control of African churches from outside Africa, but it did not preclude non-Africans from joining its communion and fellowship. The United Negro Improvement Association was ethnocentric in the sense that it preached the doctrine of 'Africa for the Africans' on the basis of race. The National Congress of British West Africa sought for political reforms in the former British territories in West Africa without attaching much importance to race or language or culture."

Dr. Chukwuma Nnamdi Azikiwe, in this lecture delivered in 1962 painstakingly elaborated and elucidated on his idea of the African personality and African unity as a normal historical outcome of a people who has suffered the same fate from the same people in these terms:

"It is my considered opinion that these African States can play a constructive role in the international community and, in the light of their bondage under European imperialism they can bring sanity to a world torn by greed, self-interest, and inhumanity. To enable the despoiled continent of Africa to come into its own, it must restore the pristine dignity of the Africans themselves, before attempting to revive the stature of man in the councils of the nations. That is one main reason why, on their countries attaining independence, African nationalists have sought to create an image of the African personality which will undertake this sacred mission. But it should not be forgotten that under the most grinding oppression of slavery, Africans themselves also thought of the

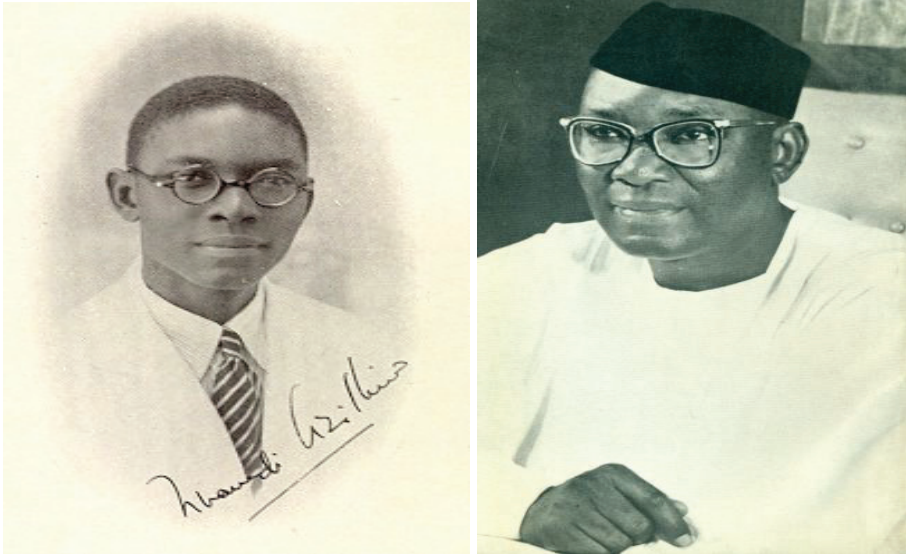
African personality. When the slaves sang their sorrow songs either in the plantations of America or of the Caribbean, they remembered Africa, their home. For example: SWING LOW, SWEET CHARIOT, COMING FOR TO CARRY ME HOME. These African slaves did not accept slavery as their lot; they were not supine. There were sporadic insurrections. Nat Turner unsuccessfully led his fellow-slaves against the plantation owners of Virginia, just as Spartacus did in the days of Rome. Toussaint L'Ouverture, from Dahomey, successfully led the slaves of San Domingo against Spain, Britain and France; he founded the Republic of Haiti. After the betrayal of Toussaint to Napoleon, Dessalines, from the Congo, took the command and guaranteed their newly-won freedom. The Maroons of Jamaica made history by their gallantry, even in slavery, and when the West Indies Federation becomes independent in May 1962, the heroism of the Maroons will be appreciated in its true perspective. After the abolition of Slavery and the partition of Africa, the idea of Pan-Africanism began to germinate. Paul Cuffe, a manumitted slave in Boston, who was a wealthy ship-owner, fired the imagination of freed American slaves to return to the homeland and build a great nation. His vessel shipped some of them to what is now known as Sierra Leone. His real name may have been Cofie (Kofi), in which case, he must have come from what is now known as Ghana. That was before the Congress of Vienna of 1812, which created a Concert of Europe in the attempt to build European unity."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was one of the few Africans who celebrated and taught Africans about the Caribbean and American Diaspora efforts and origins of Pan Africanism. His early studies in America at Howard University had immersed him with the realities of Slavery and the relentless efforts of the Black people in the Diaspora to break the shackles of Slavery and racial discrimination.

That is the reason why he thought it very necessary to teach Africans of these contributions from foreign lands by their brothers and sisters who had suffered discrimination and human rights abuses and injustices from the hands of the enslaving Whiteman, as he brilliantly demonstrated in the summary of lecture:

"In the course of this discourse, I will mention names of other persons who helped to crystallize the idea of Pan-Africanism long before the contemporary nationalists of Africa, who are working hard to make it a living reality. I propose, therefore, to define what I mean by Pan-Africanism, with due deference to what may be the views of others, and I will proceed to trace its development; after which, I will show that individuals, as well as groups, have tried to crystallize it. Then, I will prove that there have been conscious and unconscious efforts to bring about unity among the peoples and countries of

Africa, since the abolition of the Slave trade, and these efforts have not recognized geographical barriers."



Photos 144 (a) & (b) Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe - November 16, 1904 – May 11, 1996

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was very concerned with what he called the reconstruction of the African Personality which was to emerge from picking up the broken pieces of what was left of the “broken people” of Africa who, even though reduced to slavery, oppression and deprivation had been resilient in fighting and striving to keep up the fire of hope burning.

This is why Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe went on to remind his audience that this initiative, started by the enslaved African people, would be continued by the new wave of determined and devoted Pan-Africanists themselves when he said:

“To enable the despoiled continent of Africa to come into its own, it must restore the pristine dignity of the Africans themselves, before attempting to revive the stature of man in the councils of the nations. That is one main reason why, on their countries attaining independence, African nationalists have sought to create an image of the African personality which will undertake this sacred mission. But it should not be forgotten that under the most grinding oppression of slavery, Africans themselves also thought of the African personality. When the slaves sang their sorrow songs either in the plantations of America or of the Caribbean, they remembered Africa, their home. For example: Swing low, sweet chariot, coming for to carry me home.”

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe went on to remind his audience that it was through the dogged determination and resilience of a few valiant nationalism Black

Africans that the idea of resistance to slavery and the struggle to rebuild a free Africa in the Diaspora and the continent was initiated. He also shows to Africans how it was at the so-called abolition of slavery that the arbitrary partitioning of Africa was undertaken by the colonial European countries who invented the need to reinvent the indentured slavery in Africa called colonisation.



Photos 144 (c) & (d) Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe - November 16, 1904 – May 11, 1996

He explains the details in captivating history of the liberation of Black people from slavery and he went on to narrate to the keen ears of his audience:

“These African slaves did not accept slavery as their lot; they were not supine. There were sporadic insurrections. Nat Turner unsuccessfully led his fellow-slaves against the plantation owners of Virginia, just as Spartacus did in the days of Rome. Toussaint L’Ouverture, from Dahomey, successfully led the slaves of San Domingo against Spain, Britain and France; he founded the Republic of Haiti. After the betrayal of Toussaint to Napoleon, Dessalines, from the Congo, took the command and guaranteed their newly-won freedom. The Maroons of Jamaica made history by their gallantry, even in slavery, and when the West Indies Federation becomes independent in May 1962, the heroism of the Maroons will be appreciated in its true perspective. After the abolition of Slavery and the partition of Africa, the idea of Pan-Africanism began to germinate. Paul Cuffe, a manumitted slave in Boston, who was a wealthy ship-owner, fired the imagination of freed American slaves to return to the homeland and build a great nation. His vessel shipped some of them to what is now known as Sierra Leone.

His real name may have been Cofie, in which case, he must have come from what is now known as Ghana. That was before the Congress of Vienna of 1812, which created a Concert of Europe in the attempt to build European unity."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was a pragmatist who did not see any problem with either the Casablanca or the Monrovia factions of the OAU. He believed that Africans could choose whatever way suited their unity voluntarily and conscientiously for the good of Africa and her peoples. Just as he lauded the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Federation he also believed in regional federations just as he advocated for continental federations that would unify Africa as a single State with a clause of non-intervention from former colonial or any foreign powers into the affairs of Africa. This clause of non-intervention was very necessary because Africa could not be independent if foreign powers were all the time intervening in the management of the affairs of the continent as it is today, with NATO, America, Britain and France calling the shots and dictating the rules in the name of saving democracy; when in reality they are seeking their oil interest and their strategic power interest. This is what Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had to say with regard to building the Inviolable African Personality and its Strategic Power base:

"I think that Pan-Africanism should be concretized either in the form of regional States or one continental State, whichever is feasible, allowing this to be done voluntarily without upsetting the total sovereignty of the States concerned. If this barrier is hurdled, I suggest that the African States concerned should sign and ratify conventions, among others which I shall dilate upon, guaranteeing fundamental human rights among their citizens, social security among their workers, and collective security among their populations. Above all, I will suggest that African States should now, as an earnest of their sincere belief in Pan-Africanism, declare a doctrine of non-intervention in the continent of Africa, making it clear that the establishment of the continued existence of any colonial territory in Africa, by any non-African State, shall be regarded as an unfriendly act and an act of aggression against the African States collectively."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was this pragmatist who saw Pan-Africanism and the African Personality from a very broad based perspective which was divested of race, ethnicity and parochialism but embraced all humanity. For him Pan-Africanism and African Personality was based on a broad-based-Continentalism-driven agenda founded on Humanism. For him Pan-Africanism and the African Personality must embrace the realities of history and the mobilities of peoples which had changed the racial settings of Africa, but has still confirmed the continent of Africa as the cradle of Humanity and

the cradle of all Civilisations and Peoples. For Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe there was nothing more relevant the relevance of the peoples of the different races and ethnicities that inhabit Africa today. These are the productive forces, according to Amilcar Cabral that Africa has to count on to build Africa; just as what Nkrumah proposed in his Philosophy of Consciencism to embrace all the peoples and cultures of Africa as the Human Heritage of Africa.

This notion of the African personality which was divest of all ethnicities and racism is what warranted Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe to tell Sir Ahmadu Bello The Sardauna of Sokoto to forget their differences when he was talking about Nigerian unity. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe believed that the Unity of Nigeria, with its multi-ethnic and cultural diversity would be a good example for Africa's Unity. Hence, he urged Sir Ahmadu Bello saying: *"Let us forget our differences...."*

But Sir Ahmadu Bello in the spirit of a true Pan Africanist relied him saying:

"No, let us understand our differences. I am a Muslim and a Northerner. You are a Christian, an Easterner. By understanding our differences, we can build unity in our country."



Photos: 140 (e), (f) & (g): Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sardauna of Sokoto: June 12, 1910 – January 15, 1966

This African Icon had already tasted what it meant to be a multicultural African, a Fulani-Hausa, an African-Religionist (Animist) and a Muslim that was defending Africa's identity and personality from Colonialism. Actually the

Indirect Rule that Lord Lugard established in the Northern part of Nigeria was to respect and preserve the Muslim personality in the Northern part of Nigeria which did not accept the European Westernised Canons of superiority and supremacy.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe defined a more progressist and very dynamic vision of Pan-Africanism and African Personality. Wherefore the distinction between Black, Arab, White Africa is meaningless and spells more of parochialism by those who want to exploit Africa for their own private agenda and jingoistic interest. The New Wave Pan-Africanism and the African Personality is a Humanitarian-driven agenda and quest for Africans to find a more equitable and integrative playground for everybody, no matter race, religion, ideology, culture and preferences. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was very clear in his condemnation of any diversions of Pan-Africanism and the African Personality which might smack of RACISM, ETHNOCENTRICISM, AND REGIONALISM. For him the differences of Africa should build its strength and not its divisions. Actually we can say that the coining of the RAINBOW CONTINENT was the vision of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe before Nelson Mandela ever dreamed of the idea of a Rainbow Nation of South Africa which has remained a shameful shadow of itself with its recent very virulent xenophobic tendencies. I have intended to quote Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe discourse in length because he gives it all and nobody has define it better than he does the initiation of Pan-Africanism:

“When we speak of Pan-Africanism, what do we exactly mean? To envisage its future, we must appreciate its meaning. To some people, Pan-Africanism denotes the search for an African personality. To others, it implies negritude. Whilst to many it connotes a situation which finds the whole continent of Africa free from the shackles of foreign domination with its leaders free to plan for the orderly progress and welfare of its inhabitants. In order not to be misleading, we must also explain what we mean by the term ‘African’. Is he a member of the black race or is he a hybrid of the black and white races inhabiting Africa? It is necessary to say, too, whether an inhabitant of Africa, irrespective of his race and language, qualifies to become an African within the context of the use of this terminology. I would prefer to be very broad in my use of the words ‘Africa’ and ‘African’. For reasons which will emerge by the time I have finished analysing the problems of Pan-Africanism, it should be obvious that unless we accept a broad definition of terms, there can be no worthy future for Africanism. That being the case, I would like to speak of the peoples of Africa in general terms to include all the races inhabiting that continent and embracing all the linguistic and cultural groups who are domiciled therein. In other words, I am using the term strictly in its political context so that whatever solutions are offered by me would, in the final analysis, be political.

This approach simplifies my problem because it would enable me to formulate policies which can be implemented, bearing in mind the empirical history of human beings in other continents of the earth. It would be useless to define 'Pan-Africanism' exclusively in racial or linguistic terms, since the obvious solution would be parochial. And chauvinism, by whatever name it is identified, has always been a disintegrating factor in human society at all known times of human history. It is true that the roots of Pan-Africanism are, to a large extent, racial, but the evolution of the idea itself took different forms in the last four centuries so that today Africanism cannot be restricted to racial factors. What are these roots? Mainly individual actions and group pressure. Take the individual prophets of Pan-Africanism and it will be found that in all cases they were ethnocentric in their ideas and concepts of Pan-Africanism. For example, Paul Cuffe of Boston was more concerned in the repatriation of freed black slaves to Africa. When Edward Wilmot Blyden of Danish West Indies preached the projection of the African personality he had at the back of his mind the black inhabitants of Africa. The same may be said of Casely Hayford of Ghana, Marcus Aurelius Garvey of Jamaica, Burghhardt Du Bois of America, Mojola Agbebi of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Javabu of South Africa, George Padmore of Trinidad, Nwafor Orizu of Nigeria, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Leopold Senghor of Senegal."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe will go down in history as one of the first and rare Africans who make it a duty to divest Pan-Africanism of any sort of racism or ethnocentric leanings, no matter the trauma and humiliations Africans had suffered as a race from other races beginning with the Semitic Arabs to the Europeans. His vision was that of picking up the Cacophonic Art pieces and transforming them into a more Humanistic Harmonious State of the Art forms ever created by Humanity. For success lies not in dividing Humanity but in bringing them together at all cost, our humiliations, deprivations and segregations notwithstanding. He reminded Africans that the Balkanization of Africa that was initiated by Europeans was later atoned for by creating more integrated regional cooperation. But that it was due to the selfish greed of Africans that at Independence, this Balkanisation became more effective, and so we cannot keep on blaming Europe for our own messing up of the continent and its peoples, when we are contributing daily to this problem of balkanisation and hyper racialisation and ethnicisation of the continent. Listening to the discourse of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe shows us where Africa has faltered and where Africa has to make very drastic readjustments before it is too late to move forward:

"But when we consider the role of organizations, as distinct from individuals, no rigid line of distinction on the basis of race appears to be drawn, generally speaking. The

Anti-Slavery Society and the American Colonization Society, for example, were actuated by humanitarian motives to plan for the emigration of freed black slaves from America and the Caribbean to Africa for permanent settlement. The International Conference on Africa which was held in Berlin in 1885 partitioned that continent without taking into consideration racial, cultural or linguistic factors. The United Native African Church in Nigeria revolted against ecclesiastical control of African churches from outside Africa, but it did not preclude non-Africans from joining its communion and fellowship. The United Negro Improvement Association was ethnocentric in the sense that it preached the doctrine of 'Africa for the Africans' on the basis of race. The National Congress of British West Africa sought for political reforms in the former British territories in West Africa without attaching much importance to race or language or culture. The history of the continent of Africa in ancient, medieval and modern times has followed a pattern which ignores the factor of race in its evolution. Whilst the white races of Assyria, Syria, Phoenicia and Israel developed their civilization, the brown races of Egypt and the black races of Ethiopia proceeded to develop their civilization contemporaneously. In medieval times, the Arab did not distinguish between the black or brown or white Hamitic, Semitic, Sudanic or Bantu-speaking converts of Islam. All that has come down to us shows that the civilizations which flourished in Africa at that time attached little attention, if any, to such an extraneous factor as race. When the so-called Barbary States flourished in Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli, race was a minor factor in their political evolution. The British West Africa Settlements were originally a sort of concert of territories consisting of Gambia, Leone, Gold Coast and later Lagos. In fact, all these count were governed by one Governor at various times from 1826, 1866, 1874 until 1886. French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa were each governed as a federation until 1958 when the French Community was organized and the right of each member to separate autonomous existence was recognized. Even the Union of South Africa (much as we hate it) is a federation of various racial, linguistic and cultural groups. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was a condominium which held two culturally-opposed groups together until independence was attained by Sudan in 1956. The East Africa High Commission was a quasi-federal instrument which bound Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar together, and efforts are being made not to dissolve it with the dawn of the independence of Tanganyika. The High Commission of the Protectorates of South Africa, the Central Air Federation, the Federation of Nigeria, the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union—these are efforts to weld together political entities comprising various races, languages and cultures."

What Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe is trying to let young Africans today of the post-colonial independent Africa is that Africans do not have to blame colonialism if Africans do not take seriously the problems of the very

Balkanisation of the continent they have created after independence. The inter-ethnic violence and conflicts that are going on in Africa today are caused by the ethnic hegemony created by post independent Africans who have confiscated the state and transformed it into their private enterprises for themselves and families and not for the service of the society and the state. Africans of today should make earnest efforts to integrate the various peoples and cultures of Africa irrespective of their differences. The fact is that Africans have to see cultural and ethnic differences as a plus and a must which can never be dissolved into one monolithic system. And Africa's success depends on how much it would be able to manage these differences without hurting each other but rather in a manner that will complement each other. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe pointed out some positive results in managing cultural and ethnic differences for the wellbeing of African Unity. This is what he has to say:

“In other words, in spite of racial, linguistic and cultural differences, conscious efforts have been made at all known times of African history to form a political union either on a regional or continental basis. From the evidence at our disposal, it would appear that whilst European nations may be rightly accused of Balkanising Africa in the nineteenth century, yet they atoned for it by federating many African territories, which are now being Balkanised by African nationalists on the attainment of the independence of their countries. British West Africa, French West Africa, and French Equatorial Africa are examples of Balkanisation by African nationalists, and the Central African Federation is an example of Balkanisation in process brought about by the racial segregation and discrimination practiced by a small minority of European settlers against the African majority, who are owners of their countries.

Awolowo's entrepreneurial skills, ambition and quest for learning, motivated him to become a self-made man, working at odd jobs to pay for his tuition and raised himself to the pedestals of Nigeria to become one of the most versatile intellectual and learned figures in Nigeria at his time. Even though he was a gifted businessman, Awolowo thirst for knowledge was without bounds, as he did everything to continue his formal education by completing in 1944 a University of London correspondence course for a Bachelor of Commerce degree and later on entered the Law School from 1944 to 1946 when he was called to the Bar. Gale Encyclopedia of Bibliography: <http://www.answers.com/library/Biographies-cid-2277067> furnishes my readers with a lot of details about Obafemi Awolowo's life and endeavours confirming that:

“Often he worked at odd jobs to raise money for tuition fees, and his entrepreneurial spirit continued to express itself in the various careers which he subsequently sampled: journalist, teacher, clerk, moneylender, taxi driver, produce broker. His organizational and political inclinations became evident as he moved to high-level positions in the Nigerian Motor Transport Union, the Nigerian Produce Traders’ Association, the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, and the Nigerian Youth Movement, of which he became Western Provincial secretary. Despite his interest in business ventures, Awolowo wanted to continue his formal education. In 1944 he completed a University of London correspondence course for the bachelor of commerce degree. His greatest ambition, however, was to study law, which he undertook in London from 1944 to 1946, when he was called to the bar. Returning to Nigeria in 1947, he developed a thriving practice as a barrister in Ibadan.”



Photos 145 (a), (b) & (c); Obafemi Awolowo: March 6, 1909, Ikenne, Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria died May 9, 1987,

It was during his sojourn in London that he founded (Columbia Encyclopedia, 2012) the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a pan-Yoruba cultural society, which set the stage for the formation of the Action Group, a liberal and nationalist political party.”

In 1949 he teamed with other educated Western Nigerians, especially Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, who had just returned from successfully studying Law in England, to form the Action Group (AG) which became a leading party in Western Nigeria and in Nigeria. Actually, Akintola was to become the deputy leader of Action Group, second to Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Actually, Chief Akintola broke away from Action Group because of its policy of Reformed Socialism Democracy Of Fabianism and opted for stringent rigorous capitalistic democracy bordering on Feudalism practised in the Northern Nigeria. That is why he formed the Party named the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) which formed the alliance with the Northern People’s Congress (NPC) the party that then controlled the federal government under Tafawa Balewa. It was this alliance that led to his

assassination along with members of the members of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the coup d'état of January 1966.



Photos 145: (d), (e) & (f): Samuel Ládokè Akíntólá: July 6, 1910 – January 15, 1966

Although Chief Akintola was considered by some of the Yorubas as a traitor of the Yoruba people, it must be accepted that he was a refined politician, an accomplished orator and a above all a Nationalist.

Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola's alliance with the Northern Nigerian Party could also be interpreted as a means for effecting cohesive national unity, bearing in mind that he tried to bind the North and the South which was already rescinded into two factions of the Northern and the Southern Nigeria. Bearing in mind that Nigeria had always threatened to split between the Northern mainly Muslim States and the Southern mainly Christian States, Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola's alliance with the Northern States was the beginning of some national alliance between the North and the South which has borne fruit today as the only alternative for National Unity within a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural setting...



If one takes into consideration the results of the of the last elections today of the All Progressives Congress (APC), where Buhari has been heavily voted by factions from the southern parts of Nigeria, one would say that it is confirming the Policy and Ideology of One Nation that Chief Akintola was trying to build between the Northern and the Southern States and Peoples of Nigeria.

One could also say that his fight for the pre-eminence of the Yorubas, as opposed to the Igbos, was a natural political tactics, which is normal in all political allegiances. One cannot fight for the pre-eminence of his people while supporting that of another people. Nigerian and all politicians would bear me that, especially in Africa, and in Nigeria, that politics is still determined by “Ethnic” participation in the power structures, and the distribution of wealth and services and offices according to regional or ethnic balances.

There can be no denial of Chief Samuwl Ladoke Akintola’s legacy to Nigerians in what is happening today considering the elections of Buhari a Northerner by the Southern peoples who previously considered the Northerners as citizens of another Nigeria. The confirmation of Bloomberg Company says it all (<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-03-31/buhari-wins-nigerian-presidency-in-first-power-shift-since-1999>) when it reiterates that:

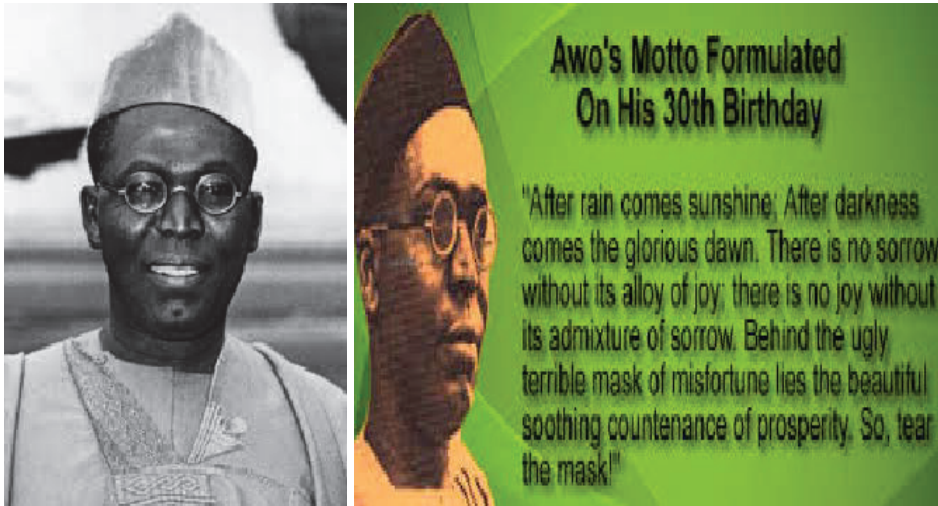
“Nigeria’s incoming President Muhammadu Buhari said the nation has voted for change in an election that marks the first peaceful shift in power since the end of colonial rule in 1960...” “You voted for change and now change has come,” Buhari, 72, said in his first speech on Wednesday since winning the March 28-29 presidential election with 52.4 percent of the votes cast. He defeated incumbent Goodluck Jonathan, who received 43.7 percent support. The election in Africa’s biggest economy and largest oil producer was declared relatively free and peaceful by domestic and international observers. Jonathan conceded defeat hours before the official results were announced by the electoral commission, reducing the threat of post-election violence that’s marred votes in the past. “The good people of Nigeria answered the call of history,” Buhari said. “When the account of this fine moment is written, it will be said that it was the people themselves who led this nation to democracy.”...

Obafemi’s journalistic skills also made him to become an ardent writer, motivating him to publish many books on matters of politics and history of Nigeria as well as his autobiography when he was imprisoned during the early “Independence Years,” before the military coup d’état in Nigeria in 1966.

His party the Action Group became very prominent and he represented the Western Region in all the constitutional conferences intended to advance Nigeria on the path to independence. This is how he became (Columbia Encyclopedia, 2012) “the first Leader of Government Business and Minister of Local Government and Finance and first Premier of the Western Region under Nigeria’s

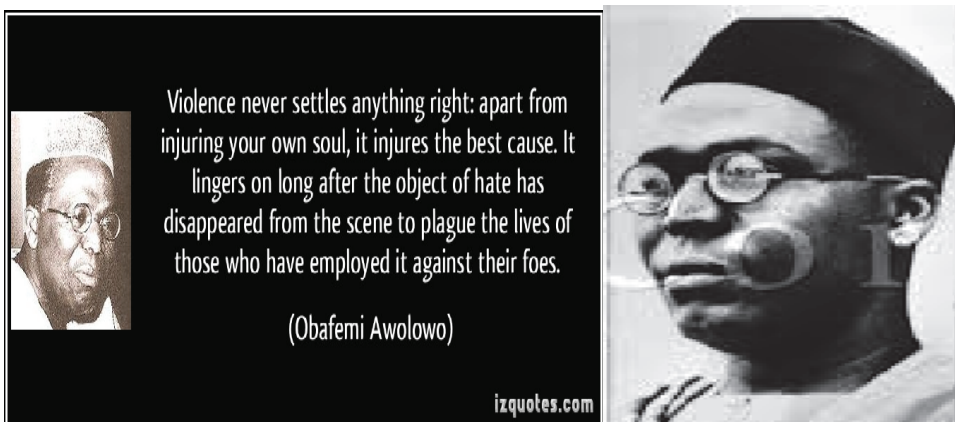
parliamentary system, from 1952 to 1959, and was the official Leader of the Opposition in the federal parliament to the Balewa government from 1959 to 1963.”

It was from all this prowess and prolific manifestation of his highly groomed leadership qualities that Awolowo became the first person (Columbia Encyclopedia, 2012) “in the modern era to be referred to as “**Yoruba: Asiwaju Omo Oodua**,” “Leader of the Yorubas,” a title which has come over time to be conventionally ascribed to his direct successors as the recognised political leader of the elders and young members of the Yoruba clans of Nigeria.”



Photos 145 (g) & (h): Awolowo The Nationalist And Pan Africanist Culturalist

Awolowo is remembered for his social welfare policies and nationalism also known as Awoism, which he bequeathed to his people the Yorubas and to Nigerians and the rest of Africa and the world. He advocated for Free Primary Education and Free Health Scheme for all, which he enforced in his region during his tenure of office as Premier of the Western region; as well as militating for Federalism because, as he confirmed, Nigeria was a hotchpotch of diverse ethnic-nations with very diverse cultures and Ideologies put together by the British colonial system. Awolowo was not only a nationalist but also an ardent Pan Africanist who believed that Federalism was the only way out to bring the African Ethnic-Nations together under one kind of Federal Government of Unity.



Photos 145 (i) & (j): Awolowo The Educationaist And Advocate For Social Justice And Sustainable Development Through Education

Awolowo left behind a great legacy for Nigeria and Africa to admire and undertake as a role-model for Africa's development, as presented by Columbia Encyclopedia:

"He was an active journalist and trade unionist as a young man, editing The Nigerian Worker amongst other publications while also organizing the Nigerian Produce Traders Association and serving as secretary of the Nigerian Motor Transport Union...Awolowo pioneered free health care till the age of 18 in Nigeria in the Western Region and also free and mandatory primary education. Although, Awolowo failed to win the 1979 and 1983 presidential elections of the Second Republic, he polled the second highest number of votes and his policies of free education and health were carried out throughout all the states controlled by his party, the Unity Party of Nigeria... Awolowo is remembered for his remarkable integrity, ardent nationalism, principled and virile opposition and dogged federalistic convictions. His party was the first to move the motion for Nigeria's independence in the federal parliament and he obtained internal self-government for the Western Region in 1957. He is credited with coining the name 'naira' for the Nigerian standard monetary unit and helped to finance the Civil War and preserve the federation without borrowing. He built the Liberty Stadium in Ibadan, the first of its kind in Africa; established the WNTV, the first television station in Africa; erected the first skyscraper in tropical Africa: the Cocoa House (still the tallest in Ibadan) and ran a widely-respected civil service in the Western Region. Awolowo was reputedly admired by Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, and some of his disciples in the South-West have continued to invoke his name and the policies of his party, the Action Group, during campaigns, while his welfarist policies have influenced politicians in most of the other geopolitical zones of the nation. He was a Senior Advocate of Nigeria and Chancellor of the University of Ife (his brainchild) and Ahmadu Bello University. He held many chieftaincy titles, including the Losi of

*Ikenne, Lisa of Ijeun, Asiwaju of Remo, Odofin of Owo, Ajagunla of Ado-Ekiti, Apesin of Osogbo, Odole of Ife and Obong Ikpa Isong of Ibibioland and was also conferred with the highest national honour of Grand Commander of the Federal Republic. Many institutions in Nigeria honoured him and some regional and national institutions are named after him, including Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile-Ife, Osun State (formerly University of Ife) Obafemi Awolowo Stadium (formerly the Liberty Stadium) and the Obafemi Awolowo Institute of Government and Public Policy in Lekki, Lagos State. His portrait is on the ₦100 naira note. He was also the author of several publications on the political structure and future prospects of Nigeria, the most prominent of which are *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, *Thoughts on the Nigerian Constitution*, and *Strategies and Tactics of the People's Republic of Nigeria*. However, his most important bequests (styled *Awoism*) are his exemplary integrity, his welfarism, his contributions to hastening the process of decolonization and his consistent and reasoned advocacy of federalism-based on ethno-linguistic self-determination and uniting politically strong states-as the best basis for Nigerian unity. Awolowo died peacefully at his Ikenne home, the Efunyela Hall (so named after his mother), on May 9, 1987, at 78, amid tributes across political and ethno-religious divides.”*

Another great Pan Africanist from Africa was Duse Mohamed Ali born in Egypt in 1866, and who had the privilege to be sent by his parents to study in London in 1876 where he rubbed shoulders with Pan Africans who honed his Pan Africanist idea which was already mature from the experience with the colonial injustices and human rights abuses of the rights of the African people by the colonial government.



Photo 146 (a) & (b): Duse Mohamed Ali - 1866–1946; Duse Mohamed And Herbert Macaulay In Lagos, Nigeria

It is said that in 1911, Duse Mohamed Ali was forced to reply to the public speech which President Theodore Roosevelt's had delivered at Guildhall, London, on 30th May 1910, (Alistair Body-Evans, 2012) in support of the British colonial role in Egypt, where Roosevelt urged Britain should, "... use *'VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE'* against the fanatical Egyptians and their farcical attempts to self-government." Duse Mohamed Ali responded in a book titled: "Land of the Pharaohs" which was published in London and New York. It was widely acclaimed by all Pan Africanists and lovers and sympathisers of Africa, especially the African Diaspora, who praised his stalwart stand against British imperialism and the maltreatment of Africans in the United States of America. This protest book put Duse Mohamed Ali in the lime light of the Pan Africanists and colonial world. He was invited to attend the Universal Races Congress of 1911 hosted by the University of London which was attended by a small number of African Diaspora. Ali was able to touch base with W.E.B. Du Bois from the United States of America and John Eldred Taylor from Sierra Leone. He was able to launch with Taylor in 1912 the "African Times and Orient Review" - AT&OR and later on incorporated JE Casely Hayford as financial and ideological partner. In the inaugural issue of the AT&OR Ali emphasised on the fact that the African Times and Oriental Review would be:

"...a Pan-Oriental, Pan African journal at the seat of the British Empire which would lay the aims, desires and intentions of the Black, Brown, and Yellow Races -- within and without the Empire -- at the throne of Caesar" and that it would present "the truth about the African and Oriental condition that is rarely stated with precision and accuracy in the columns of the European press."

This paper which became the forum for Pan African activists and intellectuals advocated Pan Africanism and Pan Asian nationalism. Ali greatly influenced Marcus Garvey who worked for the paper between 1912 and 1913. During the First World War the paper experienced some hiatus but was later relaunched as the African Times and Orient Review - AT&OR in October 1918, and continued its publication till 1920.

The AT&OR became so militant in a manner that the British government which could not withstand its criticisms on imperialism, had the paper banned in Africa and India, and Ali branded as a persona non grata as well as a "notorious disseminator of sedition." Ali was also denied safe conduct to visit West Africa. In 1920 he was finally granted a visa to travel abroad. In July of that year he departed from Britain never to return. For several months he passed the time at the Gold Coast (Ghana), then Lagos and Ibadan.

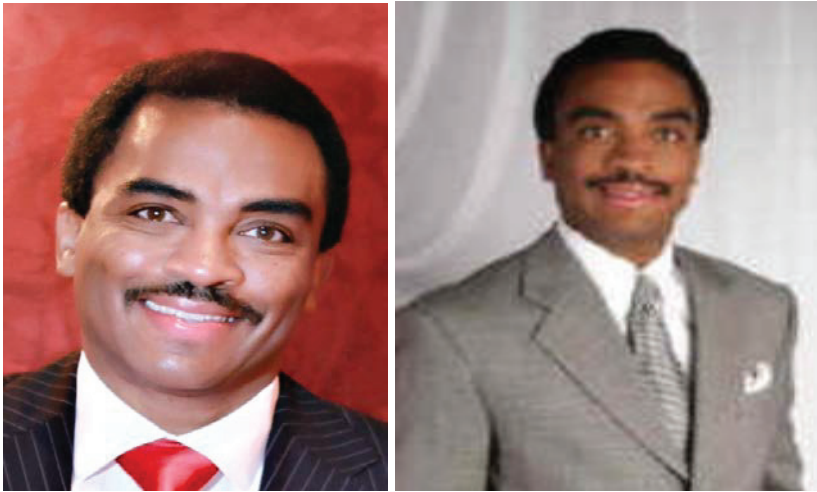
Dusé Mohamed Ali became the Director of the Inter-Colonial Corporation by the end of 1920 and travelled on its behalf to New York, where he did business and gave lectures in Black institutions. Once in New York he again met with Marcus Garvey and mended their strained relations. Ali was able to contribute interesting articles in Marcus Garvey's "Negro World" journal handling African issues and Pan Africanism. He was made to head the Department of African Affairs, and also worked for the Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association – UNIA. Through this rebonding Marcus Garvey was able to have access to Duse Mohamed Ali's Pan Islamic connections and subscription list for the AT&OR.

In 1926 Dusé Mohamed Ali inaugurated the Universal Islamic Society in Detroit, Michigan. This laid the foundations for the creation of the Nation of Islam in 1930 by Wallace D. Fard Muhammad. Among some of Ali's exploits for Pan Africanism and Pan Islamism was his project to raise funds to establish an African American Cocoa farming business, when he returned in 1931 to West Africa as an agent for a New York cocoa merchant. Dusé Mohamed Ali started working as a journalist on the "Nigerian Daily Times," and later in 1932, he became the Editor in Chief of the "Nigerian Daily Telegraph". He founded, managed and edited in 1933, The "Comet" which soon became the largest weekly, selling around 4,000 issues per week.

Before his death in Lagos on 26th February 1946, Dusé Mohamed Ali had become a fire brand in advocacy and the spread of Pan Africanism in Nigeria, not only in the daily "Comet" but also in his historical and social novels which described his experiences in the US titled *"Ere Roosevelt Came"* along with his autobiography which traced his experiences in Africa and Nigeria and the history of Pan Africanism titled *"Leaves from Active Life in the Commet."*

John Eldred Taylor, who was the son of a prominent Sierra Leonean colonial minister of the upper class Crio family who also traced descentance from a Nigerian royal Ibo-Yoruba dynasty. After completing his legal and humanities studies at the University of Furah Bay, he sailed to London in 1911, where he started his Pan Africanist activist life. He is accredited to be one of the cofounder with Duse Mohamed Ali (J. E. Taylor, 1920) of the African Times and Orient Review.

As a great admirer of Marcus Garvey, he undertook to sensitise his Sierra Leonean country folks about the spirit of Pan Africanism and the fight against colonialism and imperialism. He used to contribute anonymously to the Sierra Leone Weekly News on Marcus Garvey's ideology for political liberation backed up by economic entrepreneurship.



Photos 147 (a) & (b): John Eldred Taylor – 1888 – 1924

This excerpt from his *Reflections, Observations and Criticism*, of Marcus Garvey's ideology and strategy is very pertinent as he goes on to elaborate:

“The editorial of the 17th inst., ought to be carefully read and seriously pondered over by every true member of the native section of this community. The facts revealed therein, in the matter of native “incompetency and weakness,” along with those indicated in the account given in the same issue, of the regrettable failure of a scheme for the amalgamation of two African Societies^[2] in the heart of the British Empire, ought to send a sensation of bewilderment and dismay to the pride and aspiration of any self-respecting people, who, if they must take their God-assigned position in the forced marches of progress and advancement, [which] the leading nations of the world (including the Negro of America under the vigorous and ideal leadership of Marcus Garvey—a modern Joshua only of about 33 Summers[]) are just now engaged in[,] should, without any further delay, put away childish things, think, decide, and set dead to action.^[2] After the fact has been admitted in all fairness that the Sierra Leone Negro from the beginning has been seriously handicapped in the nature of the educational “gifts” he received from the philanthropy and humaneness of the British Nation, in that he has not been able hitherto to make any outstanding achievement at his own expense, he must be rudely awakened and compelled to borrow a leaf out of the pages of illumination afforded him in the scheme of co[o]peration and go-a-headedness so very successfully launched out by his indomitable and resourceful compatriot, the Hon. Marcus Garvey, relative to the accomplishment of the project of launching, on the sea of commerce, a regular run of the Black Star line of steamers. Those who have closely followed the pages of the Negro World, would bear testimony to the fact that coolness, confidence, and co-operation have been the dominating principles that have influenced the soul of the originators of such a praise-worthy endeavour to the goal of success they have already attained. Everyone who

caught the flame of inspiration which flowed so profusely out of the heart on fire of that now world-famed Negro leader, has had to put in his or her, 5[.] 10, 20, 50, 100, or 200 dollars, and so become a "lively" entity in the effectuations of the great scheme. It is by this way poor people, however handicapped, can become rich and great, and it is in this direction the path is opened for the Sierra Leone Negro of the present day, to lead out into the channel of progressive action and compel his detractors to stand at bay."

We realise that this aggressive stand against colonialism and imperialism was considered too brash for the liking of the colonial masters, especially Britain, even though they were supported by the British Labour party and Comintern lobby. John Eldred Taylor maintained anonymity during all these correspondences to the Sierra Leone Weekly News where his articles appeared regularly under his initials "J.T.E." when the author of those articles were not yet identified. In the 6 March issue of the Sierra Leone Weekly News, "J.T.E." wrote that *"Africa for the African – is surely an ideal that ought to inspire the mind of every true Negro."* This caption raised a lot of eye brows in the colonialist circles, as he became targeted.

John Eldred Taylor helped initiate the founding of one of the organizations for Black militancy and development that were created in 1918 in London by the Black Diaspora. These organizations were the Society of Peoples of African Origin – SPAO, organized and heads by John Eldred Taylor, a Sierra Leonean businessman and editor of the London-based "African Telegraph"; and the African Progress Union – APU, founded and run by Robert Broadhurst, who became secretary. Because of his high activism he was invited to participate in the 1919 and 1921 Pan African Congresses as the representative for Society of People of African Origin – SPAO. Robert Broadhurst was also invited as the representative of the African Progress Union - APU. He joined forces with F. E. M. Hercules to become key agitator in the Society of Peoples of African Origin – SPAO and founded the organisation's news organ, the African Telegraph. After the race riots which swept over Great Britain in the cities of London, Liverpool and Cardiff, the two organizations decided to unite and create the Society of African Peoples.

The African Telegraph reported details on the Cardiff riots and the pogroms which the Black people were subjected to by the police and gave it the international publicity which the British colonial government did not appreciate. The African Telegraph[h criticized Great Britain for colonizing and exploiting Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, while reducing their citizens to the status of indentured slavery in their own country and in Great Britain where they had to banter for British Cheap labour and poor salaries, which were at the basis of the riots. The British workers complained that their jobs were

being taken by cheap labour hike of Black African, Arabs, South East Asians and Chinese from the colonies. The Open University (Kings College London, 2012) reporting on the 1919 riots of Great Britain, elaborates on these highlights:

“In the wake of the First World War and demobilization, the surplus of labour led to dissatisfaction among Britain’s workers, in particular seamen. This was arguably the key factor that led to the outbreak of rioting between white and minority workers in Britain’s major seaports, from January to August 1919. Along with African, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and Arab sailors, South Asians were targeted because of the highly competitive nature of the job market and the perception that these minorities were ‘stealing’ the jobs that should belong to white indigenous British workers. The housing shortage due to a lack of materials and labour during the war exacerbated the situation. The issue of ‘aliens’ taking jobs and houses from white workers was raised in the House of Commons. Further, as Indian seamen were hired at a considerably lower rate than their white counterparts and had to tolerate much poor working and living conditions, they were blamed by unions for undercutting the wages of white workers. Of course, racism, and specifically the fear of miscegenation, also motivated the hostility towards these settlers... This extract illuminates the fear of black male sexuality and particularly miscegenation on the part of normative British culture in this period, and the way in which this fear contributed to the hostility and violence experienced by minority workers. While the focus here is on an attack on an Arab restaurant, similar concerns shaped the public response to Indian as well as African men.”

John Eldred Taylor did not only defend the rights of Black people in Europe but also the colonized people in the colonies who were subjected to the atrocities of colonialism and imperialism of the Whiteman. Under his guidance therefore, the African Telegraph covered and reported on the floggings that was common in Northern Nigeria. Even though his paper was sued for libel under the pretext that the coverage did not respect the Britain’s rules of evidence, he kept on pressing his advocacy on behalf of the repressed colonized people, giving much international publicity to the plight of the colonized people. And when it turned out that the colonial officials influenced the case of libel levied against him, the African Telegraph made its defence with more detailed graphic coverage and convincing images about the floggings which were highly publicized. The abuses of the British officials were brought to light and the jury was led to discontinue the punishment. This was great victory for John Eldred Taylor who, according to the assessment of the Pan-Africanist militant, (Duffield, 1971, in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 1920), the “...winning in court of public opinion was most important to Taylor because it laid the

potential to change the abusive nature of colonial policy. Thus Taylor helped African activists facilitate opposition, and his efforts won him accolades from his contemporaries...

However, even though the judgment against the newspaper took its toll on the financial resources of the SPAO, Taylor had finally had attained his objectives of advocacy to uphold the human rights of colonized and repressed Africans who were suffering from the yoke of imperialism.

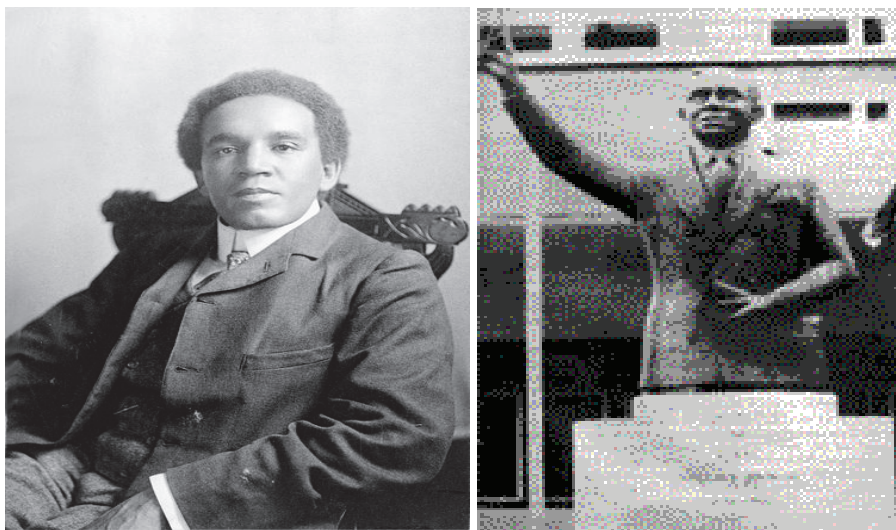
By the time Taylor finally immigrated to Nigeria in 1920, the SPAO had disbanded because of the persecution and the sapping of all funds in litigation. When he arrived Nigeria, he continued his activism affiliating with the African Cooperative Association while undertaking many alternative economic ventures. Before his death at the very young age of 36, John Eldred Taylor had achieved more than a hundred years life time would have accorded him. His untimely and very young death is very suspicious, bearing in mind that he had become an unbearable thorn in the flesh of the British colonial officials and the colonial government.

Before his death on December 7, 1924, he had touched many souls and minds and had left an indelible legacy of trust and determination that kept the flag and objectives of Pan Africanism flying tall high up there in the sky of time.

Another Sierra Leonean Pan African activist and rare pearl was Isaac Wallace Johnson who came into the lime light through hard work and entrepreneurship which began while still in secondary school which he had to quit to support his family. Born of Creole parentage in Wilberforce in Sierra Leone he started working in various commercial enterprises until 1913 when he became a clerk in the colonial government. It was here that his talents as public speaker and organizer propelled him to a leadership position at the Customs Department where he organized the first trade union of Sierra Leone. He successfully organized the first labour strike in 1914 and was fired. Recruited later into the British army at the breaking of the First World War in 1914 as a clerk in the Carrier Corps he left for the British war front in Europe-France. When he returned in 1920 he worked for the Freetown City Council but reigned later in 1926 and joined the United States merchant ship. This gave him the opportunity to start publishing "The Seafarer," a journal for marine labour news. He later joined the Nigerian "Lagos Daily Times".

His activism for colonial workers' rights gained him the admiration of his followers and budding Pan Africanists. This is how he gained his place to participate in 1930, at the International Conference of Negro Workers – ICNW in Hamburg, Germany, which was actually what had become the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers –ITUCNW, heads and organized by George Padmore under the auspices of Comintern and the

Soviet Union. He then organized (Gale Encyclopaedia of Biography, 2006) the “African Workers Union” in Nigeria in 1931. He was among other Black nationalists, invited in 1931 to the Soviet Union to attend the International Labour Defence Congress. Under the pseudonym, W. Daniels, he enrolled in the People’s University of Moscow. On graduation he became the associate editor of the Paris Comintern publication “Negro Worker” where he contributed several articles under several pseudonyms.



Photos 148 (a) & (b): Isaac Wallace Johnson aka Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson – 1895-1965

When Wallace Johnson moved the Gold Coast to assist his friend Nnamdi Azikiwe and write in his paper, the “African Morning Post,” he succeeded in organising the workers in the mining areas. But he was arrested by the British colonial government who branded him an agitator and trouble shooter, along with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, for writing and publishing what was termed “seditious editorial” and convicted. Even though he lost the appeal to Great Britain’s Privy Council and lost, he did not give up.

Wallace Johnson’s activism attracted a lot of attention in England and Wales (Gale Encyclopaedia of Biography, 2006) from leading British left-wing intellectuals and politicians, who rallied to his cause. He also intensified his contact with George Padmore whom he had met at Hamburg in 1930, at the International Conference of Negro Workers – ICNW; with Jomo Kenyatta, CLR James, Ras Makonnen, and the other Black intellectuals affiliated with the newly established International African Service Bureau- IASB. This political activist networking gained him the position of co-editor with George Padmore of the journal “Africa and the World” as well as the “African Sentinel”.

Wallace Johnson's return to Freetown in 1938 raised a stir because the Customs seized 2,000 copies of the "African Sentinel" which he was bringing to Sierra Leone. This seizure worked in his publicity advantage, because it drew a lot of crowds who rallied round him to listen to his series of public lectures on Pan Africanism and liberation of Africa and the raising of the standards of workers. According to the Gale Encyclopaedia of Biography, (2006):

"His oratory was brilliant, his targets well chosen, the population ready for leadership. Less than three weeks after his arrival, bolstered by a mass following, Wallace-Johnson inaugurated the West African Youth League, the first effective, large-scale political movement in Sierra Leone's history. Supported by wage earners and the unemployed, the Youth League swept two elections in a row: the Freetown Municipal Council elections of 1938 and the Legislative Council elections of 1939. These successes, plus Wallace-Johnson's charismatic effect on the masses, his unrelenting exposure of labour exploitation, and his uncanny ability to discredit the colonial government, further angered British officials. Fearing that Wallace-Johnson would foment disloyalty among African soldiers and policemen, the government enacted a series of ordinances in the summer of 1939 which severely limited his and other Sierra Leoneans' liberties. At the start of World War II he was interned as an "undesirable."

When Wallace Johnson was released in late 1944, he resumed his activism immediately and became the influential spokesman at several international conferences especially at the 1945 Pan African Manchester Conference to which he was invited by George Padmore. But Wallace Johnson was not able to make a political come-back because the Second World War took its toll on his following. The Youth League which he had founded, never again gained momentum.

Wallace Johnson made this worse by opposing the planned reconstitution of the Legislative Council whose objective was to give majority representation to the protectorate, as was the trend in all British colonies and protectorates after the Second World War. This made him to lose considerable support which was vital for boosting his political trust among the masses.

And even though he was still very respected and admired for his wits as a brilliant political critic, his unpopular stand on this issue, according to Gale Encyclopaedia of Biography, (2006): "...denied him a major role in Sierra Leone's post-war independence movement."

Notwithstanding all the political disappointment to play a major role as one of the flag bearers of the independent government of Sierra Leone; he continued to play the role of the Comintern Pan Africanist and liberation

activist in his country and in nascent Africa. That is how, in all his commitment and endeavours, fate would crown him a Martyr of Pan Africanism, when he abruptly came to his journey's end on May 10, 1965, at the age of 70, in a "car crash in Ghana, while attending the Afro Asian Solidarity Conference" hosted by Kwame Nkrumah, another great Pan Africanist.

This great Ghanaian, born of a Gold Coast Fante father and a mother descendant of the Brew dynasty of pre-colonial European (British) merchants in Africa, who settled in the Gold Coast in 1745, became involved in Pan Africanism in his prime and continued till his death in 1930. After completing his legal studies at St. Peter's College Cambridge, where he graduated in economics and law and was called to the bar in November 1896, he returned to gold Coast and became very active in the Aborigines Rights Protection Society – ARPS.

His activism in the ARPS laid the solid foundations for his Pan African commitment that was to ensue in later years. Inaugurated in 1907, the ARSP was the first modern political organization in the Gold Coast, formed by the intelligentsia and traditional rulers to oppose the government land bills of 1911. Between 1916 and 1926 he became the nominated member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, where he remained a loyal but critical advocate of the indigenous people against the colonial government.

Casely Hayford used the press as the non-violent arm of protest and sensitization by publishing a series of pamphlets in which he elaborated on his principles and strategies of governance during the colonial period to respect the rights and the cultures of the people. He wrote on the "Gold Coast Native Institutions" in 1903, and laid forth the democratic workings of traditional political institutions. In "Ethiopia Unbound" he traced in a fictional manner the proper direction of the Black race. He tackled the colonial land seizures and illegal expropriation in "The Gold Coast Land Tenure and Forest Lands Bill of 1911 and "The Truth about the West African Land Question" where he defended the indigenous land rights and the indigenous people's rights to their ancestral heritage, against the threats of expropriation by the colonial government.

He had predicted many years before Kwame Nkrumah, the need for Africa to unite in his work "United West Africa," which was not much cherished by the colonial government. This book came out just at the time of the launching of the National Congress of British West Africa - NCBWA, at the Rogers (African) Club in Accra from 11 to 29 March 1920, and was hailed by *West Africa* (3 April 1920) magazine who described it as the "beginning of a new era".



Photos 149 (a) & (b): Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford - 1866–1930

Hayford's activism in Pan African movement started when he started following with great interest the campaigns for racial equality in the United States and in the Caribbean. He started corresponding eighth Pan African leading figured like Edward Blyden, Booker T. Washington, J.R. Ralph Casmir, W.E.B. DuBois, John E. Bruce and Marcus Garvey. Hayford followed very closely to proceedings of the Fist Universal Congress which was held in London in 1911 while his brother the Rev. Mark Hayford represented him in 1912 at Tuskegee Conference organized by Booker Taliaferro Washington.

Casely Hayford was very gifted with an intellectual dexterity which made him combine and apply the Pan Africanist theories propounded by Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington and WEB DuBois to develop his theory on Pan Africanism and African nationalism as he expressed in "Ethiopia Bound". This is how his growing sense of nationalism and racial solidarity spurred him to advocate a united West Africa as early as 1913. This advocacy bore fruit and culminated in the creation of the National Council of British West Africa – NCBWA in Accra in 1920, which was a common platform to discuss the African colonial policy of the British territories of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia and their move towards independence.

The idea behind the formation of an African regional organization as proposed by Casely Hayford was influenced by the theories of the Pan Africanist Edward Blyden and W.E.B. Du Bois. And it can rightly be said that the National Council of British West Africa – NCBWA was inspired, partly by the Pan African Congress of Paris the formation of the UNIA in New York after World War I, and partly by the great growing enthusiasm of West African

Pan Africanism through the relentless efforts Casely Hayford. This great critical and strict mind was able to coin the theory of democratic governance for Africa as affirmed by Ralph Uwechue (1991) who admits that: "*Casely Hayford's call to West Africans to "be Constitutional" and "establish Papers impartial" in order to "secure for West Africa a Government of the people, by the people and for the people!"...*" was very steadfast and focused.

During the first NCBWA meeting hosted in Accra in 1920 very progressive topics were discussed including education, African self-determination, commerce, banking and shipping. The conference was attended by 52 delegates from the British West African colonies of which 42 were from the Gold Coast, 6 from Nigeria, 3 from Sierra Leone and 1 from Gambia. The delegates were all from the cream of Western educated elites with credentials in Law, Medicine, Journalism, and Business. The opening address was given by Casely Hayford and Thomas Hutton-Mills a Gold Coast lawyer who raised the key note to the high expectations of the delegates. The key note speech delivered by Casely Hayford highlighted the admiration for the Black awakening in the United States of America, which was an inspiration for the Africans on the continent as we can deduce from this excerpt of his inaugural speech to the delegates of the NCBWA in Accra:

"Then again there is the question of Commercial Expansion. We in this country sometimes do not trouble ourselves to look out and think of the great things outside our world. There are thousands and thousands of our people right over in America, who were carried away from our country years and years back. We may not care to follow what they are doing, but sooner or later, we shall have to know. Over there our people are thinking, there young men are dreaming dreams and their maidens are seeing visions. They are suggesting to themselves that the time has come when they should have some place in their native land of Africa. I understand that a great Society has been formed there called the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and they have launched out a ship. Probably in course of time some of their ships may come our way. I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it will not be out of place for us to encourage them to come among us in order that they may try and make money as all others are doing. But the express reason why I bring this forward to-night is that they have no idea of our local circumstances and conditions. They have no idea of our laws and institutions, nor as to our rights of property, and they may seek to get into touch with us by some channels that are not the right ones. Therefore I appeal to you young gentlemen, leaders of thought in West Africa, particularly to you, the Delegates of this Conference, that you should so steer our men and so influence them in constitutional methods that they may know that although they went from this country, we who remained on this soil have known better and understand the relations that exist between the Government and the governed, so

that if they desire to come back and enjoy the milk and honey of their native land they may do so in a right and constitutional manner."

The NCBWA grew to become a very influential political caucus in British West Africa in the 1920s which through the efforts of Casely Hayford constantly met and touched base with the Black American counterparts like Marcus Garvey's UNIA and WEB Du Bois NAACP. It held its meetings in 1923 in Freetown, Sierra Leone; in Barthust, Gambia in 1925-1926; in Lagos, Nigeria in 1929-30. While the congressists adopted most of Marcus Garvey's revolutionary theory on self-governance, and his call for the assertive action of Black racial dignity and economic entrepreneurship for self-sufficiency, the *"...congress disagreed with UNIA's more revolutionary pronouncements and strongly opposed attempts by overseas Blacks to claim leadership in Africa."*

Casely Hayford was very quick to Raise a caveat on the theoretical approaches of African Americans like followers of Booker Taliaferro Washington, Marcus Garvey and WEB Du Bois and others to tread carefully in Africa, and consult and listen to Africans, who understood better colonial relations, and the fact that it was strictly necessary to adhere to constitutional methods, which in the backdrop was more of a non-violent constructive constitutional process as opposed to armed revolution.

Casely Hayford was aware that even though the American and the African experience of Slavery-Driven Liberal Capitalist Economy were the same and produced the same exclusion of people form African descent from enjoying the proceeds of the wealth they produced both at home and in the Diaspora, it was very necessary to think well and thoroughly on the means at the disposal of African people to seek for their liberation from colonization and deprivation of their people. The non-violence programme was found, according to Casely Hayford, to be the only long term sustainable alternative to armed struggle or the initial Toussaint L'Ouverture Armed Revolution-driven project which was stalled by the Colonial Powers.

But as we would see the British imperialist colonial government was not ready for soft talk and proved Casely Hayford wrong.

This soft policy of NCBWA African elites played into the laps of the British colonial government which took advantage in its favour and even suspected their legitimate intentions. And that is why in 1921, the British Government refused to receive an NCBWA delegation to London to support its non-violent demands. Governor Sir Hugh Clifford of Nigeria did not only make scathing attacks on the NCBWA congress; he even fomented the opposition of the traditional rulers who benefitted from the umbrella of

Indirect Rule, as well as played on the colonial tactics of divide and rule among the educated coastal elites who constituted the primary constituency.

At the death of Casely Hayford and Hutton-Mills, who were the sauces of financial support for the NCBWA, the organization experienced financial difficulties coupled with the power squabbles which finally reduced it to a shadow of itself.

When Oladipo Solanke left Fourah Bay College Sierra Leone, where he had earned his Bachelor's degree, and travelled to London and enrolled in London University to study from 1923 to 1928. He did not quite understand what racism and poverty meant till he was plunged in it and started to experience it. Even when he was called to teach Yoruba at the School of Oriental and African Studies – SOAS, at the University of London, before graduating as a barrister, he seemed not to have gotten hold of his feelings in this newly immersed environment where colour became more important than humanity and reason.

Oladipo Solanke's drive to organise and found in 1924, the "Nigerian Progress Union" of London was the beginning of his activism. When later in 1925, with the collaboration of Dr. Bankole Bright, he founded the West African Students' Union – WASU, in London, he was only expressing that leadership drive in a young African caught between two colonial wars that did not have a Marshall Plan for Africa's liberation from colonisation and poverty.



Photos 150 (a) & (b): Ladipo Solanke aka Oladipo Felix Solanke - c. 1886 - 2 September 1958

So WASU did not become only his lifelong commitment; but it also became the training ground for future African political leaders to hone their talents and give voice for African liberation and independence. In 1927 Oladipo Solanke published the United West Africa at the Bar of the Family of

Nations, and demanded for the recognition of equal political rights for Africans in Great Britain and in Africa. He then took upon himself as a practicing Barrister to advocate for the self-government rights of the colonies, and published many articles about traditional African Yoruba institutions and culture. One of the achievements of Solanke is that he, like W.E.B. Du Bois, believed in Education of Black people and worked hard in raising funds through WASU, for West African Students in London and Great Britain.

Solanke networked relentlessly hard to establish political contacts with anti-colonial forces in West Africa and provide a platform for useful links between the anti-colonial movements in West Africa and the anti-colonial movements in Great Britain. During the Second World War and after Solanke was able to lobby for a closer relationship between WASU and several leading members of Parliament, the Labour Party and the Fabian Bureau. The result was the establishment of an African Parliamentary Committee with the Labour Party Members of Parliament. This enabled WASU to act as more effective parliamentary pressure group.

We realise that even though political differences in the 1950s got hold of the WASU as a political pressure group, and forced Solanke to form the WASU Un-incorporated, which he ran till his transition on 2nd September 1958, Solanke, just like Casely Hayford, left a legacy of a constructive non-violent legalistic-driven Pan Africanism.

And in reading between the lines, it would seem Solanke, just like Casely Hayford, trusted much the British Friends of Africa.

But the question remains to know whether it would have been appropriate if Africa could have taken a more radical stand at the beginning of the Cold War to walk the tight rope of total and absolute liberation and independence, good governance and sustainable development?

Since British trained West Africans, and other British trained Africans were highly brain-fed elites of the British culture and ideology for governance and development; could they by adopting the British life styles and thinking, reinvent the wheel for Africa's sustainable governance and sustainable development?

Actually, the Pan-African movement was becoming increasingly a political organization that attracted younger people after the invasion of Ethiopia by fascist Italy in 1935.

Between the 1930 and the 1945 many young Africans were studying in American, British and French Universities where they came into contact with the writings and ideologies of radical Pan-Africanists like Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois and Aimé Césaire.

This period could be described as marking the zenith point of maturity as an ideological elitist strategic movement masterminded by cream of the best Black intellectuals who became the think tank of Pan Africanists from the African Diaspora and continental colonised Africans produced by the Victorian colonial machinery of Britishing the colonised subjects and citizens of the Victorian Empire.

This is where Pan Africanism, was redefined by C.L.R. James, as a humanitarian ideology which had shifted from a racial consciousness to a more structured ideology of humanism.

C.L.R. was able to demonstrate, from the armed revolution of Toussaint l'Ouverture, that Pan Africans was in essence the precursor of the Marxist Ideology; wherefore it marked its coherence with Marxism in its revolutionary violence; and its difference from Marxism in its humanism.

It was this humanism which made the highly British-bred intellectuals to orientate their quest to carve out a social space of humanitarian freedom within the British Victorian Metropolis which embraced all the races of the colonial Empire. And it goes to the credit of this Pan Humanitarian Philosophy proposed by George Padmore that Britain started modifying its racist policy and the introduction of racial accommodation in Great Britain's Public Service and Governance.

This is where Simon Gikandi's (2009) Pan-Africanism and Metropolitanism holds water but we must also make a critical caution, on the rowing boatman fisher's reasoning, to separate the fish from the crabs, when he states that:

"In the late 1930s and 1940s, so the story goes, a group of colonized black intellectuals, whom I have come to call the Afro-Victorians, used to meet regularly at a restaurant owned by Mrs. Amy Garvey on Oxford Street in London. The members of this group were distinguished by two dominant characteristics: their identity had been shaped by a culture of colonialism and colonial institutions, - especially Victorian institutions - and they were committed to the ideals of Pan Africanism, a politics driven by racial pride and belief that the future of black people on the African continent and its Diaspora was not inherently tied to the imperial project. The men and women who met in Mrs. Garvey's restaurant were working under the shadow of colonialism, its technology of domination and its policy, but their desires were informed by a fundamental belief that they were the vanguard of a movement toward a decolonized future. The great irony of this desire for Pan Africanism within colonialism, however, was the fact that the men and women who met to plot the future of Pan-Africanism were also the most westernized of colonial subjects. They were, as C.L.R. James, one of the most prominent members of this circle was to note in his memoir, 'Beyond a Boundary', the products of

a Victorian culture that, in the colonial sphere, had outlived the Queen and Empress. Indeed what the members of this group had in common, more than their mythical African origins and racial politics, was a shared colonial education and tutelage. The idea of a Pan-Africanist culture might have been born out of a belief that black people everywhere shared a common culture and destiny, but, at the bottom of things, what had brought this group to London in the first place, was their mastery of the ways of colonialism: especially what I have elsewhere called the Culture of Englishness (Maps of Englishness)."

The same observation can equally be made of what I can call the Culture of Frenchness or (Maps of Frenchness) of the cream of African Diaspora and continental African intellectuals who were found in Paris at that same period.

Actually when C.L.R. James described himself (Scott McLemee, 1996) later in his works as *"The British intellectual...was going to England,"* he does not see his intellectualism as limited just to England and his Englishness. He saw himself as the new product that had outlived the "Queen and the Empress" and transcended the boundaries created by parochial and selfish humans. He saw himself in this spiritual transcending order of parochialisms and deprivations of humans by humans. Actually he saw himself rather in the sense he himself later described his mind set and personality (Scott McLemee, 1996) which later sealed his tomb stone:

"Times would pass, old empires would fall and new ones take their place, the relations of countries and the relations of classes had to change, before I discovered that it is not the quality of goods and utility which matters, but movement; not where you are or what you have, but where you have come from, where you are going, and the rate at which you are getting there."

It is very interesting to note here how the minds of great men who seek the TRUTH which can only be found in the Divine realm can never falter. This is because the minds that were all created in the Image and Likeness of God cannot falter when they contemplate and resource from the eternal mind of the Creator of all beings. It was this constancy in the Divine which inspired Frantz Fanon (1952) who many decades later arrived at the same revelation and expression of this African Humanism which was the foundation of Pan Africanism when he declared in "Black Skin, White Masks" that:

"I have no wish to be the victim of the Fraud of a black world. My life should not be devoted to drawing up the balance sheet of Negro values. There is no white world, there is no white ethic, any more than there is a white

intelligence.

There are in every part of the world men who search. I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny. I should constantly remind myself that the real leap consists in introduction invention into existence. In the world through which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself.”

What is interesting about the Pan Africanism as explained by C.L.R. James finds its resonance in Frantz Fanon’s endless quest in his world travels to recreate himself. And it is this endless strife to recreate the self and the World Humanism that motivated other leading Pan Africanists at that period and today. It was the belief in this burning zeal to establish the African Humanism that made them and still makes them to affirm that Pan Africanism was not just based on the inherited Culture of Englishnesses or the Culture of Frenchnesses that were imposed by the Slave-Masters who also doubled as the Colonial-Masters of their deprivations and Human Rights abuses from the Slave-Driven Liberal Capitalist Economic wealth they created.

The Pan Africanists had transcended their Frenchnesses and Englishnesses to project a Pan African Humanism which also in turn transcended race and metropolitanisms. The outcome of this Renaissance “Beyond Borders” was the birth of a Pan Africanism that moved away from a racially-driven movement to a more inclusive Pan African Humanism which was more interested in the rate at which the world was attaining this all embracing African Humanism and Dignity of the Human Being.

It is also very coincidental that the author, in his reflexion and contemplation of this all-embracing Humanism in Pan Africanism, came out with the same theoretical framework as Frantz Fanon, to always go in this “endless quest in his world travels to recreate himself.”

And it is in this endless strife to recreate the self and the World Humanism that the author admonishes Africans today to forge a new vision and reasoning and a new way of valuing life in all its aesthetic and calisthenics as well as in all its cacophonic and cacosthenics.

And this new vision must always take cognizance with the firm hope and faith as Jean Jacques Rousseau stated that “*All humans NS all beings were created are good and holy and only society transforms them into good or bad*” just as Saint Augustine tells us that “*Nothing is good or evil except for the mind which perceives them so.*” It is in this light and vision that the author was inspired to compose this poem and song for the understanding and building of the new Humanism in the world titled:

Psychadelic Prayer

*Beneath the sun
Are stars, gems of crystal
Blue, green, orange red...
Like the rainbow shower
In the sky of light...
Each day is unique, fascinating
Like each flower-child, fish-adult.
Man-monkey, human-horse...
The donkey crows, the cock brays...
Forms of live music,
Sweet Harmonic and Cacophonous
Notes and Enthralling Drumming:
Rhythms of cosmic passion play...*

*Each day breaks open
A new womb detaching me
From the archaic placenta
Weaning me from mother-tradition...
From penis-brother-sister...
From uterine-kith-kin...
The sun no longer blinds
My Moony eyes, barely
Awakening, to see and choose
For myself, to suck from
The world's ample bosoms
The primordial milk of life
The semen of Nature...*

*Now I marvel at
God's powerful EJACULATION
From the Eternal FLAT
The All-Creating WORD
On life's Cybernetic WHEEL...
So I start to ponder
On Revelation and humans'
Quest for Freedom
Their assessment and logic
Of the Eternal Truth*

*And the Mystery of Life...
Then I put to question
All scientific theories
About Evolution and Mutation
Of Atheist materialism
That Nothing begets Something...
If all can be traced
Back to Primordial Matter
As behind FLATS
Are motivating architects
Then before the Primordial
Chaos stands the Eternal
Organising PRIME...
Now I see the winking stars
Gleaming the Ocean
Carpeting the abysmal sky
Of my imagination and prediction...
Our past histories of Colonisation
Of our mental and physical enslavement
Twins us old prisoners of our common destiny
As we tie a new truce of endearment
Our hearts beating the drum of our differences...*

*In spite of my knowledge
I feel in me an emptiness...
Without You
White or Black
I am Nothing!...
With my doubting
I am hungry
I am thirsty
To drink
Eat YOU
And live
In
YOU...
For
YOU!!!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Quito, Ecuador, 14th January 1987.

The Sixth Pan-African Congress of Manchester in 1945: The Era of Pan African Radicalism

Between the Wars, while the Great Depression was catching up with Western Europe and America, the Cominterns were taking hold of Pan-African leaders and those longing for liberation from colonialism and the imperialism of Europe and America. France and Britain became the breeding ground for Revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

A younger generation of Pan-African leaders was being hatched in France and Great Britain which had become the centre of learning and attraction of new ideas from the Russian Marxist-Leninist Communist Revolution complementing the Toussaint L'Ouverture initial armed Revolution .

France and Great Britain, unlike the United States of America, were more tolerant with radical and even Marxist Communist ideas and African activists after the Bolshevik Revolution when the Comintern was already making an impact on the minds of young African intellectuals. The reason was that there were very strong socialist and Marxist-Leninist Comintern lobbies and sympathizers in European countries more than in the United States which was very intolerant about Marxist Communism and was heavily cracking down on Communism with its ruthless McCarthyism.

The Fabian Society and the Labour Party in Great Britain, just as the French Socialist International Workers Union and the Communist Party were very good landing grounds for young African intellectuals engaged and aspiring anti-colonial activists. That is why many young aspiring activists from the colonies therefore saw Great Britain and France like havens for nurturing and expressing their anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideas.

Great Britain, due to her colonial enterprise, became the incubating ground, before and after the First and Second World Wars, for the rise and moulding of younger revolutionary intellectuals like George Padmore, Isaac Wallace Johnson from Trinidad and Ras Makonen from British Guyana, and Paul Robeson from the United States, Duse Mohamed Ali from Egypt, Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford and Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana who had moved from Lincoln University in the United States to London where he met and was militating for Pan-Africanism with C. L. R. James from Trinidad, Isaac Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone and Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya, Julius Nyerere from Tanganyika, (Tanzania), who had come to study in Great Britain. In

much later years strong brains like Walter Rodney from British Guyana would join their ranks.

France became the centre for the making and raising of young Pan African intellectual wolves and lions like Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Cheikh Anta Diop, Ladipo Solanke from Sierra Leone and much later Franz Fanon, and Mungo Beti. Paris also gave birth to much revolutionary Pan-Africanism and the birth of NEGRITUDE Philosophy, by Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor, and the research in the Cultural Unity of Africa and African peoples.

In his land marking book “Retour au Pays natal” Aimé Césaire undertook to build up the philosophy of the Cultural Identity of Black Africans in a colonial setting. He criticized the very racist hangover of Slavery during colonization which was nothing more than the continuation of Slavery-driven Liberal Capitalist Economy bas. Wherefore he qualified colonisation as a form of indentured slavery, which did not give Black people the emancipation and freedom of thinking and going about their own liberation and development programme.

That is why after the Second World War, the Manchester Pan-African Congress was highly attended by delegates from Africa and by Africans working and studying in Great Britain. The Manchester Pan-African Congress was co-chaired by William Edward Burghadt DuBois and George Padmore a radical Marxist-Leninist activist from Trinidad. Alistair Body-Evans (2012) gives us a rundown of the attendees in the following narrative:

“In London, in October 1945, Padmore and Nkrumah arranged for the fifth (and final) congress to be held in Manchester (they also formally created the Pan-African Federation the following year). Attended by 90 delegates, roughly a third from Africa, a third from the West Indies, and a third from British institutions and organizations. WEB Du Bois, at the grand age of 77, was the chair. The congress discussed plans for nationalist movements across the continent of Africa, demanded independence from colonial rule, and end to racial discrimination, and set the ground work for African unity. It was all but completely ignored by the international press.”

This Congress celebrated and recognized DuBois for his great contributions to Pan-Africanism and keeping the liberation cause of Africa and people of African descent alive through his writings and militancy for the African cause. It must be admitted that at this point DuBois had made a U-turn from his previous ideology and embraced the Marxist Russian Revolutionary theory, even though with reservations on the use of armed violence.

It would seem that the final proposition made by the Congress delegates for boycotting colonial economic institutions was the more comprehensive and efficient idea of DuBois to trade off armed violence.

Gerald Hynes shows how even though DuBois held firm to his Patriotism as a loyal US citizen, he was never recognized by the United States, even though he was always invited to participate in important world debates that traced the road map of the developing world.

It seems obvious that DuBois was used more as a watch dog of his people by the powers that be because of his very high and critical intelligence. He was thus not invited to world conferences to represent the United States because he was loved, but because he was such a notorious personality they could not afford to disregard. This hypothesis is brought out by Gerald Hynes (2011) who admits that:

"In 1945 he served as an associate consultant to the American delegation at the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. He charged the world organization with planning to be dominated by imperialist nations and not intending to intervene on the behalf of colonized countries. He announced that the fifth Pan-African Congress would convene to determine what pressure could be applied to the world powers...The congress elected DuBois International President and cast him a "Father of Pan-Africanism." Thus, "W.E.B. DuBois entered into his last phase as a protest propagandist, committed beyond a single social group to a world conception of proletarian liberation."...Always antagonizing and making guilty groups feel extremely uncomfortable, he wrote in 1949: "We want to rule Russia and cannot rule Alabama." As member of the left-wing American Labor Party he wrote: "Drunk with power, we (the U.S.) are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery, which once ruined us, to a third world war, which will ruin the world." ...As the chairman of the Peace Information Center, he demanded the outlawing of atomic weapons. The Secretary of State denounced it as Soviet propaganda. Jumping at the chance to quiet "that old man," the U.S. Department of Justice ordered DuBois and others to register as agents of a "foreign principal." DuBois refused and was immediately indicted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Sufficient evidence was lacking, therefore DuBois was acquitted. The subversive activity initiated by the U.S. government acted as a catalyst in the alienation DuBois already felt for the present system."

Saheed Adejumo (2001) highlights the new turn of events which rocked the Pan-African Congresses previously dominated by middle class Black intellectuals of the African Diaspora from America, the African-Caribbean Diaspora in Great Britain.

Unlike previous Pan-African Congresses which were dominated by mellow ideas of Black mainstreaming to White supremacy culture of discrimination through education, the Manchester Pan-African Congress was dominated by more radical African and African-Caribbean rising student body from Africa and the West Indies, who were later going to diffuse the theories of radical Pan-Africanism in their respective countries.

The delegates of the Congress were very vocal in demanding more radical measures to end colonialism and imperialism in Africa. They even suggested the boycott of colonial economic institutions and to fight to wipe out colonialism in the Continent of Africa and the discrimination of Black people in the rest of the World.

The Great Depression and the financial crisis which had hit Europe and America to some extent had prevented the convening of the Pan-African Congress for eighteen years, 1927 - 1945. Saheed Adejumobi (2001) brings out the salient points which made the Manchester Pan-African Congress more special when he remarks that:

“The Manchester meeting marked a turning point in the history of the gatherings. For the first time representatives of political parties from Africa and the West Indies attended the meetings. Moreover, the conservative credo of the forum gave way to radical social, political, and economic demands. Congress participants unequivocally demanded an end to colonialism in Africa and urged colonial subjects to use strikes and boycotts to end the continent’s social, economic, and political exploitation by colonial powers. While previous Pan-African congresses had been controlled largely by black middle-class British and American intellectuals who had emphasized the amelioration of colonial conditions, the Manchester meeting was dominated by delegates from Africa and Africans working or studying in Britain. The new leadership attracted the support of workers, trade unionists, and a growing radical sector of the African student population. With fewer African American participants, delegates consisted mainly of an emerging crop of African intellectual and political leaders, who soon won fame, notoriety, and power in their various colonized countries.”

The Manchester Pan-African Congress made far reaching resolutions that were going to liberate Africa from colonialism. But it must be borne in mind that the pressure had come from the radical Marxist Leninist Russian Revolution impact of the Cominterns and the disaster Europe was facing after the Second World War. After the Second World War Europe witnessed a power shift from Western Europe to America. America was now going to become the Police of the Western World and its depressive economy that needed the Marshall Plan.

Motsoko Pheko gives a more appreciative historical cause which led to the radicalization of the Manchester Pan African Conference of 1945, when he explains that:

“Coming as it did immediately after the upheavals of World War II, the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester marked a watershed in black internationalist activities around the Atlantic. Though ostensibly under DuBois’s guidance, it was organized primarily by socialist Pan-Africanists in Britain, especially George Padmore, and was the first Congress to include a significant number of Africans like Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), who served as assistant secretary and joint secretary, respectively. Following the Manchester Congress, the site of Pan-Africanist activities shifted from the United States and Europe to the colonies in the Caribbean and, particularly, Africa. In fact, many of the key figures in the movement—DuBois, Padmore, and Alpheus Hunton—relocated to Africa during this period. In 1956, Padmore’s classic Pan-Africanism or Communism? appeared, and in 1958 Nkrumah hosted the first All-Africa People’s Conference at Accra in the wake of independence from British colonial rule in 1957 and the creation of an independent Ghana.”

Wherefore Europe was faced with the dilemma (Fongot Kinni, 1976) of continuing with colonialism and at the same time walk on the tight rope of granting independence and freedom of the colonised people demanding and agitating for their liberation. The San Francisco Peace Conference had come up with a blue print of the United Nations Charter on Human Rights and Self-Determination for every colonised people to take charge and trace for themselves their destiny and freedom. This clause of the United Nations’ Charter on Human Rights was too heavy for America and Europe to bear because of the indentured slavery practiced by these slave-driven liberal capitalist economic Powers.

It is very clear, from the final declarations of the Sixth Pan-African Manchester Congress that the delegates were quite aware of the new UN Charter on Self-Determination and Human Rights. They also knew that there was an alternative to colonialism – armed revolution and class struggle in the Marxist-Leninist Russian backup with the Cominterns.

This aspect of the impact of the Russian Cominterns is not usually mentioned in the evolution of Pan-Africanism and World Politics, Economical, Social and Cultural evolution in the Global system of the Post-War and Cold War era. It is true that after the Yalta treaty that brought the Second World war to an end and the creation of the Allied Forces and the United Nations, the major bone of contention between the then World

Powers was on how to manage the United Nations Charter of Freedoms and Self-Determination of colonized people.

It is in the light of all these data that one can appreciate Saheed Adejumobi's (2001) appraisal of Pan-Africanism, especially the Sixth Pan-African Congress of Manchester, when he declares that:

"The final declaration of the 1945 congress urged colonial and subject peoples of the world to unite and assert their rights to reject those seeking to control their destinies. Congress participants encouraged colonized Africans to elect their own governments, arguing that the gain of political power for colonial and subject peoples was a necessary prerequisite for complete social, economic, and political emancipation. This politically assertive stance was supported by a new generation of African American activists such as the actor and singer Paul Robeson, the minister and politician Adam Clayton Powell, and the educator and political activist William A. Hunton Jr. who took an increasing interest in Africa. ...While the Pan-African congresses lacked financial and political power, they helped to increase international awareness of racism and colonialism and laid the foundation for the political independence of African nations. African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya were among several attendees of congresses who subsequently led their countries to political independence."

Africa was beginning to witness the growth and diffusion of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism became accentuated by the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. Haile Sellasie became the living symbol of Pan-Africanism after the defeat of Mussolini and the defeat of Italy during the Second World War. In Africa, new Pan-Africanists were breaking and gaining new grounds.

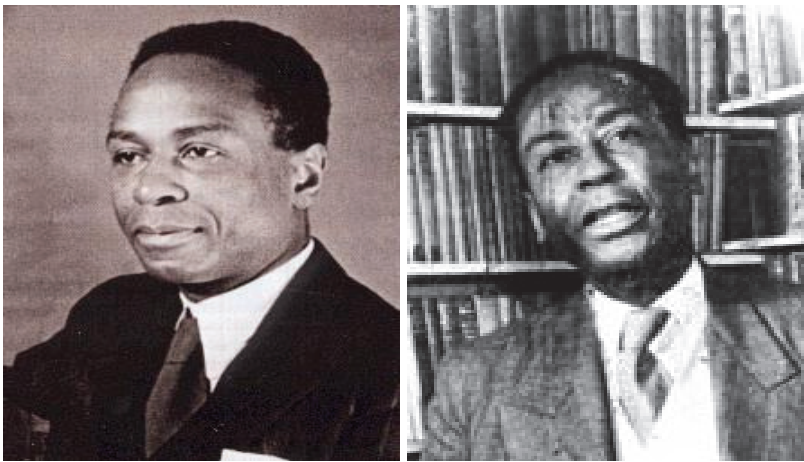
Despite all the success of the Sixth Pan-African Congress of Manchester, there was a conspicuously missing link that was created by the absence of the Francophone delegates. Whether it was deliberate or not, this absence was going to take its toll in later attempts of trans-national cooperation between the leaders of the French-speaking and English-speaking States.

The African Caribbean Diaspora And African English Speaking Contributions To The Political Ideology And Philosophy Of Pan Africanism

A critical appraisal of Pan Africanism as an Ideology and a philosophy of liberation by Africans, for Africans, shows that a great contribution to this great mission statement and plan came from the Caribbean. It would seem the Caribbean of all places in the world, despite its size, has been a very vibrant melting pot of innovative and revolutionary ideas. Nigel Westmaas (2011)

quotes Winston James who acknowledge this fact in his book on “Caribbean Pan-Africanism,” when he says that:

“It is no accident that the Caribbean, being the area that has historically produced the most peripatetic of all African peoples, has also thrown up an extravagantly disproportionate number of Pan-Africanist political activists and intellectuals. Edward Wilmot Blyden, H Sylvester Williams, J Alembert Thorne, J Robert Love, Theophilus Scoles, Antenor Fermin, Rene Maran, Hubert Harrison, Marcus Garvey, Claude McKay, Una Marson, J. A Rogers, Jean Price Mars, Ras Makonnen, CLR James, Aime Césaire, Leon Gontran Damas, and, perhaps the most under rated of them all – the great George Padmore of Trinidad...”



Photos 151 (a) & (b): George Padmore - 28 June 1903 – 23 September 1959

George Padmore, whose real name was Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse and was born in Arouca, Trinidad, was one of the greatest activist and intellectual entrepreneurial networker Pan Africanism has ever produced and known. The activist life of this firebrand and vibrant Black African versatile personality began very early when he read he read about Marcus Garvey and worked as a journalist in the West Indies, before leaving his country Trinidad, when he was only 21 year old, in 1924, to study Medicine in the United States.

When Kwame Nkrumah at Padmore’s transition paid him tribute in a radio broadcast saying that: “One day, the whole of Africa will surely be free and united and when the final tale is told, the significance of George Padmore’s work will be revealed...” He was actually celebrating the unfathomable contributions and legacy this valued Pan Africanist had bequeathed African generations to come. This was also because George Padmore could rightly be called Nkrumah’s godfather of Pan Africanism. His adoption of Kwame Nkrumah was not by chance.

When C.L.R. James left England for the United States before World War II, he met with young Kwame Nkrumah who was studying at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. When Nkrumah was to set out for London, James gave him a letter of introduction to Padmore. When Nkrumah arrived London in May 1945, intending to study law, he was met by Padmore at the airport. Since then their long alliance never wavered, just as Padmore remained his patron and friend. It could be said that the hand of destiny brought them together, since through Nkrumah, Padmore was able to claim his Ghanaian ancestry; as his parental great-grandfather was an Ashanti warrior who was taken prisoner and sold into slavery, ending up in Barbados where his grandfather was born.

Meredith Nurse became very involved in leftist politics after registering at the University of New York and transferring to Howard University, where he became involved in the Communist Workers Party, and officially joined the Communist Party in 1927. He then changed his name to George Padmore and militated in the American Negro Labor Congress which targeted and sensitised Black Americans to advocate for their human and labour rights in a White dominated and Black segregated society. In 1929 George Padmore became a fraternal non-voting member delegate of the 6th National Convention of the Communist Party in the USA – CAPUSA, convened in New York City.

The energetic and prolific writer he was, gained him admiration of William Z. Foster, the Communist Party Trade Union leader, who detected the rising leadership quality in him and took him to Moscow to deliver a report on the formation of the Trade Union Unity League to the Communist International convention held in Moscow in 1929. His presentation propelled him to the summit to the admiration of members of the Communist International, who then invited him to stay in Moscow and lead the Negro Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions – PROFITERN.

He was later elected to the Moscow City Soviet where he devoted his time in mobilising funds for foreign Communist parties; and writing articles for the African Independence and Pan Africanism cause in the Moscow Daily, the Moscow English-language newspaper. From Moscow George Padmore was able to tour Germany and Austria to spread his Comintern activism. He organised and launched in Hamburg, Germany the Comintern-backed International Organisation of Black Labour Organisations called the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers – ITUCNW.

When he moved and settled in Austria, he edited the “Negro Worker” the monthly publication of the new Comintern group. Padmore moved to Hamburg, Germany in 1931 for strategic tactics and continued to write and carry out propaganda for the ITUCNW magazine, producing more than 20

pamphlets in a single year. When the extreme nationalist gangs ransacked the offices of the Negro Worker in 1933, as the Nazi came to power, the German government deported George Padmore to England. The Cominterns also relaxed its support for ITUCNW and the “Negro Worker” magazine because of its diplomatic relations with the new German Nazi government. This diplomatic strategy made George Padmore to be disillusioned about (George Padmore, 1956) Comintern’s and the Soviet Union’s “...flagging it support for the cause of the liberation of colonial peoples in favour of the Soviet Union’s pursuit of diplomatic alliances with the colonial powers themselves...”

Padmore was expelled by the Comintern from the Communist movement on February 1934, because he refused to explain to the International Control Commission – ICC, why he severed relations with the ITUCNW in late summer of 1933. Padmore was also refused entry into the United States as a persona non grata for championing Communism although the pretext was that he was not a citizen of the United States and had could not have a re-entry once he had departed from America.

Back in England, Padmore, even though disillusioned and alienated from Marxist Leninism and Stalinism, remained a staunch socialist and believed in his undying quest to rid Africa of its imperial rule and masters. Padmore relocated to France where he met an old Comintern friend and an ally, Gara Kouyaté, who re-enkindled his hopes in the liberation cause of Africa. After working on a new book titled: “How Britain Rules Africa,” he was able to find a London publisher through the help of Nancy Cunard, who facilitated the publishing by Communist publishers, Lawrence and Wishart. It must be noted that publishing books by Black people at that time, not to talk of anti-colonial books, was very difficult due to the racial discrimination, and the control of the press by the colonial imperialistic and liberal economic capitalist class.

When Padmore moved to London in 1934 he became the centre of attraction for a community of African writers dedicated to Pan Africanism and African liberation and independence. There he met with his boyhood friend, C. L. R. James, who was writing and publishing and had founded the “International African Friends of Ethiopia” – IAFE, in response to the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. This organisation later transformed into the International African Service Bureau, and became the vibrant centre for African and Caribbean intellectuals’ anti-colonial activity. This Bureau created the International African Opinion, with Padmore as Chair and James as Editor, while the energetic British Guyana, Ras Makonen was in charge of the business affairs.

Despite the difficulties encountered in Black publishing, and anti-colonial publishing, the African Caribbean English speaking intellectuals, just like their

French counterpart, were determined to withstand all odds and publish. They believed that publishing was the only venue left for them, with the radical but non-violent ideology, to sensitise not only the African public but also their supporters and well-wishers in the colonial construct of Great Britain and France.

The mid war period was the opportune time given the African Caribbean intellectuals in their brain-driven intellectual mission of sensitisation of the masses of Africa. This was the period when intellectuals like C.L.R. James robbed minds and shoulders together with the likes of Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (Ghana), and Peter Abrahams of South Africa. Support came from publishers like Frederick Warburg of Secker and Warburg, and the Independent Labour Party's "New Leader" which published most of their articles. Fredrick Warburg later published George Padmore's book on: "Africa and World Peace," and books of Jomo Kenyatta and C.L.R James.

This strategy paid off as the Pan African ideology and development strategy for decolonisation envisaged by Padmore in his book *Africa and World Peace*, was perused by Africans and colonialists alike. This is how George Padmore took the initiative to organise and convene the post-World War II Pan African Congress of Manchester of 1945 which was highly attended by members of the International African Service Bureau - IASB. Ironically, Manchester 1945 Pan African Congress remained the last Pan African Congress till the attainment of Independence by Black African countries starting with Gold Coast. This Manchester Pan African Congress happened to be attended by W.E.B. DuBois, and a more radical Marxist inclined and more enlightened groups, especially the IASB, of African Diaspora from Africa, the Caribbean and the Americas.

With London as his base, Padmore was able to achieve many things for the two decades he was there. His networking and writing progressed and made him the hub of many individuals and ideas. Among them was his constant networking and exchanges with WEB DuBois, Kwame Nkrumah who had gone back to the Gold Coast, and Richard Wright who was living in Paris. Under his influence, Wright travelled to the Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1953 and wrote his book on *Black Power* in 1954. Padmore kept advising Nkrumah on his stance and progress towards the attainment of the independence.

In his endeavour to pre-empt the cold war being transferred to Africa, and the impact of Communist ideas on African independence and liberation movements, Padmore undertook to propose a blue print for African independence titled "Pan Africanism or Communism?"

It would seem that due to some misunderstanding and internal squabbles for power, the London community of vibrant Pan Africanist intellectuals and writers had splintered. And when James returned to London in 1956 from the United States, the relationship with Padmore was no longer as sweet as it used to be.

Nevertheless, Padmore continued his ardent relationship with Kwame Nkrumah who had returned to Gold Coast since 1947 to lead the independence movement there. Padmore supported Nkrumah with articles in his newspaper, the “Accra Evening News” along with long detailed letters of advice on the political strategies to take.

Padmore who had written a book in 1953 on “The Gold Coast Revolution” did not stop short in admonishing Nkrumah on his Pan African revolutionary activities, which for him was not tailored on the Marxist Stalinist ideology, but on a more clairvoyant pragmatic African cultural ideology.

According To CLR James, if Kwame Nkrumah was the fire brand of the independence of Gold Coast, it was George Padmore who was the architect of the new freedom dynamics which encompassed not only Ghana, but the entire African continent. That is why CLR James was very lucid (Anna Grimshaw, 1991)in his remark that:

“The revolution in Ghana established Africa as the creative source for political resistance worldwide. It transformed at a stroke all previously held conceptions of revolutionary praxis. According to James, the work of Padmore, a West Indian, had been critical in this fundamental shift.”

After Ghana’s independence in 1957, Padmore accepted Nkrumah’s invitation to settle in Ghana. He was made Nkrumah’s advisor on African Affairs, a post which he assumed with all rigour befitting a militant and devoted Pan Africanist. But his work in Ghana was short lived because it was rumoured that he was a victim of poisoning giving up the ghost on 23rd September, 1959.

Nkrumah who was devastated, paid Padmore a great tribute on the national radio. His numerous friends paid him tribute of which George Schuyler wrote in the Pittsburgh Courier which read: “Padmore’s writings had been an inspiration to men who dreamed of a free Africa.” The passing of Padmore was likened to the fall of a great Baobab, bequeathing a liberation legacy and leaving a place to posterity that could only be filled by a valiant Pan Africanist of his undaunting calibre.

Looking on the hind sight, could it not be speculated that the poisoning of Padmore was done by the CIA or the British Secret Service who have been

responsible for the elimination of many top African politicians and opinion leaders like Patrice Lumumba of Democratic Republic of Congo, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the attempt and failure to eliminate Jerry Rawlings through the aid of a CIA agent who pretended to befriend him, and many others who were eliminated directly or assisted by the Western Powers Secret Services during the Cold War under the pretext of fighting and saving Africa from Communism. Today the trend is not very different, like in the case of Lawrence Kabila, who was assassinated with the connivance of the Western Powers' Secret Service, when their vested interest to continue the Slavery-driven Liberalist Capitalist Economic exploitation of Africa is at stake.

The Western Powers in their Slave-Driven Liberal Capitalist Economy model of Production was very specialised in sparing only the Monsters of their Crimes Against Humanity like Nelson Mandela whom they gagged for 27 years to get from him the Promise that he would not retaliate against them and call them to answer for their Crimes against Africa that cry loud to Heaven for Justice. And they can spend millions of Dollars to build Monuments in his Memory to sit back and mock at Africans who are still bastardised and rendered eternally poor, hungry and homeless in their ancestral lands.

Another legendary Caribbean from Guyana who was considered a radical Pan Africanist like George Padmore was Ras Makonnen, who was born in Buxton, as George Tomas N. Griffiths around 1900. According to Amon Saba Sakaana,(2007), Ras Makonnen's paternal grandfather was taken from Tigre, Ethiopia, to British Guyana, by a Scottish miner. Before leaving Guyana to study mineralogy at the University of Texas in 1927, then later in Cornell University in 1933, he had worked as a teacher after secondary school.

The Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935 transformed him into a Pan African activist, when he changed his name to Ras Makonnen to reaffirm his African-Ethiopian roots. At this time he had transferred from the United States of America to study at the Royal College of Agriculture in Copenhagen in Denmark. He undertook writing and militating against the war. One of the articles accused the government of Denmark for producing the mustard gas that was being used to kill civilians in the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

He was declared persona non grata by Denmark and deported to England where he came in contact with C.L.R. James and Padmore in London 1937 to promote Pan Africanism. He then joined the International African Service Bureau – IASB that had been formed by George Padmore. He very soon used his entrepreneurial talents and skills to man the business department of the Bureau and distinguished himself, according to Carol Polsgrove (2009) as the “group's business manager, selling its journal, International African Opinion, at political meetings and handling the bills.”

In order to hone his knowledge on world affairs and African history, Ras Makonnen enrolled in the University of Manchester after the outbreak of World War II to study history. He also alongside opened a restaurant and used the proceeds to foster his political activism and engagements. He became very tirelessly active in the International African Service Bureau – IASB, working with George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah to prepare the Pan African Congress of Manchester of 1945.

His entrepreneurial success paid highly as he was able to host some of the Pan African Congress visitors and other regular Pan Africanists to Manchester. He was able to open a bookstore and a mail-order book service. His endeavour to promote the ideology of Pan Africanism to the extreme limits of Africa and the world, pushed him to start a new publication the Pan-African. Which he hoped would be (Carol Polgrove, 2009) “a reflection of the everyday life and deeds of the African people”.

Just like Padmore in London selfless dedication to the cause of Pan Africanism, Ras Makonnen was not very much interested in the money he would make of the new journal the Pan-African, as to the wide readership which he hoped and endeavoured to promote. That is why his journal was systematically and constantly distributed across Africa and the Americas, even though he did not collect all the fees, (Carol Polgrove, 2009) “...and in some places bookstores and subscribers were nervous about being seen with what was then, under colonial rule, a politically suspect publication.” Even though the Pan-African ceased publication a year after it had been inaugurated, Ras Makonnen did not give up on his activism for Pan Africanism.

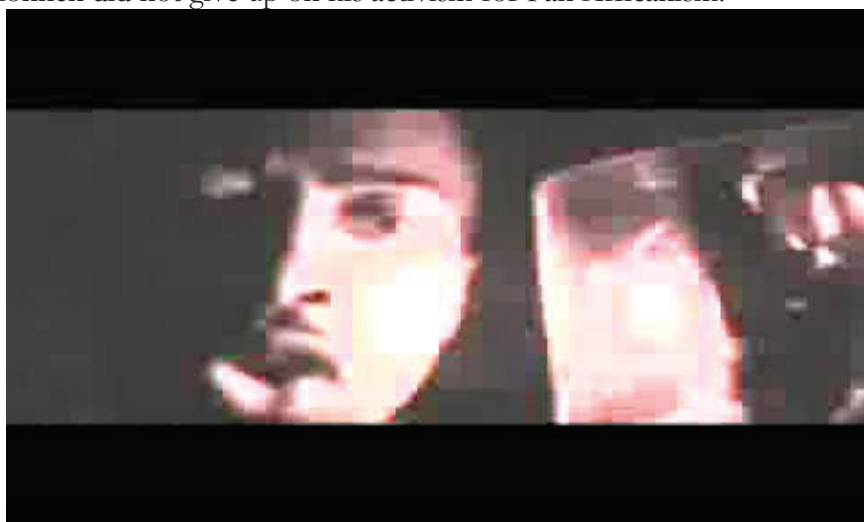


Photo 152: T. Ras Makonnen aka George Thomas N. Griffith c. 1900- 18 December 1983, Nairobi

Ras Makonnen moved to Gold Coast with George Padmore and assisted Kwame Nkrumah to found the Organisation of African Unity. During the 1966 military coup that ousted Kwame Nkrumah from power in Ghana, Ras Makonnen was arrested and imprisoned till Jomo Kenyatta, his long-time colleague at the International African Service Bureau – IASB, secured his release and took him to Kenya, where he worked in the Kenyan Ministry of Tourism before becoming a Kenyan citizen in 1969. During his stay in Kenya, Professor Kenneth King of the University of Nairobi, interviewed Ras Makonnen for over nine months and came out with a book in 1973, describing Ras Makonnen political life and activism on Pan Africanism which he titles: “Pan Africanism for Within.”

Ras Makonnen’s political and development theory, as a Pan Africanist from within, was based on developing entrepreneurship and the self-reliance of Africans. Ras Makonnen was rather a pragmatist and that is why he tried to put into practice his entrepreneurial capacity. He believed that all conferencing without entrepreneurial skills and strategies would be empty without any fruits to show.

As an adept of learning by doing, he abhorred the policy of depending on funding from White donors, like the Fabian Bureau in Great Britain, or the committed of the Soviet Union; or the allowing of Pan Africanists to take their cues from White leadership. He did not appreciate the idea of White leadership sometimes not only mentoring, but also taking the patronising leadership roles and deciding on policies that affected Black people.

Just like what happened in the NAACP of the United States where White people held leadership roles, Ras Makonnen thought that having White role models and giving them the free hand to decide on matters affecting Pan Africanism and the racism and systematic discrimination Black people were facing, was killing the spirit of initiative and self-reliance of Africans and Black people.

Ras Makonnen’s belief in self-reliance and the do-it-yourself strategy, and the idea of taking the risk to try out new ideas and new strategies made him to appear to be promoting and Afrocentric racism. But for one who understood his ideology of self-empowerment, it must be understood that Ras Makonnen was not a racist. He believed in the dignity and respect of all the races. He believed that Africa and Black people would remain dependent for ever if they did not develop the entrepreneurial skills and self-reliance as well as the dogged brain-driven initiatives and strategies to invent for themselves their own forms of liberation and development. He believed firmly that no amount of assistance and funding would move Africans from the sad state of continuous dependency. Africans had to rise up to take the challenge of

development from the humble level of self-reliance on entrepreneurial skills of the “do it yourself” perspectives.

Ras Makonnen looked at White findings, whether from the Western powers or from the Soviet Union and the committed, to African causes and issues of liberation and development with a very suspicious eye. He believed that the creation of funding bases was another way of continuing the Master-Slave relationship that the African had always been subjected to for too long.

Ras Makonnen memory and legacy will forever be celebrated as one of the most original thinkers of the African liberation cause and whose name will forever remain inscribed in the pantheon of Pan Africanism.

A contemporary and close friend to George Padmore and Ras Makonnen, C.L.R. James was the shooting star the Pan Africanism sky of Humanism ever had. He was not only the dogged strategist and innovator, but the aesthetician and plastic surgeon of the movement; who knew how to stitch meta-historical flesh lobes into the daily material flesh fabrics of the Pan African struggle and bring the liberation dream of Black peoples to reality.

But he deeply believed that the liberation of his people, of the suppressed Black race, would not be possible without the liberation of the mind-set of their oppressors. That is the reason why he saw this liberation as caught in the complex history of humankind’s complex struggle with Socialism and the Western Barbarism. Cheikh Anta Diop (1986) calls it “Civilisation of Barbarism!”. His photographic mind and literary grooming gave him the necessary foundation and ease to create and reinvent the past histories of his people in a manner that excelled the best of visual phenomenologists, visual-anthropologists and mental psychoanalysts.

That is why he was more inquisitive and delighted and hopeful in deciphering the complex intricacies of humankind history which, from the various conflicting and contrasting cacophonies possible, was able to build up fantastic tapestries of harmony that surpassed the struggles, the wars, the divisions and fears that had gripped humankind in the so-called modern world.

Anna Grimshaw (1991) cut a fascination picture of this enigmatic intellectual that was C.L.R. James when remarks:

“James’s distinctive contribution to the understanding of civilization emerged from a world filled with war, division, fear, suppression and unprecedented brutality. He himself had never underestimated the depth of the crisis which faced modern humanity. In James’s view, it was fundamental. It was part and parcel of the process of civilization itself, as the need for the free and full development of the human personality within new, expanded conceptions of social life came up against enhanced powers of rule from above, embodied in centralized, bureaucratic structures which confined and fragmented human

capacity at every level. This theme, what James later called the struggle between socialism and barbarism, was the foundation of his life's work. In the early Caribbean phase, it was implicit in his depiction of character and society through fiction and cricket writing; later it became politically focused in his active engagement with the tradition of revolutionary Marxism; until eventually, as a result of his experience of the New World, it became the expansive and unifying theme by which James approached the complexity of the modern world."

The credit that Pan Africanism gained and owes to C.L.R. James's clairvoyance in proposing socialism, or what I would term the African communitarianism, or better still Pan African Humanism, is that C.L.R. James never saw socialism as a preserve just for Black people, but for the entire world, the entire Humanity. Actually for C.L.R. James, socialism was seen in the context of corporate social responsibility – CSR, of every human being to another human being, of every society to another society. That is why C.L.R. James' curiosity about human social justice made him take pleasure and curiosity in visualising and sculpting in his personalities that image of social harmony despite the chaotic conflicting nature modern human liberal Slave-Driven Capitalist economic society has generated. Anna Grimshaw captures very well this particularity about C.L.R. James Pan Africanism when she insists that:

"First of all, James had a remarkable visual sense. He watched everything with a very keen eye; storing images in his memory for over half a century, of distinctive personalities and particular events, which he wove into his prose with the skill and sensitivity of a novelist. Although his passion for intellectual rigour gave a remarkable consistency to the themes of his life's work, his analyses were never confined. He was always seeking to move beyond conventional limitations in his attempt to capture the interconnectedness of things and the integration of human experience."

For social justice and corporate social responsibility –CSR to prevail, the world had to be seen in the prism of the game of Cricket which had impacted on him from his cradle of life and to fashion, throughout his life time, a harmonious responsible world of fair play, to parties and partners as rival stakeholders, for the common interest and the mutual benefits of contending parties. Anna Grisham unveils very aesthetically this fabulous picture to our appreciation when she lets us share C.L.R. James' foundational perspectives:

"Not only did James, through watching, playing and studying cricket, develop at a precociously early age the method by which he later examined all other social phenomena; but also, as a boy, he had responded instinctively to something located much deeper in human experience. Cricket was whole. It was expressive in a fundamental way of the

elements which constituted human existence – combining as it did spectacle, history, politics; sequence/tableau, movement/stasis, individual/society..”



Photos 153 (a) & (b): Cyril Lionel Robert James - 4 January 1901 – 19 May 1989

C.L.R. James knew how to weave critically the play of the various actors on the social stage of social life into a game of cricket as it unfold into a very acceptable social harmony despite the contradictions and rivalries. Wherefore, he tried as much as possible to show the world, in his writings that, how futile were the aberrations of disharmony caused by the inconsideration and greed of some individuals, who refused to play fair, and take consideration of their responsibilities to other players, there was still hope for a rescue. His depiction of the eventual clash or dysfunction of the game; and the reprimand which might ensue for the umpire, from the nature of the game itself which was established on “fair play” and “playing fair” for all protagonists as mutual stakeholders for the common good, was the ultimate objective of his writings. This fell in line with his world Humanism of Pan African final objective. The bringing of humanity to understand the futility of fighting each other to grab the greedy shares in life instead of enjoying the game of sharing and giving chances to other players to shine and to share in the common wealth of the game of life. This is well elaborated by Anna Grimshaw:

*“His approach to the questions of revolutionary politics acquired a distinctive stamp through his attempt to integrate the struggles of the colonial areas into the European revolutionary tradition. The Ethiopian crisis of 1936 was a turning point, as James was forced to confront the equivocation of the British labour movement in the face of imperialist aggression in Africa. His essay, *Abyssinia and the Imperialists* (1936), was an early acknowledgement of the importance of an independent movement of Africans and people of African descent in the struggle for freedom. It was a position James*

developed more fully during the second half of the 1930s, particularly through his close collaboration with George Padmore in the International African Service Bureau. But James also drew upon his extensive historical research into the 1791 San Domingo revolution. The slave revolution led by Toussaint L'Ouverture raised very concretely the question James was seeking to address in his revolutionary politics – not just the nature and course of revolution itself, the changing relationship between leaders and the people; but the dynamic of the struggles situated at the peripheries and those located in the centre. It was a question which turned up in different forms throughout James's career – at times it was posed as the relationship between the proletariat of the imperialist nations and the indigenous populations; at others, as the connection between the struggles of different sections of a single national population.”

It is also admitted that C.L.R. James was the most lucid think tank of Pan Africanism as far as the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Trotskyist critical ideologies were concerned. Even though C.L.R. James like all the other Pan Africanist were wooed into Marxism and Communism, he was one of those Pan Africanist critics who x-rayed the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Trotskyist ideology to see how far it would suit the Negro cause and all people of African origin as well as all oppressed peoples in the world. His force and strength of his arguments lay in the fact that he was able to try out and test every idea and every ideology on the platform and framework of the game of cricket to see how coherent it would appear in actual daily lives of peoples. It was through this critical and applied approach to Marxism and Pan Africanism that he could draw the enhancing details and differences that exist between the Pan Africanist Humanism and the one could call the simplistic but complicated view of Marxist Revolution and Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Anna Grisham places J.L.R. James on a pedestal of insights that no Pan Africanist had ventured, when she narrates elaborately that:

*“Towards the end of the 1940s the members of the Johnson Forest Tendency began to publish the results of their intense collaborative exercise. The lengthy essay, *Dialectical Materialism and the Fate of Humanity* (1947) was James's attempt to sort out some of the muddles in Trotskyist thinking – in particular the problem of thought and its relationship to the dynamic of history. He was seeking to clarify the dialectical method – the process by which, what Hegel called “the abstract universal” becomes concrete; and to demonstrate, through its use as a methodological tool, the progressive movement of society. It is one of the very few places, too, that James offered a definition of socialism – the complete expression of democracy – mindful as he always was of its distortion through identification with Stalinism. This article preceded the much more detailed discussion of method in the documents James wrote from Nevada (*Notes on Dialectics*, 1948).*

Nevertheless, it covers much of the same ground and its essay form makes more accessible some of the ideas which were critical in James's definition of a new and independent Marxist position. With tremendous verve and historical sweep, James sets out to trace the development of mankind – the objectification of the subject, the search for completeness, integration, universality. At the centre of his analysis stood the Russian revolution, for it opened a window on this process. It represented an advanced stage in this historical movement; and yet it was still imperfect, not fully realised. Indeed, as James's dialectical method exposed, its very imperfections called forth a response which in its negativity matched the concrete achievements of October 1917: It is the creative power, the democratic desires, the expansion of the human personality, the record of human achievement that was the Russian revolution. It is these which have called forth the violence, the atrocities, the state organised as Murder Incorporated. Only such violence could have repressed democracy. For James, however, Stalinist Russia expressed in the most extreme form the contradictions which ran throughout modern society, as the increasing power and self-knowledge of ordinary people came up against enhanced powers of rule from above in the form of bureaucratic structures. James was aware of these tensions all around him in the United States. It was to be seen nowhere more clearly than in the contradictory position of blacks, their integration and segregation, within American society. James's work on history and the dialectic thus cannot be separated from his more active engagement with contemporary political questions within the United States. It was difficult, however, for him to play a prominent part in the Johnson Forest Tendency's organisational work, for he had overstayed the limit on his US visa and, after 1940, was forced to operate largely underground. But James continued to write on the race question, developing his understanding of the revolutionary history of America's black population and establishing the independence and vitality of the struggle for basic democratic rights. Not only did James understand the immense political significance of these struggles for America as a whole, for its black communities exposed some of its deepest and most intense contradictions; but he saw too that America's blacks provided the link with the millions of colonial peoples worldwide, struggling to throw off the shackles of imperialist rule. James's statement to the Trotskyist movement, *The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in the USA* (1948) revealed the clarity with which he understood the political questions it posed; but, at the same time, his interpretation presented to the orthodox Left some of the same difficulties as his earlier work on the San Domingo slave uprising. It was, and remains, a remarkably prescient document. What James's theoretical and activist work taught him above all was the speed of historical movement. The problem became one of thought. Following Hegel, James contrasted the operation of dialectical thinking, creative reason, with the static categories of understanding which he identified as the fundamental flaw in the Trotskyist method itself. For James, it was revealed most clearly in Trotsky's approach to the nature of the Soviet Union."

It would seem C.L.R. James was one of those few Pan Africanists who understood that history waits for nobody and that history does not really repeat itself as the fallacy goes. But that those who did not study and grasp the fastness at which history, just like the human thinking and reasoning mind, travels and leaves its imprints of the canvas of eternal time; so as to learn not to make the same contextual mistakes as their predecessors, would be caught up surprisingly with the same contextualized consequences of history.

Hence C.L.R. James was very wary about the successors of the colonial state who created the post-colonial state on the same historical canvass as the colonial state, just to turn round to blame the colonial state for all the problems faced by the present generation.

C.L.R. James, just like Ras Makonnen, fully grasped the challenges that for Africa to be free and fully independent, it had to count on its own initiatives and brain-driven capacities.

C.L.R. James knew far ahead of V.Y. Mudimbe (1988) that colonial Africa was the “Invention of the Colonial Master” and did not need to stress on that historical fact. But he was more interested, with a lot of fascination and inquisitiveness, on how Africans would reconstruct a new Africa, free and independent of colonialism and repression.

Critics of Mudimbe and Appiah, accuse them for deconstructing the colonial past without much indicators and strategies on how to reconstruct the new Africa, the way China, South East Asia and India who were once colonial states have been able to stop blaming colonialism and have instead built on their own initiative of creativity, incentivisation and entrepreneurship to come out of domination of the same colonial Masters who now go to them for assistance and for partnership. Mudimbe’s and Appiah’s critics have this to say about the Invention of Africa and the colonial experience “In My Father’s House” (Mudimbe_Appiah.doc, 13th November, 2012):

“V.Y. Mudimbe’s *The Invention of Africa* and Kwame Anthony Appiah’s *In My Father’s House* each deconstruct essentialist ideas of “Africa” and challenge Africanists’ commitment to “Africa” as a category of analysis. Their critiques expose the way in which African Studies is rooted in colonial discourses despite its attempt to represent “authentic” African realities. Some Afrocentrists have responded by dismissing Mudimbe’s and Appiah’s projects as yet another attempt to undermine African identity. Other scholars more convincingly express their frustration at these texts’ lack of engagement with the political realities of contemporary Africa and their failure to propose a viable alternative to what they have taken great pains to deconstruct. Despite these concerns, Mudimbe’s and Appiah’s critiques clear a space in which

Africanists can re-evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of their ideological and/or disciplinary approaches to their field of study.”

C.L.R. James’ pre-occupation on reconstructive strategies as indicators for Africa’s sustainable development led him to investigate how Ghana, during Nkrumah’s strategies regime would apply more pro-active programmes to enhance the post-colonial development of the country. Nkrumah was very forward looking and wanted to apply Ras Makonnen’s strategy of self-reliance and the do-it-yourself option for Africa’s industrialisation.

Even though the Western powers were out to discredit and sabotage Kwame Nkrumah’s projects for industrialization, it is true that the United States frustrated Nkrumah’s industrialization ambition through the CIA, (Black History, 2011) it could also be said that C.L.R. James found to his dismay that even though Nkrumah was a Pan Africanist, he too also failed the test in the problem of governance, where, despite his great ideas about development, he failed to channel it within the tenets of democracy and the basic freedoms of the people-centred policy.

When people started hailing Kwame Nkrumah as the “Osagifo,” the “Messiah” of Ghana that was a sure sign that the leader was missing the point of becoming servant rather than a “Messiah”; and so he was not quite different from the colonial master. Because the reconstruction of the colonial state would have entailed the decentralization of political power and the equitable distribution of the resources and wealth of the country, to meet the needs of the people at every level of life. This shortcoming of Ghana’s Nkrumah, is mentioned by Anna Grisham(1991) who states that:

“Much of James’s discussion of the post-colonial order was anchored in his analysis of the Ghana revolution. But his perspective was much broader, for he understood the birth of the new nations as a transformation in world society as a whole. Thus to analyse the rise and fall of Nkrumah was to cast light on the contemporary form of the age-old problem faced by all revolutionary leaders – the problem of government. For James, no one had addressed this more profoundly and concretely than Lenin.”

C.L.R. James was very critical of the post-colonial state run by the former colonised Black Africans themselves. He, just like his French Caribbean colleague, Aimé Césaire, in “Le Roi Christophe,” “King Christopher” of Haiti, critically carried out his analysis “on the postcolony” much earlier and much brilliantly than Achille Mbembe (2001). Using the Marxist Leninist theory to tackle the problem of the post revolution, he castigated African post-colonial leaders for not having either any genuine action plan or road map for the very political freedom they acquired from the White Colonial Master. They forgot

to read the history of all other revolutions before them, and made the same mistakes like Napoleon by crowning themselves Emperor of the states, their resources and wealth which, according to S. Agonda Ochola (2004), they had confiscated for themselves and their families.

Anna Grisham gives us an account of this rare brilliance and genius with which C.L.R. James tackles the problems of the post colonies, by critiquing that:

“...the new leaders of Africa and the Caribbean had both failed to dismantle the colonial state they had inherited at independence and they had distanced themselves from the popular forces mobilised to create the new society. His early article written for a Caribbean readership, The People of the Gold Coast (1960), and the later series of essays entitled The Rise and Fall of Nkrumah (1966) indicate the shape of his thesis and the development of ideas James had first articulated in The Black Jacobins.”

C.L.R. James remained very true to himself with all the clairvoyance and visionary prophetic critical mind of deciphering the past to warn all war lords of the catastrophes and doom awaiting them for the calamities of bad governance they had created and perpetrated; like he predicted in the Black Jacobins, concerning the racist and repressive colonial systems of Great Britain and all other colonies, as Scott McLemee (1996) wryly puts it:

“The Black Jacobins combined Marxist analysis and a novelist’s talent with the most detailed knowledge of L’Ouverture’s role in the San Domingo revolt. James showed how the French and Haitian revolutions interacted and predicted that there would be similar uprisings in Africa during the years to come... By narrating “the first successful slave revolt in history,” he meant to provide a tool kit of ideas and information for future liberation movements. Apartheid’s censors knew what they were doing when they banned the book.”

He also got interested in and diagnosed the American racist and repressive regimes that had kept the Negro in bondage for almost five hundred years. He then predicted the transfer of the revolutions that had shaped and reconstructed Europe to produce their avatars all over the world. He predicted that America would not be spared the same revolutions which will topple and transform the Ivory Towers they had built with all impunity against humanity. Anna Grisham furnishes us with the details of CLR James lucid and critical mind-set as she narrates that:

“James returned to the United States in the late 1960s. He spent more than a decade teaching in various universities and speaking widely on contemporary events. As his speeches on Black Power (1967, 1970) and Black Studies (1969) reveal, it was impossible for him to approach the political explosion of

America's blacks without a developed historical perspective or an understanding of their dynamic connection with other resistance movements worldwide. The world was now one world. Mindful of his own statement on the black question some twenty years before, James recognised the serious threat such a movement posed to the organisation of society as a whole. It was symbolised, above all, in the adoption of the revolutionary slogans of black and Third World movements by people struggling against oppression worldwide. Even in the midst of the 1968 Paris upheavals, the French students drew much of their inspiration from such symbols as Che Guevara, Mao, Castro or the Black Panthers; and revealed, in a critical sense, that Europe's place as the centre of revolutionary praxis was decisively over."

C.L.R. James outlived all his contemporaries, may be for a reason. But he will ever be remembered for the great legacy he bequeathed to Africans and Pan Africanism: the very lucid and critical mind-set for human needs-driven development; and problem-solving strategies to attain human-centred development goals. He will always be celebrated as that one-man-orchestra type of incarnation of Pan Africanism. He did not spare the rod of his critical mind and the verve of his acerbic but precise language to spoil the Pan African child; he did not only criticize Pan Africanism as an Ideology and Philosophy; he also gave directives and strategies on how to build the New Africa, as Scott McLemee puts it succinctly:

"And what an extraordinary range of ideas and experiences they represent. James produced fiction, political pamphlets, sports writing, detailed works of history, philosophical essays and untold thousands of deeply thoughtful letters. He lived in Trinidad, England and the United States and travelled throughout Europe and Africa, and each place left its mark in his work. Paul Robeson and Richard Wright were his friends; he discussed politics with Leon Trotsky and Martin Luther King; he had close, at times stormy, relationships with Eric Williams and Kwame Nkrumah, who would later become the leaders of Trinidad and Ghana, respectively. James' writing moved with grace and brilliance among the most diverse topics, finding links between the game of cricket and Aristotle's Poetics, and weaving together connections among Shakespeare's plays, Lenin's politics and the problems facing developing countries. To read James is an exercise in rediscovering the world -- and an invitation not only to reinterpret it, but also to change it."

Kwame Nkrumah could be defined by Pan Africanists as a chip of the old block. He was the Pan Africanist from Africa who imbibed the fundamental theory and practice of firebrand pro-active revolutionists of Pan Africanism like Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Ras Makonnen and C.L.R. James put

together on one person. Nkrumah was the perfect product of the elitist intellectual class as well as the pragmatic pro-active class of Pan Africanism. Even though he could rightly pass for W.E.B. DuBois' privileged and "Talented Tenth" of Africans and Pan Africanists, because of his alacrity and brilliance as a thinker and pragmatist, he did not assume that elitist position so dear to W.E.B. Du Bois. Nkrumah was a pro-activist Pan Africanist like Ras Makonnen who did the walking of his talk.

Actually Kwame Nkrumah had graduated from Lincoln University, in the USA where he had come in contact with Pan Africanism ideology of Marcus Garvey, Booker Taliaferro Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. It was at this time when he met with C.L.R. James who introduced him into Trotskyism and later introduced him to George Padmore when he left to study law in Great Britain.

Nkrumah could not wait to experiment on his dreams and apply his Trotskyist verve of African socialism. He wanted to transform Ghana into the industrial miracle of the post-World War II world. As the columnist in Black History Month (28 November 2011) puts it:

"If Ghana was to become a modern industrial nation, it needed both industry and the power to fuel that industry and provide the continent with its first industrial revolution. The Volta dam was originally the brain child of Britain, but the colonial power was shrinking from the world stage and in doing so, began to withdraw its financial and project support from its former colonies. During his campaign, Nkrumah's platform was founded on the idea of modernization, but without funding for the Volta river project, there was no way that dream could become a reality."

But his perspicacity of mind-set and ambition to see Ghana lead not only Africa but also the world in innovative industrial development was going to be downplayed and thwarted by the Western powers who understood Nkrumah's strong belief in Trotskyist Socialism which did not please the West.

Nkrumah who was well schooled in and paid heed to C.L.R. James' warnings on the abuse of power and governance; had taken more seriously C.L.R. James' and Aimé Césaire's historical satyr on power and governance, which he painstakingly portrayed in his various works and interpretation of Toussaint l'Ouverture's Revolution in Haiti. As a new striving independent post-colonial nation he would have been spared the embarrassment he faced from his country being transformed into a Cold War arena as the CIA plotted the coup that overthrew him to impute it on the miscarriage of good governance of Ghana.

When Kwame Nkrumah went back to Gold Coast in 1947, he tried to put in practice the sensitization and mobilization of the workers union of the Gold

Coast, which was also part of the National Council of British West Africa – NCBWA, and succeeded in creating the first political party. His political volatility and rise to power earned him the admiration of the ordinary people and the taking of the position of commander in chief as the first Prime Minister of the British colonial government of Gold Coast in 1959.

The pragmatist and strategist Nkrumah was made him very wary about tying the colonial state to the aprons of the colonial master to create a new post-colonial dependency. So he simultaneously juggled with the Eastern Communist Socialist powers of Russia and China; as well as the Western Capitalist powers of Europe and America.

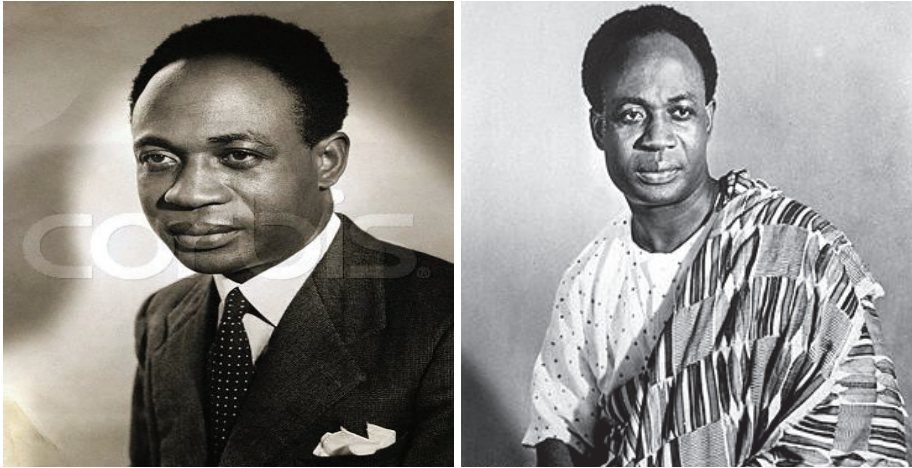
Kwame Nkrumah's political economic theory was very pertinent when he preached like Marcus Garvey and Ras Makonnen the policy of self-sufficiency that would lead Africa to full independence from colonialism and imperialism of the Western or of the Eastern powers. Thus he proposed a strategic plan for governance and development (Motsoko Pheko, 1999) when he proposed that:

“Something in the nature of an economic revolution is required. Our development has been held back for too long by the colonial-type economy. We need to reorganize entirely, so that each country can specialize in producing the goods and crops for which it is best suited. . . . Few would argue against the need for economic planning on a national scale. How much stronger is the argument for continental planning. . . . In the process of obtaining economic unity there is bound to be much hard bargaining between the various States. Integration of different aspects of economic policy will proceed at different rates, and there may be disappointing delays and compromises to be worked out. But given the will to succeed, difficulties can be resolved.”

This attitude did not please the Western powers that saw Nkrumah as a threat to their neo-colonial tactics. These fears are well expressed in the contributions by Black History Month (28th November 2011) which elaborates on Nkrumah's strategic plan of action to develop Ghana and start with the industrialization of Africa and how this plan was stalled by America who was afraid of the outcome:

“Nkrumah set back out for America to sell the project to then President Eisenhower who took an immediate interest... President Eisenhower contacted California based Kaiser Aluminium, the world's largest aluminium manufacturer, to exploit the opportunity and fund the project. The assumption that America would mine Ghana's bauxite and use the Volta dam's electricity meant two new large income streams and industries that would assure Nkrumah's dream of an industrial revolution.

However, Kaiser Aluminium had different plans. They would only use Ghana's cheap electricity – importing aluminium ore from other places in the world, and then exporting the aluminium back to America. The thought was that if the operation became too profitable, Nkrumah could nationalize the dam project and cut America out completely.”



Photos 154 (a) & (b): Kwame Nkrumah: 21 September 1909 – 27 April 1972

That is how Nkrumah tackled the Volta damn hydro-electricity project seriously as the gateway to Ghana's industrialisation engineering. But the distrust by the Western powers set the plotting wheels of the CIA working to overthrow Nkrumah. Black History Month (28th November 2011) gives us the details, quoting directly the statement of John Stockwell, a CIA officer in Africa at the time:

“...Howard Bane, who was the CIA station chief in Accra, engineered the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah. Inside the CIA it was quite clear. Howard Bane got a double promotion, and was awarded the Intelligence Star for the overthrow of Kwame. The magic of it was that Howard Bane had enough imagination and drive to run this operation without ever documenting what he was doing and there wasn't one shred of paper that was generated that would name the CIA hierarchy as being responsible... “The Accra station was encouraged by CIA headquarters to maintain contact with dissidents of the Ghanaian army for the purpose of gathering intelligence on their activities. It was given a generous budget, and maintained intimate contact with the plotters as a coup was hatched. So close was the station's involvement that it was able to coordinate the recovery of some classified Soviet military equipment by the United States as the coup took place.”...The Volta Dam was completed on January 22, 1966. One month later, Nkrumah was overthrown by a CIA backed coup.”

Even though the CIA tried to smear and brand Nkrumah's governance as corrupt, it was short lived because the Ghanaians were quick to vindicate and rehabilitate Kwame Nkrumah after the serial military coups, seven in all, that befell Ghana, after Nkrumah. That once beautiful and charming darling of African Unity and pro-active development was soon brought to its knees.

But Nkrumah did not tire out in lashing out his anger and disappointment against his slanderers of the Western Power Mafia of neo-colonisation. While in exile, Nkrumah endeavoured to sensitise his people from Conakry, where his friend Sékou Touré gave him the free hand to exercise his powers and influence as head of state of Ghana in exile. Nkrumah, who fasted once a week, was very cautious about falling in the traps of either the Eastern powers or the Western powers of imperialism.

Nkrumah believed that one could borrow from the technological knowhow of the Eastern or Western countries without necessarily becoming their slaves. That is why Nkrumah was very strict even though he introduced an open door policy for Ghana, regarding the various strategies for Ghana's and Africa's development. He warned Africans not to allow themselves fall victims of neo-colonialism, the way Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe also warned the newly independent states of Africa. Nkrumah's concern for Africa was expressed in the series of letters and radio programmes he dispatched to Ghana from exile on neo-colonialism, as documented by Black History Month (2011):

"But even in exile, Nkrumah continued to write and inspire Pan-Africanists. In Challenge of the Congo he wrote that the political economic situation in the world is one in which a tiny minority of the people grow 'richer and richer, while the rest grow poorer and poorer' and elaborated by saying that the situation required world socialism as it was the only remedy, for 'as long as capitalism and imperialism go unchecked there will always be exploitation, and an ever-widening gap between the haves and the have-nots, and all the evils of imperialism and neo-colonialism which breed and sustain wars.'"

Nkrumah never tired out in sensitizing Africans about neo-colonialism which is diametrically opposed to Pan Africanism and African Unity. Nkrumah was aware that the colonial masters were not really ready to liberate Africa from their imperialistic snares of the slave-driven liberal capitalist economy exploitation and domination. Actually Nkrumah appeared to be the lone Prophet in a world where the people were still living in the dark night and dark age of their mental evolution. That is why, even after independence, many African leaders, just like at the time of the founding of the Organisation

of African Unity, were still very unaware of the risks of neo-colonialism. That is why Kwame Nkrumah made it a duty to sensitise all Africans and Pan Africanists on the dangers of Neo-Colonialism as he reiterated:

“IN order to halt foreign interference in the affairs of developing countries it is necessary to study, understand, expose and actively combat neo-colonialism in whatever guise it may appear. For the methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres... Lurking behind such questions are the extended tentacles of the Wall Street octopus. And its suction cups and muscular strength are provided by a phenomenon dubbed ‘The Invisible Government’, arising from Wall Street’s connection with the Pentagon and various intelligence services. I quote: ‘The Invisible Government ... is a loose amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies drawn from many parts of the visible government. It is not limited to the Central Intelligence Agency, although the CIA is at its heart. Nor is it confined to the nine other agencies which comprise what is known as the intelligence community: the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence and Research, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. ‘The Invisible Government includes also many other units and agencies, as well as individuals, that appear outwardly to be a normal part of the conventional government. It even encompasses business firms and institutions that are seemingly private. ‘To an extent that is only beginning to be perceived, this shadow government is shaping the lives of 190,000,000 Americans. An informed citizen might come to suspect that the foreign policy of the United States often works publicly in one direction and secretly through the Invisible Government in just the opposite direction. ‘This Invisible Government is a relatively new institution. It came into being as a result of two related factors: the rise of the United States after World War II to a position of pre-eminent world power, and the challenge to that power by Soviet Communism...’By 1964 the intelligence network had grown into a massive hidden apparatus, secretly employing about 200,000 persons and spending billions of dollars a year.”

When Simon Gikandi (2009) describes what he calls Pan Africanism from the prism of a Victorian Metropolitanism, to which he attributes the Englishness and the high English intellectual grooming of its protagonists, like the African Diaspora from the Caribbean and the United States of America, living in Victorian London and England, he is simply making a point on how assimilated these Pan Africanists were to the English culture and mode of life in such a way that it was impossible or unthinkable that the Pan Africanism they upheld would become an Al-Qaeda or a Boko Haram movement against the British and anything British or English or even American.

This is because Pan Africanism, even though motivated originally from a racial conception, had transformed into a humanitarian ideology and philosophy that did not see colour as a barrier.

But the complex problem of colour and race showed its naked face from the mere fact that divide between the haves and the have-nots in the slave-driven liberal capitalist economy of exploitation was on racial lines.

Jomo Kenyatta happened to be from this mould of what could be called Victorian Metropolitanism of Pan Africanism, because of his English grooming and penchant for maintaining this Englishness alongside with his Africanness. It is for this reason that Jomo Kenyatta's tutelage under John Cook did not stop him from joining Harry Thuku's East African Association – EAA, which was founded in 1920, to make legitimate Kenyan land claims from the British settler colony in Kenya.

It is in the manner that the changing of his name from John Peter Kamau to Jomo Kenyatta in 1922 when he officially became a member of the EAA only confirmed his African consciousness of the injustices his people were suffering from the hands of the White settlers that had transformed Kenya to an “English Metropolitanised” territory and seized the land of indigenous people, rendering them homeless in their ancestral motherland.

The Metropolitanism of Jomo Kenyatta's fight for the retrieval of the land of the indigenous land was based on the fact that Kenyatta could use the same laws of the same of the Metropolitan colony that had assimilated him and transformed him to the Englishness he had become. That is how he and his patriotic compatriots were able to form the Kikuyu Central Association – KCA, under the leadership of James Beautah and Joseph Kangethe, after the colonial government had disbanded the EAA in 1925. That is how Kenyatta become the editor of the Kikuyu Central Association – KCA Journal from 1924 to 1929, just to be raised to the position of general secretary of KCA in 1928.

That is how the Englishness in him raised Kenyatta's Africanness awareness to launch in May 1928 the Kikuyu-Language newspaper – “Mwigwithania,” meaning “He who brings together” in Kikuyu, intended to sensitise and bring together all sections of Kikuyu together in their fight for their freedom from colonialism. Even though the tone of the paper was milder than the KCA Journal, and was tolerated by British colonial authorities, its message was strong and clear, as it fought for the land rights of the Kikuyu and the Kenyan people.



Photos 155 (a) & (b): Jomo Kenyatta 1889 - 22 August 1978

That is how in 1929, when the British colonial government envisaged the creation of a union government of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, and granting the White settlers colony self-government while ignoring the rights of the Kikuyu and the indigenous people, Kenyatta was dispatched to London in 1929 to represent the KCA to discuss with the Colonial Office the future state of the colonies.

Although the Secretary of State for the Colonies refused to grant him audience, Kenyatta remained undeterred and instead used the British Metropolitan press including “The Times” to castigate the colonial government on the land tenure injustices in the colonies. This is how the March edition of The Times 1930 published Kenyatta’s letter with its five points setting, which stated:

*“The security of land tenure and the demand for land taken by European settlers to be returned
Improved educational opportunities for Black Africans
The repeal of Hut and poll taxes
Representation for Black Africans in the Legislative Council
Freedom to pursue traditional customs (such as female genital mutilation).”*

Kenyatta’s letter concluded with a warning to the colonial audience that a failure to satisfy these points “must inevitably result in a dangerous explosion - the one thing all sane men wish to avoid”. The impact of this British Metropolitan exposure was great, as it raised and brought to the centre space of discussion the colonial injustices in Africa. Kenyatta had also obtained in

his quest the right to develop independent educational institutions for Black Africans.

This engagement in studies marked the beginning of the 15 years Kenyatta was to spend in Pan African activism in Britain and Europe away from Kenya. After his studies in Birmingham, Kenyatta returned to London and testified in June 1932 before the Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission on behalf of Kikuyu land claims, which resulted in some of the misappropriated territories being returned to the Kikuyu, even though the most cherished parts under the “White Highland” policy were maintained by the colonial administration for the exclusive use of the White Settler minority in Kenya, while Kikuyu were restricted to the reservations carved out for them.



Photos 155 (c) & (d): British Colonial Abuses Of Land Rights And Human Rights In Kenya (Mau-Mau Prisoners Forced To Sit On The Bare Ground, Chained And Guarded)

Kenyatta’s African soft liberation movement activism and his interaction and immersion with the African Diaspora in Britain and the Liberal Left wing political caucus, introduced him to Marxist Communism and got him enrolled in the Communist Party. Under the sponsorship of Caribbean Pan-Africanist George Padmore, (Body-Evans, Alistair, 29th November 2012) Kenyatta left London in August 1932, and travelled to Moscow where he enrolled in the Moscow State University to study Economics. When Padmore fell out of favour with the Soviets, and severed relations with the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers – ITUCNW, he was therefore expelled from the committed and the Communist Party. Back in London he joined the other Black nationalists and Pan-Africanists, and even protested against the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1936.

Kenyatta's plunging into the study of Anthropology at the University College of London, under the world renowned Polish Anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, impacted greatly throughout the rest of the life of Kenyatta. Following Malinowski, the father of Functionalism, and his functionalist theory "...that a culture's ceremonies and rituals have a logic and function within the culture" – and encodes all the social, economic, legal and political structures, organisations and institutions of a polity, community or society. And so under Malinowski Kenyatta was able to confirm his thesis about the Kikuyu cultural rituals to show the logic and functions of the Kikuyu social, economic, legal and political institutions which the British colonial government was struggling to suppress and obliterate to impose its Englishness on Kenya and Africa.

Kenyatta's thesis on the Kikuyu cultural institutions and their rituals, which was published in 1938 under the title: "Facing Mount Kenya" is a legacy of the Africanness of the Pan African Humanism, but also the repugnancy of the Englishness with its world Metropolitanism which was forced down the throats of Africans without any compromise for the interpenetration of the dynamic human cultures. The commentary of Alistair Body-Evans, (29th November 2012) is typical of this Eurocentric and racist idea of the Englishness and Metropolitanism that Africans have been subjected to since the various periods of their deprivations and repressions from the imperialistic politics and economic systems of the colonizer:

"Facing Mount Kenya remains an important (even classic) work for its insights into the traditions of Kikuyu culture, written in a form which proved accessible to readers in the West. Kenyatta's however, without its controversies -- in particular Kenyatta's firm approval for the practice of Female Circumcision, which he claimed was so fundamental to Kikuyu culture that to end it, as colonial authorities and missionaries back in Kenya wished to do, would damage the culture as a whole."

But the truth is that some people criticise Female Circumcision without appreciating its Anthropological origins and dimensions which can throw more light on how to handle the issue today where African original culture has been invaded and dominated by the Judeo-Christian and the Jude-Arab-Islamic as well as colonization which reduced the Woman to a consumable commodity dominated by the Man. The practice Female Circumcision in Africa is as old as Male Circumcision, with the precarious consequences involved in both situations when it comes to inexperienced operators, and poor conditions of the victims.

Originally viewed as a rite of passage where aesthetics and the ritual removal of the male and female components of the individual considered as still bi-gender having both the male and the female sexes. Whereby circumcision, according to Cheikh Anta Diop (1962) served as this artificial modification that the penis and the clitoris to aesthetically confirm the masculinity of the Man and the femininity of the Woman. At first circumcision was not intended to establish the superiority of the man over the woman. But the shift has moved from “circumcision” which was rather a neutral gender operation to “female genital mutilation” in a colonial and patriarchal setting of production and consumption.

And the question is sometimes asked to know whether if the female circumcision operation was carried out under modern surgical and anaesthesia and conducive conditions, just like male circumcision which is now carried out in hospitals; could it be also accepted as one of the universal cultural practice of humanity?

And the underlying answer would be no! Because the original setting of egalitarianism and aesthetics has been transformed into this Anglicization and Victorianisation, domination and exploitation of the resources of the woman for the benefit of the man and the patriarchally dominated society.

But come to think of it, some have argued that there are many ritual forms of Englishnesses and World Metropolitanisms like public kissing, oral sex and the French kiss (pussy-eating as the Americans would call it), just to name a few, which Africans hold as repugnant to their ritual and cultural upbringing; but which they have been groomed to incorporate in their daily cultures and rituals as culturally and humanly good and acceptable since the gratification is mutual and beneficial to both parties without distinction of male or female advantage.

And it would seem Pan African Humanism with all its variations, differences, choices and preferences did and still tolerates these so-called repugnant practices and innovations as a legacy of humanity especially when we are told that God created the world and delegated humans to finish with the imaginative creativities, incentivisations and innovations to refashion its aesthetics.

While in Britain Kenyatta became effectively cut off from the Kikuyu Central Association – KCA, which had been banned before World War II because of its advocacy and militancy for land rights and independence. But Kenyatta did not relent with his activism in the Pan African cause and for Kikuyu and Kenyan rights for independence. This is testified by Alistair Body-Evans (2012) who narrates:

“Effectively cut off in Britain from the KCA (which had been banned back in Kenya) by World War II, Kenyatta continued to campaign for Kikuyu rights -- publishing several books and pamphlets, including a study of the Kikuyu language. Kenyatta supported himself, and avoided being conscripted, by working as a farm laborer and lecturing for the Workers’ Educational Association. He was even an extra in Alexander Korda film Sanders of the River (1943). In May 1942 he married for the second time, to an English governess, Edna Clark. Kenyatta’s second son, Peter Magana, was born in August ‘42... As the war progressed, Kenyatta became involved with a group of anti-colonial and African nationalists from around the African continent and the Diaspora. Dr Hastings Banda, the future president of Malawi, was stranded in London by World War II, and his house became a regular meeting place for Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), novelist Peter Abrahams (South African), journalist Isaac Wallace-Johnson (Sierra Leone), Harry Mawaanga Nkubula (Northern Rhodesia), as well as George Padmore and CLR James from the Caribbean. Together they formed the Pan-African Federation.”

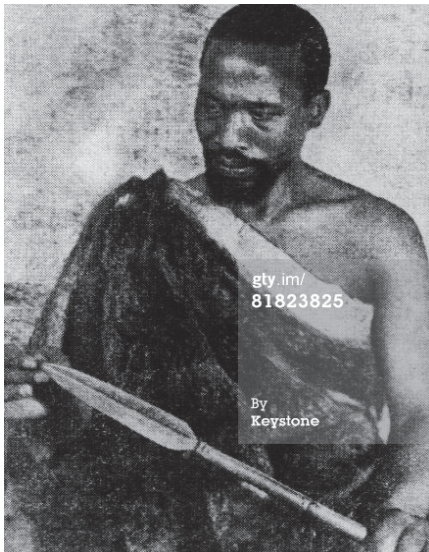


Photo 155 (e) & (f): Kenyan statesman Jomo Kenyatta (1894 - 1978) during the Mau Mau Rebellion, 1952. He was arrested for involvement with the Mau Mau, but the charges were later found to be spurious./ Nairobi, Kenya, 1952/ (d) A photograph showing a roundup of Mau Mau suspects being led away for questioning by police with their hands on their heads after being captured in a raid in the Great Rift Valley in Kenya (Photo by Popperfoto/Getty Images) (Photo by Keystone/Hulton Archive/Getty Images) Date created: 01 Jan, 1952.

When Jomo Kenyatta finally returned to Kenya in September 1946, which was his second and last return from Great Britain, he was a well-groomed Pan Africanist. He abandoned his British wife Edna, who remained in London, and got married to a Kenyan, Grace Wanjiku, and was appointed to the post

of principal at the Kenya Teachers College in Githunguri. It was at Githunguri that Kenyatta honed his Pan Africanist and nationalist activism which gained him in 1947 the position of president of the newly formed Kenya African Union – KAU. Kenyatta became very involved in the politics of liberation and the incentivisation of the people of Kenya for independence.

Between 1947 to 1951 his nationalist activism had become so hectic that it carried him to every nook and cranny of Kenya. However, Kenyatta still found time for a third marriage in September 1951 to Ngina Muhoho, after losing his second wife Grace Wanjiku who died in child birth in 1950. But the honeymoon was not going to last long for Jomo Kenyatta, who was arrested on 21st October 1952 by the British colonial authorities, on accusation for subversive activities, because of his incentivisation of the people of Kenya for independence and his support for nationalism.

Actually the dangerous explosion Kenyatta had predicted in The Times in 1930 had become a reality as the Mau Mau Rebellion had set the trail blazer of violent revolution against the colonial system and the White Settler domination and deprivation of Kenyans of their land and natural resource of their livelihood.

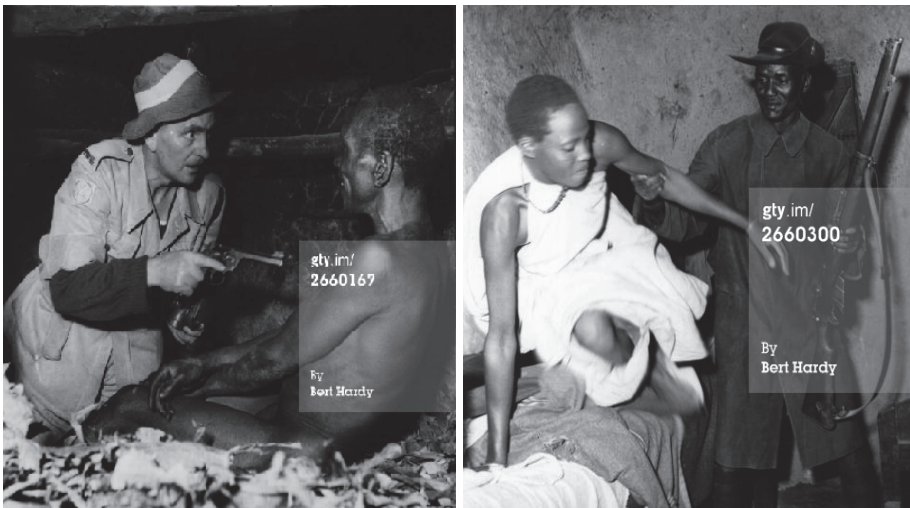


Photo 155 (g) & (h): Cold Blooded Murder And Lynching Of Mau Mau Kikuyu Men And Women. But Stage-Managed and Orchestrated Exhibition to cover up the hideous crimes read:

(i) A night raid organised by the Army and the Kenya police to find members of the Mau Mau. Original Publication: Picture Post - 6223 - Mau Mau Get Out Get Out - pub. 1952 (Photo by Bert Hardy/Getty Images)

(j) A night raid organised by the Army and the Kenya police to find members of the Mau Mau. Original Publication: Picture Post - 6223 - Mau Mau Get Out Get Out - pub. 1952 (Photo by Bert Hardy/Getty Images) Date created: 29 November, 1952

Kenyatta was held responsible, arrested and remained in prison while the ravage against the Mau Mau activists went on in the most virulent and inhumane manner that was not short of ethnic-cleansing of the Kikuyu ethnic-nation. As you can see from the most harrowing graphic pictures that were given stage played and given the falsified official captions, not even the trees and the plants in the environment were spared as men, women, children and cattle were systematically quarantined, tortured, lynched and murdered in cold blood, just because they dared ask for their rights, for their lands.

The British Colonial Government along with the White Settlers of Kenya opened the gates of Hell lose on innocent, peace-loving people who asked for nothing but equitable justice and the restitution of their Human Rights and the seized lands that in all NATURAL JUSTICE was theirs.

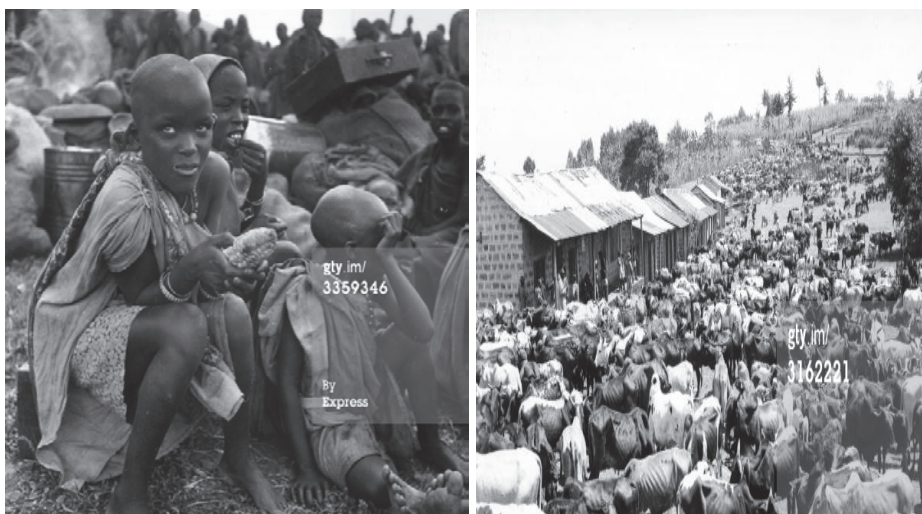


Photo 155 (i) & (j): Mau Mau Children And Cattle Taken Prisoners And Quarantined To Starve And Die Slowly In British Concentration Genocidal Camps Of Ethnic-Cleansing In Kenya. Photo by Bert Hardy/Getty Images) Date created: 29 November, 1952

When one sees innocent children and helpless animals tortured physically and mentally, systematically starved, made to suffer and perish in the hands of the British Colonial Hooligans, one realizes that the British Crimes against Humanity in Africa cry to Heaven's gates for Justice. But the British would tell you today that those who own the land unjustly stolen from the native Kikuyu and the Massai of Kenya, own them justifiably in their Human Rights. So are Human Rights just White Rights and the Rights of the Mighty?

No amount of compensation would repay the damages of the crimes against humanity committed by Great Britain's colonial officials in Kenya. But

the consolation and satisfaction in all humanist perspective is that Great Britain has finally recognized and admitted its crimes against the Kenyan people (Guardian News, 2013) and has admitted to pay compensation for the victims. Even though many died with their families that will never be compensated, the fact that some compensation has been done in honour of those still living is a sign that the Pan African Humanism is catching up with Great Britain. And it would have been plausible if this recognition and compensation had gone down right from the time of the genocides caused by Slavery and Colonisation Crimes against Humanity committed in other parts of the world, not only by Great Britain, but by all other colonizing and slave-driven capitalist economy of the European and American world.

Great Britain had always denied liability for colonial crimes but the truth is that it could not escape its “vicariate responsibility” of these crimes against humanity as attested by The Guardian News (2013) which admits that:

“The announcement was warmly welcomed by Martyn Day, senior partner at Leigh Day. I take my hat off to Mr. Hague for having the courage to make today’s statement and to announce this settlement with our clients,” he said. These crimes were committed by British colonial officials and have gone unrecognised and unpunished for decades. They included castration, rape and repeated violence of the worst kind. Although they occurred many years ago, the physical and mental scars remain. The elderly victims of torture now at last have the recognition and justice they have sought for many years. For them, the significance of this moment cannot be over-emphasised.’ The settlement comes after a lengthy legal battle between a number of elderly victims and the British government. The Mau Mau movement emerged in central Kenya during the 1950s to take back seized land and push for an end to colonial rule. Supporters were detained in camps and thousands were tortured, maimed or executed. Last year the high court ruled that three Kenyans tortured during the unrest could pursue their compensation claims against the government. The Foreign Office had attempted to thwart the bid, claiming the actions were brought outside the legal time limit and there were “irredeemable difficulties” in relation to the availability of witnesses and documents. It did not dispute they suffered “torture and other ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial administration”. Lawyers for Wambugu Wa Nyingi, Paulo Muoka Nzili and Jane Muthoni Mara argued that it was an exceptional case in which the judge should exercise his discretion in their favour.”

But the celebration for the victory of Pan Africanism in all this should go with the recognition and admission by William Hague before the House of Commons, who bravely came out to confirm this Humanism as the end of the struggle we stand for. The fact that humans should take all humility to admit

faults and compensate for crimes against humanity and Mother Nature is worth the celebration. That is why William Hague must be celebrated as the incarnation of the dream of Pan African Humanism, when he admits as narrated by The Guardian that:

“William Hague makes a statement in the House of Commons, London, setting out plans to compensate elderly Kenyans tortured during the Mau Mau uprising. Photograph: P.A. Britain is to pay out £19.9m in costs and compensation to more than 5,000 elderly Kenyans who suffered torture and abuse during the Mau Mau uprising in the 1950s, the foreign secretary, William Hague, has said. Hague told the House of Commons that the payment was being made in “full and final settlement” of a high court action brought by five of the victims who suffered under the British colonial administration. ‘We understand the pain and the grief felt by those who were involved in the events of emergency in Kenya. The British government recognises that Kenyans were subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial administration...The British government sincerely regrets that these abuses took place and that they marred Kenya’s progress to independence. Torture and ill-treatment are abhorrent violations of human dignity which we unreservedly condemn.’ Hague said Britain would also support the construction of a memorial in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, to the victims of torture and abuse during the colonial era. Hague told MPs that 5,228 Kenyans would receive compensation under the terms of the settlement agreed with their solicitors, Leigh Day. He stressed that the government continued to deny liability for the actions of the colonial administration and indicated it would defend claims brought from other former British colonies. ‘We do not believe that this settlement establishes a precedent in relation to any other former British colonial administration,’ he said.”

Since the Ghost of King Leopold of Belgium frustrated the self-determination of the ancient Congo Empire with his draconian abuse of the human rights of the Congolese people, the Congo had never known peace and security. When King Leopold ordered his Missionaries who were sent to the Congo not to preach to the people about God, because the African people, according to his declaration, knew God better than the Belgians; but that they should teach the Africans how to obey the King and show all loyalty and fealty, and be obliged to participate in their own exploitation, and subservience, he was quite aware of the great wealth, natural and human resources that this country, the size of Western Europe, was endowed with.

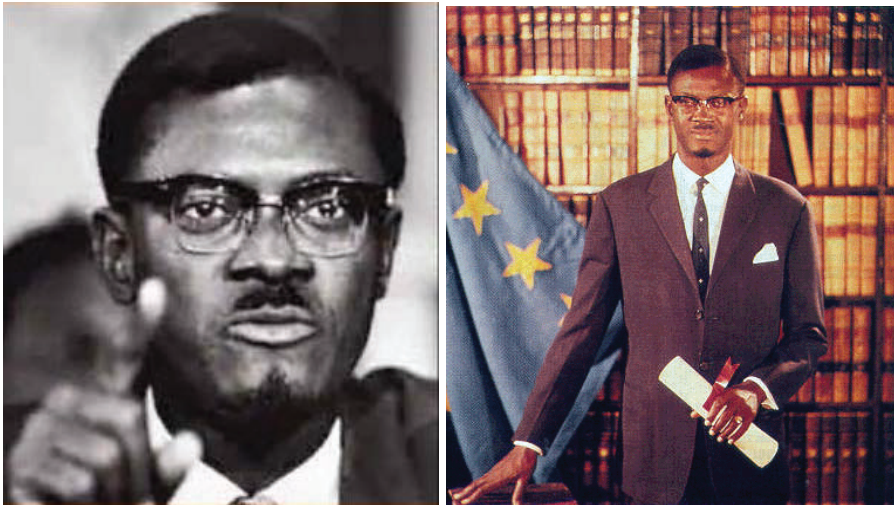
That is why, even after Congo had been laid waste and its natural and human resources raped and bastardised by almost a hundred and fifty years of colonisation and neo-colonisation, Giscard d’Estaing in 1974 still reiterated

that (Fongot Kinni, 2004) whosoever would control the Congo and Africa by implication, would control the world.

But there came a time when the Good God of Africa sent a Pan Africanist messiah to be born among the Congolese people in the name of Patrice Lumumba, who in defiance to the colonial repression declared in 1960 that:

“Dead, living, free, or in prison on the orders of the colonialists, it is not I who counts. It is the Congo, it is our people for whom independence has been transformed into a cage where we are regarded from the outside... History will one day have its say, but it will not be the history that Brussels, Paris, Washington, or the United Nations will teach, but that which they will teach in the countries emancipated from colonialism and its puppets... a history of glory and dignity.”

Patrice Lumumba was a devoted Pan Africanist who did not mince his words as far as the liberation of Africa and his country was concerned. After participating in the first All African Peoples Conference organized by President Kwame Nkrumah in Accra, in 1958, Patrice Lumumba reinforced his activism for Congolese independence and African Unity.



Photos 156 (a) & (b): Patrice Émery Lumumba: 2 July 1925 – 17 January 1961

It was this patriotism and nationalism that inspired the Independence Day's speech of Patrice Lumumba which was not palatable to the Western colonisers, even though hailed by all African nationalists and activists for the liberation of the continent.

For the Belgian Congo, Independence Day did not only mark the liberation from Colonialism but essentially the end of the serial Genocide and the Black Holocaust that the atrocities inhumane racist relations that had

ruthlessly taken away innocent lives and totally wiped out some of the robust ethnicities that set up strong resistance to colonisation and forced labour.

The horror of colonisation is documented by Eleanor Cleasby (2008) who confirmed in an article entitled: “Massive Genocide In Africa Ends As King Leopold Dies,” goes on to explore from the University of London College of Communication, MA Course Work on Documentary Photography. From a series of photographs retrieved from the Royal Museum of the Armed Forces and Military History, Brussels, Belgium, from a series titled: “The Great Forgetting,” www.penguinandchips.com, she explains:

“The Great Forgetting explores King Leopold II’s legacy in Belgium. Leopold’s reign (1885 – 1908) was defined by his country’s brutal exploitation of the Congo. Using profits made from the Congo’s rubber and other natural resources to realise elaborate building projects, Leopold became known as the ‘Builder King’. In Belgium, there is little reference to the genocidal crimes committed on his orders, estimated at 10 million deaths. In Adam Hochschild’s book ‘King Leopold’s Ghost’, the author refers to the omission of these atrocities in Belgium’s history as ‘The Great Forgetting’...”

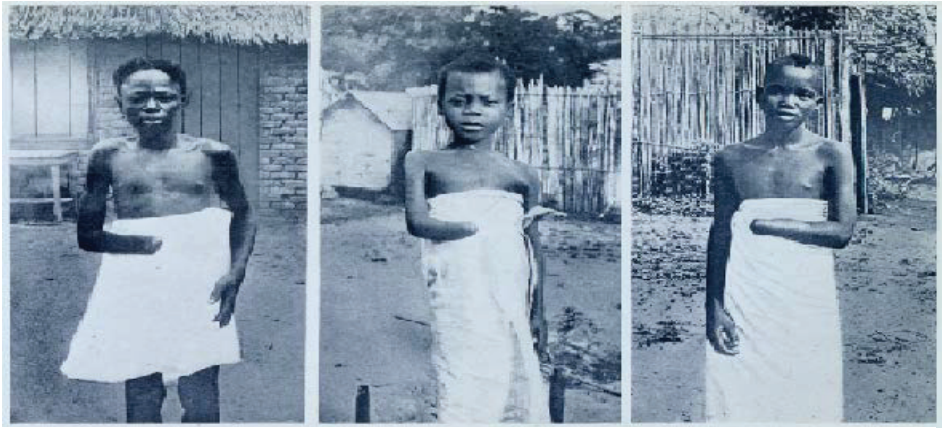


Photos 156 (c): Colonial Punishment for workers was often lethal Source: King Leopold’s Ghost: a story of greed, terror, and heroism in colonial Africa By Adam Hochschild, ©1998.

Previously, Adam Hochschild (1998) had documented in an erudite research work in a book entitled: “King Leopold’s Ghost: a story of greed, terror, and heroism in colonial Africa” the greasily and heart rending revelations of the systematic Genocide and one of the undocumented Black Holocaust committed in Africa after the of the Semitic Jewish-Arab trans Saharan and Mediterranean Slave Trade in Europe, the Middle East and the

Far East, and the Judeo-Christian Slave Trade across the Atlantic to America. Excerpts from the book show how King Leopold used vile tricks and force to subdue Africans in the Congo and transforming the land into a genocidal-forced-labour human bank. Hochschild narrates:

“In one of the greatest atrocities of the modern era, Belgian King Leopold II was responsible for the deaths from 1885 to 1908 of ten million Africans in the lands surrounding the Congo River. Determined to acquire a colony from which to extract personal riches, the king had used famed explorer Henry Stanley to trick village chieftains into selling their lands to him for token compensation. To the world, he presented a face of benevolence regarding the colony, professing himself to be anti-slavery and his mission to be charitable. In fact, his personal army forced millions of Africans into de facto slavery to amass a personal fortune from elephant tusks and rubber plants. It was King Leopold’s Congo that served as the subject for Joseph Conrad’s famed novel Heart of Darkness. Two individuals who were among the earliest to begin reporting the horrors of the colony back to the western world were George Washington Williams and William Sheppard. In enforcing the Africans to work, King Leopold’s soldiers often had to shoot those who would not cooperate. To get credit for these actions, as well as to help prevent the waste of ammunition, these soldiers had to show the hands of those they had killed: “[In his Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, Williams reported that in acquiring lands for King Leopold, Henry] Stanley and his white assistants had used a variety of tricks, such as fooling Africans into thinking that whites had supernatural powers, to get Congo chiefs to sign their land over to Leopold. For example: ‘A number of electric batteries had been purchased in London, and when attached to the arm under the coat, communicated with a band of ribbon which passed over the palm of the white brother’s hand, and when he gave the black brother a cordial grasp of the hand the black brother was greatly surprised to find his white brother so strong, that he nearly knocked him off his feet. . . . When the native inquired about the disparity of strength between himself and his white brother, he was told that the white man could pull up trees and perform the most prodigious feats of strength.’ Another trick was to use a magnifying glass to light a cigar, after which ‘the white man explained his intimate relation to the sun, and declared that if he were to request him to burn up his black brother’s village it would be done.’ In another ruse, a white man would ostentatiously load a gun but covertly slip the bullet up his sleeve. He would then hand the gun to a black chief, step off a distance, and ask the chief to take aim and shoot; the white man, unharmed, would bend over and retrieve the bullet from his shoe. ‘By such means . . . and a few boxes of gin, whole villages have been signed away to your Majesty.’ Land purchased in this way, Williams wrote, was ‘territory to which your Majesty has no more legal claim, than I have to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Belgian army.’ . . .”



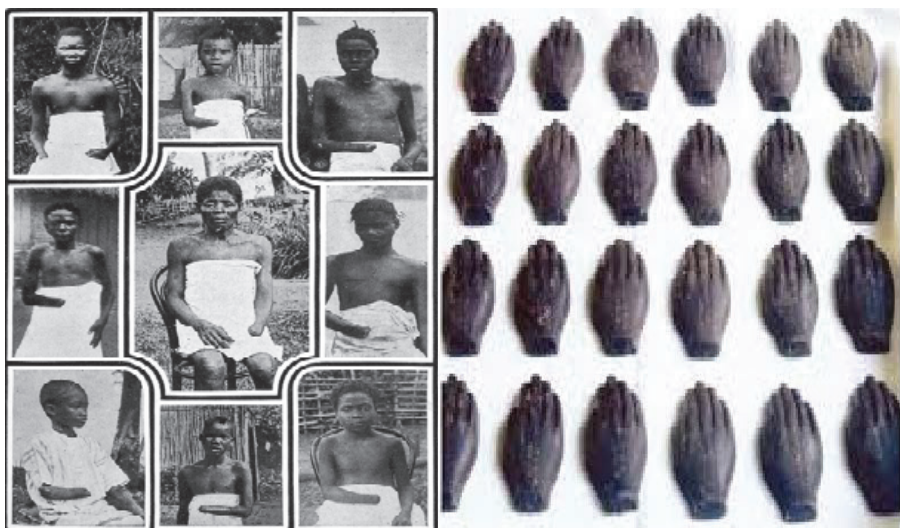
Photos 156 (d), (e), (f): Children and adults with chopped off hands for refusing to submit to King Leopold's Force-Labour regime in the Belgian Congo.

The atrocities of the massacre and genocide were spiced by a senile depravity beyond human description, where the marauding army of King Leopold, according to orders not only erased and plundered villages and chopped off hands of resisting Africans to set examples to intimidate the rest of the African ethnicities. They also took delight in smoking the chopped off hands as evidence and colonial trophies which they shipped to Belgium for the King as evidence of the efficacy of the bullets that killed the resisting native forces in the colony.

Adam Hochschild elaborates on these shameless bare face atrocities of King Leopold's officers in the Congo which their seething immorality and racist disdain for the African:

"... 'Your Majesty's Government is excessively cruel to its prisoners, condemning them, for the slightest offenses, to the chain gang. . . . Often these ox-chains eat into the necks of the prisoners and produce sores about which the flies circle, aggravating the running wound.' Leopold's claim that his new state was providing wise government and public services was a fraud. There were no schools and no hospitals except for a few sheds 'not fit to be occupied by a horse.' ... 'White traders and state officials were kidnapping African women and using them as concubines. 'White officers were shooting villagers, sometimes to capture their women, sometimes to intimidate the survivors into working as forced laborers, and sometimes for sport. 'Two Belgian Army officers saw, from the deck of their steamer, a native in a canoe some distance away. . . . The officers made a wager of £5 that they could hit the native with their rifles. Three shots were fired and the native fell dead, pierced through the head.' 'Instead of Leopold's being the noble antislavery crusader he portrayed himself as, 'Your Majesty's Government is engaged in the slave-trade, wholesale and retail. It buys and sells and steals slaves. Your Majesty's

Government gives £3 per head for able-bodied slaves for military service. . . . The labour force at the stations of your Majesty's Government in the Upper River is composed of slaves of all ages and both sexes.' ...

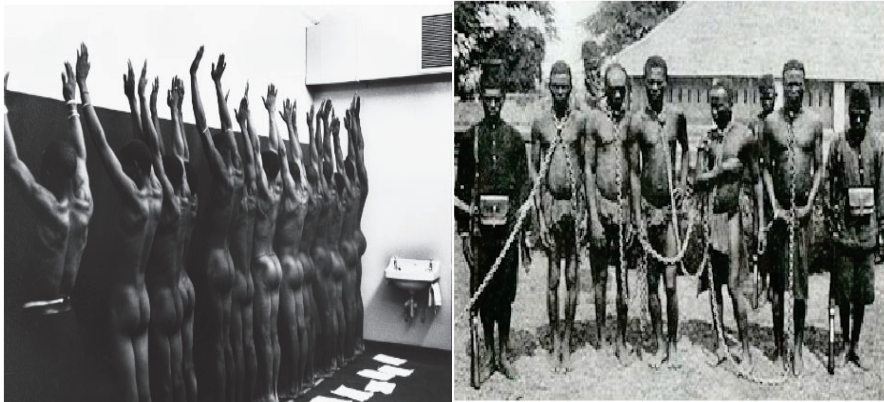


Photos 156 (f) (g): Chopped Off Hands of Resisting Africans and Smoked Hands Trophies of Massacred Africans For King Leopold.

A revelation from William Shepherd in 1899 discloses that the Congo Free State was not Free at all and was subjected to systematic genocide of the native ethnicities that refused to succumb to King Leopold's indentured Slave Trade and Colonisation of Africa. Rochschild goes on to document on the details of these horrendous atrocities:

"In 1899 the reluctant [William] Sheppard was ordered by his superiors to travel into the [Congo] bush, at some risk to himself, to investigate the source of the fighting. There he found bloodstained ground, destroyed villages, and many bodies; the air was thick with the stench of rotting flesh. On the day he reached the marauders' camp, his eye was caught by a large number of objects being smoked. The chief 'conducted us to a framework of sticks, under which was burning a slow fire, and there they were, the right hands, I counted them, 81 in all.' The chief told Sheppard, 'See! Here is our evidence. I always have to cut off the right hands of those we kill in order to show the State how many we have killed.' He proudly showed Sheppard some of the bodies the hands had come from. The smoking preserved the hands in the hot, moist climate, for it might be days or weeks before the chief could display them to the proper official and receive credit for his kills. "Sheppard had stumbled on one of the most grisly aspects of Leopold's rubber system. ... If a village refused to submit to the [forced work of harvesting rubber], state or company troops or their allies sometimes shot everyone in sight, so that

nearby villages would get the message. But on such occasions some European officers were mistrustful. For each cartridge issued to their soldiers they demanded proof that the bullet had been used to kill someone, not 'wasted' in hunting or, worse yet, saved for possible use in a mutiny. The standard proof was the right hand from a corpse. Or occasionally not from a corpse. 'Sometimes,' said one officer to a missionary, soldiers 'shot a cartridge at an animal in hunting; they then cut off a hand from a living man.' In some military units there was even a 'keeper of the hands'; his job was the smoking."



Photos 156 (h) & (i): Young mining recruits undergoing a group medical examination - Ernest Cole. Photo source: Adam Hirsch; Congolese Slaves chained and transported for sale. The Encyclopædia Britannica estimates that between 8 and 30 million people died in Belgian Congo through his private colonialism.

It is awfully sad that even Tintin when he visited the Congo could not see the shameless and inhumane atrocities and the Black Holocaust perpetrated by King Leopold in Africa. Tintin was actually portraying the Neo-colonialist mentality where the Congolese were made to believe that Belgium was their fatherland in the same manner as the French taught Africans to believe their ancestors were the Gauls.

But it is also interesting today to see how after grooming Mobutu Sese Seko, America and the CIA, after the induced assassination of Laurent Kabila, and the grooming of Joseph Kabila, have continued to lay waste the Congo with the American UN Forces that have colonised the Congo since 1960 to this day, making the Congolese to believe that America, the ideographic Dream Land, is their Fatherland. It would also be interesting if another Adams Hirsch would carry out another research to expose the "Ghost of America and the CIA story of power and greed, not only in the Congo, but also in Africa" from 1960 to this day. In the 1960 the argument for American Mission Policy was that Lumumba was Pro-Communist, and Communism had

to be fought with all might and corruption money invested in the Congo. Forty years later, in on 2000, American Mission is to fight Chinese trade expansionism and technological cooperation in Africa.



Photos 156 (j), (k) & (l): Tibtibn from Belgium Makes a Mockery of the African Colonial Experience And The Exploitation Of The Congolese In King Leopold Ghost Country

America and the Western European countries are behaving today, after over Five hundred Years of the Semitic Jewish-Arab Trans-Saharan Mediterranean Slavery and Genocide in Africa, and after Five Hundred Years of the Trans-Atlantic Jewish-European and the Judeo-Christian Slavery and Colonisation that generated the Black Holocaust in Africa, and fostering the belief that they can eat the cake and still have it. They seem to behave with the racist belief that Africans do not know today what is good for them. They arrogate to their pompous "Omniscient" selves the absolute right to dictate to Africans what is good for Africans; always behaving as if they are the ones to always decide for Africans what kind of Developmental Ideology to adopt to foster Pan African Interest and Self Determination.



Photos 156 (m), (n) (o): Tintin From Belgium Making A Racist Ridicule Of The Congolese Natives Under The Colonial Imperialist Mission

Wherefore, today they still continue to assassinate any African who challenges their “Omnipotence” like Muammar Gaddafi whom they eliminated just like they did to Kwame Nkrumah, Abdel Nasser and to Patrice Lumumba whom they classified as Revolutionary and Pro-Communists.

Even though Lumumba’s speech outlined all the grievances against the racist genocidal repressive colonial regime in King Leopold Ghostified Congo,

Lumumba still had the good will to stretch out the hand of peace and friendship to Belgium and to all the foreign friends of Congo and Africa. But the Belgians and the Neo-Colonial Imperialistic European and American Powers did not digest this bold affront coming from what they have always considered a “Sub-Human” African with the mental capacity to tell them the bitter TRUTH of their In-Humanism in Africa in their face; of the Black Holocaust they have perpetrated for Centuries.

The full text of the speech (Patrice Lumumba, 30th June, 1960) speaks for itself and should be judged in the true socio-political Humanistic context:

“SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE CONGO’S INDEPENDENCE, June 30, 1960: Men and women of the Congo, Victorious independence fighters, I salute you in the name of the Congolese Government. I ask all of you, my friends, who tirelessly fought in our ranks, to mark this June 30, 1960, as an illustrious date that will be ever engraved in your hearts, a date whose meaning you will proudly explain to your children, so that they in turn might relate to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren the glorious history of our struggle for freedom. Although this independence of the Congo is being proclaimed today by agreement with Belgium, an amicable country, with which we are on equal terms, no Congolese will ever forget that independence was won in struggle, a persevering and inspired struggle carried on from day to day, a struggle, in which we were undaunted by privation or suffering and stinted neither strength nor blood. It was filled with tears, fire and blood. We are deeply proud of our struggle, because it was just and noble and indispensable in putting an end to the humiliating bondage forced upon us. That was our lot for the eighty years of colonial rule and our wounds are too fresh and much too painful to be forgotten. We have experienced forced labour in exchange for pay that did not allow us to satisfy our hunger, to clothe ourselves, to have decent lodgings or to bring up our children as dearly loved ones. Morning, noon and night we were subjected to jeers, insults and blows because we were “Negroes”. Who will ever forget that the black was addressed as “tu,” not because he was a friend, but because the polite “vous” was reserved for the white man? We have seen our lands seized in the name of ostensibly just laws, which gave recognition only to the right of might. We have not forgotten that the law was never the same for the white and the black, that it was lenient to the ones, and cruel and inhuman to the others. We have experienced the atrocious sufferings, being persecuted for political convictions and religious beliefs, and exiled from our native land: our lot was worse than death itself. We have not forgotten that in the cities the mansions were for the whites and the tumbledown huts for the blacks; that a black was not admitted to the cinemas, restaurants and shops set aside for “Europeans”; that a black travelled in the holds, under the feet of the whites in their luxury cabins. Who will ever forget the shootings which killed so many of our brothers, or the cells into which were

mercilessly thrown those who no longer wished to submit to the regime of injustice, oppression and exploitation used by the colonialists as a tool of their domination? All that, my brothers, brought us untold suffering. But we, who were elected by the votes of your representatives, representatives of the people, to guide our native land, we, who have suffered in body and soul from the colonial oppression, we tell you that henceforth all that is finished with. The Republic of the Congo has been proclaimed and our beloved country's future is now in the hands of its own people. Brothers, let us commence together a new struggle, a sublime struggle that will lead our country to peace, prosperity and greatness. Together we shall establish social justice and ensure for every man a fair remuneration for his labour. We shall show the world what the black man can do when working in liberty, and we shall make the Congo the pride of Africa. We shall see to it that the lands of our native country truly benefit its children. We shall revise all the old laws and make them into new ones that will be just and noble. We shall stop the persecution of free thought. We shall see to it that all citizens enjoy to the fullest extent the basic freedoms provided for by the Declaration of Human Rights. We shall eradicate all discrimination, whatever its origin, and we shall ensure for everyone a station in life befitting his human dignity and worthy of his labour and his loyalty to the country. We shall institute in the country a peace resting not on guns and bayonets but on concord and goodwill. And in all this, my dear compatriots, we can rely not only on our own enormous forces and immense wealth, but also on the assistance of the numerous foreign states, whose co-operation we shall accept when it is not aimed at imposing upon us an alien policy, but is given in a spirit of friendship. Even Belgium, which has finally learned the lesson of history and need no longer try to oppose our independence, is prepared to give us its aid and friendship; for that end an agreement has just been signed between our two equal and independent countries. I am sure that this co-operation will benefit both countries. For our part, we shall, while remaining vigilant, try to observe the engagements we have freely made. Thus, both in the internal and the external spheres, the new Congo being created by my government will be rich, free and prosperous. But to attain our goal without delay, I ask all of you, legislators and citizens of the Congo, to give us all the help you can. I ask you all to sink your tribal quarrels: they weaken us and may cause us to be despised abroad. I ask you all not to shrink from any sacrifice for the sake of ensuring the success of our grand undertaking. Finally, I ask you unconditionally to respect the life and property of fellow-citizens and foreigners who have settled in our country; if the conduct of these foreigners leaves much to be desired, our Justice will promptly expel them from the territory of the republic; if, on the contrary, their conduct is good, they must be left in peace, for they, too, are working for our country's prosperity. The Congo's independence is a decisive step towards the liberation of the whole African continent. Our government, a government of national and popular unity, will serve its country. I call on all Congolese citizens, men, women and children, to set themselves resolutely to the task of creating a national economy and ensuring our

economic independence. Eternal glory to the fighters for national liberation! Long live independence and African unity! Long live the independent and sovereign Congo!”



Photos 156 (p) (q): Patrice Lumumba And His Companion Arrested And Being Led To The Slaughter; Patrice Lumumba Before His final Assassination With the Connivance Of Belgium And The CIA

The speech of Patrice Lumumba resumed in a few words what any patriotic African nationalist would have rendered on such an occasion of the liberation of a people, and envisaged for the future of his people's welfare. Even though he was criticized by the Western colonizers and oppressors, who thought and planned that independence be actually transformed into the new cycle of neo-dependence and neo-colonisation. Even though the Western powers, with connivance of the United Nations taken hostage by the United States and the Allied Western Powers, who were fighting it Cold War and McCarthyism in Africa, finally betrayed Lumumba and sponsored the military mutiny which led his arrest and imprisonment, and finally to his assassination in 1961, with the connivance of the CIA.

Lumumba remained very relentlessly focused on his convictions for the total liberation of Africa. Patrice Lumumba preferred to sacrifice his life for his ideas and convictions for liberation than to betray his people and their sustainable future livelihood and development. His devotion to his people and their cause for liberation and sustainable development was expressed in his last letter to his wife which John Henrik Clarke (1961) renders in his account on "The Passing of Patrice Lumumba" which reads:

"(LUMUMBA'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE)

I write you these words without knowing if they will reach you, when they will reach you, or if I will still be living when you read them. All during the length of my fight for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant the final

triumph of the sacred cause to which my companions and myself have consecrated our lives. But what we wish for our country, its right to an honorable life, to a spotless dignity, to an independence without restrictions, Belgian colonialism and its Western allies-who have found direct and indirect support, deliberate and not deliberate among certain high officials of the United Nations, this organization in which we placed all our confidence when we called for their assistance-have not wished it. They have corrupted certain of our fellow countrymen, they have contributed to distorting the truth and our enemies that they will rise up like a single person to say no to a degrading and shameful colonialism and to reassume their dignity under a pure sun.



Photos 156 (r) (s): Patrice Lumumba's Wife And Newly Born Baby; The Last Picture of Lumumba Before His Assassination By Belgium And the CIA

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, and free and liberated people from every corner of the world will always be found at the side of the Congolese. They will not abandon the light until the day comes when there are no more colonizers and their mercenaries in our country. To my children whom I leave and whom perhaps I will see no more, I wish that they be told that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that it expects for each Congolese, to accomplish the sacred task of reconstruction of our independence and our sovereignty; for without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men. . . . Do not weep for me, my dear companion. I know that my country, which suffers so much, will know how to defend its independence and its liberty. Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!"

Patrice Lumumba's legacy to his people and Africa is testified by the fact that he so loved his people and country in such a manner that he laid down his life for his people and continued to inspire them with the hope for life and service to others, as endorsed in this his saying which goes down in the annals of the epitaph of Africa. Lumumba, in this verse titled: *"From Dawn In the Heart of Africa"* reminded all Africans to remember that:

*“And on this earth which you will always love
You will make the Congo a nation, happy and free,
In the very heart of vast Black Africa.”*

This legacy of Lumumba is not achieved in Congo still bedevilled by the various strikes and conflicts which have ensued since Lumumba was assassinated. The Democratic Republic of Congo is not only one of the largest countries of Africa with a territorial space that covers the entire Western Europe; it contains over half of Africa's rare minerals and over half of the world's rare minerals. That explains why America and Western Europe, on their global economy and global anthropology, have always tightened their grips on the Democratic Republic of Congo.

It was in intervening in Colwezi conflict in the 1970s that Giscard D'Estaing justified the intervention of France saying: “Qui controle l'Afrique, controle le monde.” “He who controls Africa, controls the world.” Hence Europe and America, with their NATO forces have always initiated wars in Africa to control it. If that were not the case one would have asked America why it has maintained its forces and United Nations Forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo since the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. It was in honour of valiant Congolese who have sacrificed themselves and died for the Congo, for Africa, that I composed this poem and song titled:

GOD'S DARK EYES

Good God...

Your dark eyes

Give me your light

From the dark green hills of Congo

The dark coltran pebble jewels

Enrich the vibrations in my dark

Eyed screen laptop from the

White eyed technologist you sent

To computerize my mind's wealth

Beyond the Mountain Lakes and Rivers

Of Bukavu world where raped

Women and raped babies confirm their cursed

Motherhood...

Bàá Zàmbé-è-è

Múngú Báá...

Bàá Zàmbé-è-è

Múngú Báá...

*How can I continue
 To have these raped dark eyes...
 When You inspire me You are
 My Greatest Mum and Dad
 When You give me the heart and eyes
 Of Judith and Christine
 To feel and cry out to You
 To give me Your Healing Hands
 The Healing Hands of Dr. Malunga
 In this Congo of bloody democratic rape-diamonds
 Rape-coltran, rape-gold and all rape minerals for
 The lucrative industries of
 America and Europe that
 Show me Your dark eyed light
 With dark glasses to shade my dark aching tears*

*They drop bothy-cold with frozen fear
 On my laptop
 With the blue dark eyes
 The dark eyes of God
 The dark eyes of a
 New light of hope
 Of Justice and Retribution
 To the raped children of God
 The raped women of God...*

*Of the permanently raped children
 Under the dark eyes of God
 Of the permanently raped women
 Under the dark eyes of God's Congo
 Of the permanently raped widows
 Under the dark eyes of God's Bukavu*

*Of the permanently raped virgins
 Under the dark eyes of God's Mountains*

*Of the permanently raped minds
 Under the darks eyes of God's Dehumanised World!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Buea, 8/08/2010. (In Memory of Patrice Lumumba and All Who have sacrificed their lives for Congo and its People).

Mwalimu Nyerere can be described as one of those rare Pan Africanist whose activism was more home grown and nurtured from an African perspective very peculiar to Tanganyika's colonial history, as compared to its northern and southern neighbours of the Eastern, Central-Southern African region. Because Tanganyika, after the first World War became a Mandated Territory of the League of Nations under British administration, it did not

suffer from the severe impact of colonisation and domination like the other surrounding countries like Kenya, Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and South West Africa. The Eastern and Central-Southern African countries had heavy contingents of British colonial settler populations, with a grafted imported labour population of Indians and Chinese, like in the case of Uganda, Kenya, Mauritius and Southern Africa. That is why Tanganyika could be hypothetically spared some of the harsh racial conflicts that was experienced in countries like Kenya that gave birth to the Mau Mau rebellion, or in Southern Africa that gave birth to hardliner nationalist movements like the African National Congress - ANC, the Zimbabwe African National Union - ZANU and South West African People Organisation – SWAPO.

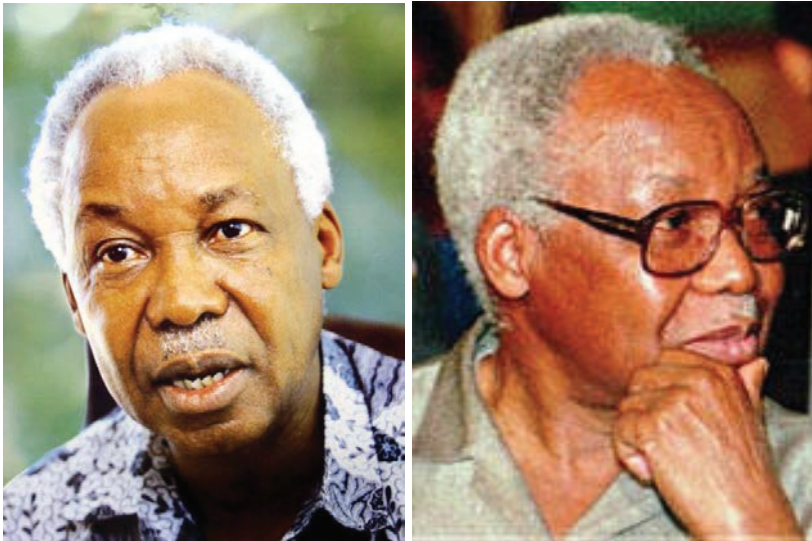
When Nyerere founded the first Tanganyika student group when he enrolled in the University of Makerere, Uganda, between 1943 – 1945, as an offshoot of the African Association – AA, (a Pan African group which was first formed in 1929 by the educated elite of Tanganyika), he was only articulating in an original manner the humanitarian spirit of Pan Africanism which emanates from within every committed African at the age of maturity as part of his or her manhood and womanhood. This humanitarian spirit of Pan Africanism pushed Nyerere to start a branch of the African Association - AA at the St. Mary's Catholic School in Tabora where he became a teacher and sowed the seeds of the pursuit for Tanganyika's independence. This is how in 1948 Nyerere restyled the AA to become the Tanganyika African Association – TAA, in his bid for independence and freedom of his people.

This bid became more and more a reality when in 1949 he moved to the University of Edinburgh to study for the MA in Economics and History, and got involved in the Fabian Council Bureau, the British non-Marxist anti-colonial movement, based in London under the leadership of H.G. Wells and Annie Besant; and in the British African and Diaspora elitist Victorian Metropolitan Pan Africanism.

One can hypothesise that the Fabian socialist movement impacted heavily on Nyerere, because he chose and promoted the non-violent anti-Marxist armed revolution theory for liberation and independence, after his graduation in 1952, when returned to promote the independence and development theory of his country.

Unlike his counterparts in Southern Africa and West Africa with the upheavals and turmoils for independence, especially the nationalist reaction against the creation of the Central African Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; with the likes of fire-brand Marxists and Communist advocates like Tai Solarin and Nzeribe in Nigeria against moderate

non-violent revolutionists like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo; or in Kenya where the Mau Mau rebellion had erupted, Nyerere kept a rather low profile and encouraged his followers to adopt the non-violent soft socialism tailored on the maxims of Fabianism. When he became the president of TAA in 1953, he resolved to sensitise the population on the benefits of the African the Philosophy of Nationalism and Non-violence.



Photos 157 (a) & (b): Julius Kambarage Nyerere: 13 April 1922 - 14 October 1999

That is how he converted the TAA in 1954 into the Tanganyikan African National Union – TANU, which became the leading beacon of independence movement in the country. TANU adopted non-violence as its main objective and manifesto with the main intent being the promotion of multi-ethnic politics and the promotion of social and political harmony. In the same year Nyerere was appointed to the Tanganyika’s Legislative Council and he gave up teaching to focus on politics. But his popularity as a strategist and people-centred leader gained him the popular name of “Mwalimu,” the beloved and acclaimed “Teacher” of his people.

When in 1955 and in 1956 Nyerere testified on behalf of TANU before the UN Trusteeship Council, about the time table for Tanganyika’s independence, he was not asserting in a bitter manner the defaults of colonialism and imperialism; but rather, he wanted to force a new entrepreneurial blue print for Africa and see how African peoples could be given the chance to freely run the affairs of country and their destiny.

A year later when Ghana became independent, Nyerere was very keen to follow up the emerging development in the champion of African unity to see how he could learn to upgrade Tanganyika’s role in the union. Nyerere

attended the All African People's Congress in Accra of 5-13 DECEMBER 1958 where he was able to touch base with Kwame Nkrumah and consult and familiarise himself on Nkrumah's ideas for African Unity.

When Tanzania gained independence on 9 December 1962 under Nyerere as president of the new Republic of Tanganyika, he initiated the integration into African politics the traditional style of African decision making known as "indaba," "Consensus" which is gained through open dialogue and a series of meetings in which everyone has an opportunity to air his or her voice and mind about a subject.

Nyerere was the first African who was able to source for inspiration from the African traditional system of governance, despite his grooming in the British Victorian Metropolitanism. Nyerere was able to coin his inspiration of "Ujamaa," "Villagisation" or African Socialism from age old traditional classical African Philosophy of Communitarian Self-Help Development.

Throughout his tenure of office, Nyerere proved that he was a Pan Africanist of the Ras Makonnen school of thought where the African had to depend on his or her own initiatives of self-determination and entrepreneurial skills to attain their freedom and emancipation from colonialism and imperialism.

It was said of Mwalimu Nyerere that he was the rare African who walked the talk he preached. He lived very frugally and did not have a bank account in any foreign Bank like nearly all his colleagues and peers who were leaders and presidents of other African countries. This character of Nyerere is confirmed by Chido Nwangwu (1999) in an article titled "Africa could do better with more like Julius Nyerere" in Afrocentric News highlights on the contributions (<http://www.afrocentricnews.com/mmc/>) of this Pan-African icon whom he celebrates and pays tribute to proclaiming:

"...he set a high moral standard whereby the mark of presidential leadership and honor in Africa (and elsewhere in the developing world), is measurable, not in the amount of public funds hidden away in Swiss, American and European banks but in the permanent bank of good and public service left as signatures of honor for posterity. Lest I forget, those stolen funds are never kept inside African banks, lest ordinary African folks like us know how much the self-proclaimed "God-ordained Ruler for all Times, The Shining Light and Robust Rain of The Republic... The Only Way Forward" is worth. Hence, where such putrid Presidents, Eminencies and assorted Excellencies in criminality acted like insatiable brigands and chartered libertines who ravaged the meager resources of their newly independent countries, Nyerere set his eyes of the prize of egalitarianism and provision of affordable (education for all), basic health services and cooperative farming."

Mwalimu Nyerere was one of the rare Pan-Africanist who tried to pursue an African liberation policy of alleviating poverty by introducing the “Ujamaa,” the “Villagisation” system of African Socialism and Communitarianism based on participatory Community Development where he stated in his blue print for sustainable development in Ujamaaism (1962) that:

“In African societies, there was no loiterer. The individual took care of the community and the community took care of the individual...with this slogan that I AM because We ARE!”

In spite of the efforts made by Nyerere to see his experimentation of African Socialism grow, (Chido Nwangwu, 1999) Tanzania was unable to move from the agrarian economy to the technologically developed economy. However, the initiative paid off in that it created an indispensable self-awareness and entrepreneurial skills-building of the Tanzanian people at the grass roots; and developed their commitment to democracy and self-sufficiency at the grassroots, during his tenure as first President of Tanzania from 1964 to 1985.

Mwalimu Nyerere, who was a great defender of Human Rights, was also a staunch political progressist and revolutionist in that he did not allow the OAU clause of non-interference in the internal affairs of sister member states to take sway even in case of abuses of the self-determination of citizens and the abuses of Human Rights, as this was the case in most African post-colonial countries of his time.

Mwalimu Nyerere preferred to hold non mainstream Pan-Africanism that was at the service of the new “War-Lords” of Africa after independence. That is the reason why he was among the first countries and the first African Head of State to support the declaration of secessionist independence of the Biafra Republic from Nigeria and also sent troops to overthrow Idi Amin who had seized power through a British-manned coup d’état against Milton Obote of Uganda who was also trying to emulate Nyerere’s Ujamaaism in Uganda. Milton Obote, since becoming President of Uganda, was dismantling the Buganda hegemony set up by the British Divide-and-Rule Policy tailored by Lord Lugard as “Indirect Rule” of manipulated second-fiddles and Slave-Master-Boys leadership intermediaries of “White-Cap-Chiefs” who were reduced to puppets according to Catherine Cocquery-Vidrovitch lectures and analysis (1973) of the British colonial system in Africa. This would have been catastrophic to the British Settlers land monopoly in the East African Economic Community, in Kenya especially, which was being spearheaded by Nyerere and Milton Obote. Chido Nwangwu (1999) provides more details in

this regard as he highlights certain points in the Human Rights policy of Julius Nyerere testifying that:

“Nyerere gave practical value to the primacy of the individual human rights of all Africans in their own countries, despite claims by oppressive regimes/governments to “inviolable borders and non-interference in internal affairs.” Happily, in 1978, Nyerere sent Tanzanian troops to undertake an unusual move in Africa to depose Uganda’s dictator Field Marshall Idi Amin, on the argument that the abuse of the human rights of any African should no longer be regarded as “the internal affairs” of the oppressive regime, belonging only to debates in some distant jurisprudence classes. Nyerere was the nemesis of some African-grown oppressors, tin-gods and evil incarnates who ruled over other Africans as heads of state. This legacy will endure, even after his death. Before then, in 1968, he led one of few African countries who supported the quest by Igbo’s and other south-easterners of Nigeria who had declared (from) the failed (Federal Republic of Nigeria the) Republic of Biafra, based on the twin issues of self-determination and human rights. Also, Nyerere’s support for African liberation movements caused him to offer support and bases in Tanzania to members of Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress (in Morogoro). On June 26, 1959, he spearheaded the launch of the anti-racist campaign in London, the Boycott Movement (re-named Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1960) which led to the galvanizing of international boycott and subsequent sanctions against apartheid South Africa.”

Nyerere is also acclaimed as a champion of Women’s Rights as fundamental to Human Rights. In an essay titled “Women’s Contribution to the Pan African Struggle” Nyerere advocated that: “If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men.” He followed this policy by encouraging Women’s Education in all fields of the Sciences, Humanities, Arts and Technology.

Nyerere also believed that too much foreign interference in African Affairs was detrimental to Africa as a whole. He was of the opinion that Africa should be left alone to run her affairs, especially when it came to decide on policies for its own sustainable development and defence. It was for this reason that he criticised the transformation of Zaire (Congo Democratic Republic) into a neo-colony by the United States and the French. Chido Nwangwu (1999) has this to say about this great Pan Africanist:

“... he disliked foreign interference and; for example, he argued: “Zaire has been under the United States and the French for the last 30 years. It’s a ruined country. So let’s have some humility and leave this country alone.... to us this is an insult. (America

has occupied and ruled Zaire since its Independence of 1960, with France settling in, in 1976). This is why (it is disconcerting to ask the question that) should it be the French versus the Americans, and the Africans are not allowed to choose their own leaders? Stop lecturing us, and let us develop.” These comments came after the toppling of Mobutu, and did not diminish his revulsion at Mobutu’s years of depravity in Zaire.”

Mwalimu Nyerere walk the talk of his policies and condemned very vehemently those African leaders who came into power and turned round to exploit their own people to accumulate wealth for themselves and their families, as most African heads of state did and are still doing so shamefully and immorally. He condemned the system of state banditry installed in Africa whereby states did not have a viable and equitable tax policy. According to Chido Nwangwu (1999)

“Nyerere’s views on taxes touched on a major issue underlining the low level of public revenue and financial planning in Africa. He argued that “Any government that works for the wealthy does not collect tax, it chooses to harass small-time dealers (traders)”

Actually Mwalimu Nyerere proved himself as one of the most humble leaders of Africa and the world who had the interest of his people and the African people at heart; and rendered them the service he could from within his country and the world over by his very shining example.

No African leader, not even Mandela, has broken the record and even measured up to the legacy of entrepreneurial self-reliance and selflessness in governance and equity-driven economical production and distribution bequeathed this new generation by Mwalimu Nyerere. And he will forever be remembered as the one who laid the foundations of the New-Wave of Revolutionary Pan Africanism or Neo-Pan Africanism Walter Rodney was trying to set in place in his writings and practice.

And so I proudly join my voice with Chido Nwangwu to celebrate this great and immortal sphinx of Africa whose humanism, ethical rectitude in governance and moral courage is a legacy to humankind. Nyerere was really a Mwalimu, a Teacher with a difference as confirmed by Chido Nwangwu:

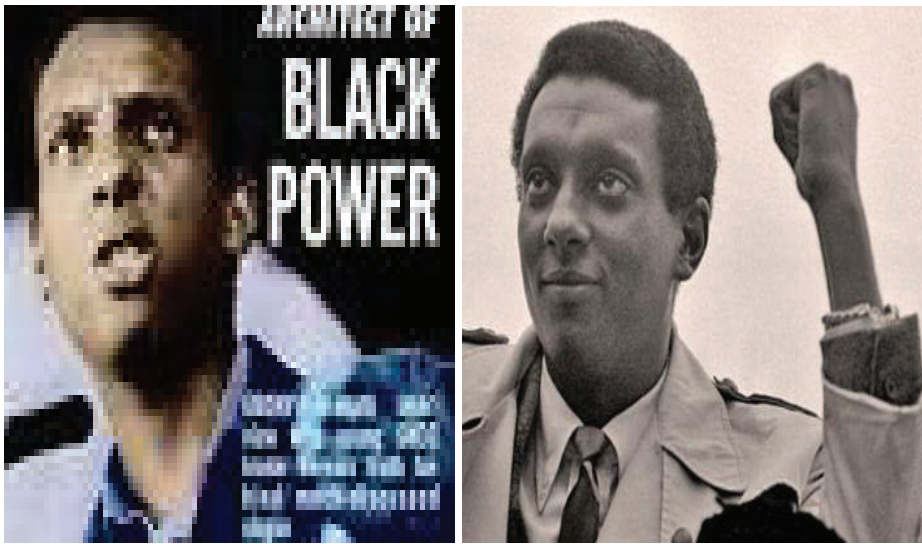
“Above all else, where Nyerere’s peers and latter-day Generals/Presidents (except for the likes of Mandela) converted their country’s central bank governors to their personal exchequers and cash keepers, he was happy to be rich in the goodwill of his people and wealthy in the realms of ethics and probity. Since the 1980s and 1990s, the soldier-presidents, particularly, who turned into violent scavengers on the resources of the

various countries in Africa, consider the ethics of the Nyereres of this world to be “bush and senseless.” Little wonder that many countries in Africa remained like terribly mismanaged corporations with the Chairmen (dictators/presidents) and board of directors (henchmen/courtiers) wallowing in opulent splendour while the shareholders (the citizenry) are handed balance sheets overflowing with red ink. For example, while Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Za Banga (officially translated as “the all-powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, will go from conquest to conquest leaving fire in his wake”) sought to be President-for-life, ruined Zaire for over 30 years, owned chateaux on the choice river fronts in Europe and diamond-studded palaces in the choice cities of the world, his country was worth less than one fifth of his personal loot. Nyerere was not only full of disdain for the Mobutu-type, he showed that amidst the rack and ruin, Africa has first-class leaders for whom honor and place in history are worth more than filthy lucre, shekels, silver, and gold.”

And as an ardent committed Pan Africanists we say that Nyerere lives forever as the only true model of Pan Africanism and its Humanistic Philosophy to emulate. He towers High above the Mandelas that is today caricatured the world superpowers who are promoting their slave-driven liberalist capitalist economy which is creating world poverty, but who have the guts to build monuments to remind them of their culpability complex of crimes against humanity; and come out en mass to celebrate a “Dead Lion” who gave them the impunity of exploiting South Africa and Africa on the Platter of Gold of the Truth And Reconciliation Commission without Compensation.

And as the African Igbo Philosophical saying goes: “A living dog is better to have and greater than a dead Lion.”

We can then rightfully say that Nyerere will ever remain the living Dog and the living Lion of the New Wave Revolutionary Pan Africanism. He will forever stand taller than the Jacob Zumas who after fighting for the Liberation of his people has settled down to eat the dung of corruption with the corrupt corporate class of the slave-driven capitalist economy of the exploiters of South Africa who throw the ethics and morals of Corporate Social Responsibility to the wind. And as long as the corrupt corporate class of South Africa can sponsor the renovation of Zuma’s country home for millions of dollars, Zuma does not care a damn whether the rest of the 83% poor homeless, landless Black South Africans go to Hell.



Photos 158 (a) & (b): Stokely Carmichael: 29th June, 1941 - 15th November, 1998

Stokely Carmichael could be described as one of the young civil rights activists and Pan Africanists who turned revolutionary. He was also the “Architect of Black Power”. His early migration from Trinidad to New York in 1952 where he attended High School introduced him at that tender age to the racist, segregation of the Black people and the Civil Rights movements in the USA. After attending Howard University from 1960 he joined the Student Non-violent Coordination Committee – SNCC.

Carmichael rose quickly through his efforts in activism as he joined the Freedom Riders in 1961, learning non-violent techniques; getting beaten up by white mobs, as he travelled to sensitise Black folks in the Deep South Bible Belt; getting arrested and jailed for 49 days for his ideas and identity, working as a volunteer in the Freedom Summer Project.

By 1966 Carmichael had risen up the ranks of civil rights activists to such an extent that he became the chairman of the SNCC. Carmichael joined forces with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Floyd McKissick the same year to campaign and continue the “March Against Fear” started by James Meredith who www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAcarmichael.ht was shot on 5th June 1966 as he started the solitary march from Memphis to Jackson, to protest against racism and discrimination against Black people. At Greenwood, Mississippi, Carmichael and the other marchers were all arrested and detained by the police. That was the 27th time Carmichael was being arrested in the USA for his fight against racism and discrimination against Black people. This was the last straw that would break Carmichael’s back bone of resistance.

On his release on the 16th June, 1966, Carmichael made the famous fiery Black Power speech, www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAcarmichael.ht where

he called for all “black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, and to build a sense of community”; advocating that African Americans should form and lead their own organisations and urged for a complete rejection of the values and ethics as well as the false morals of the American society.

Carmichael, according to Miriam Makeba, was forced by the racist unethical and immoral policy of America which proclaimed to be a Christian God-Fearing country; but which in actual fact was practicing demonic atrocities of human rights abuses on Black people and the First Nation People – Native Americans. Just like Hubert Henry Humphry, she said, Carmichael knew that something was completely wrong with the American Constitution that was born out of systematic barbarity that claimed arbitrarily to impose the rights of a handful of White migrants, call it the Mayflower Contingent, who decided to overrule on the Human Rights of the Original Native Occupants of the land and the rights of the African People they forcefully brought to America as Slaves for the promotion of their Slave-driven liberal capitalist economy. She said Carmichael was even more shocked that it was even in the so-called Bible Belt where the believers and advocates of Christianity were still so adamantly racist and pitifully ignorant of the elementary ethics and morals of what Christianity and Humanism meant.

I had the opportunity to discuss on this topic in Paris in the early 1980s with Miriam Makeba, during one of her Musical Performing Tours with Bongi her daughter. Miriam Makeba who earlier had gotten married to Stockley Carmichael and moved with her to Guinea Conakry when they were declared “Persona-Non-Grata” for criticizing and militating against the racism in the United States of America, told me that her bonding with Carmichael came from the fact that they were both birds of the same feather fighting what she called “Apartheid” not only in South Africa, but also in the so celebrated glorious America built on the bones and tombstones of the First Nation People and Black People forcefully transported from Africa into Slavery. She declared that even before the “...murderous, barbaric immoral and unethical USA” to use her own words, declared them “Persona-Non-Grata” she had long before that felt how unsafe she was in the USA and how she could not stomach the fact that she had to leave “from the frying-pan of South Africa only to land on the fire of the United States of America.”



Photos 158 (c) (d): Stokeley Carmichael And Spouse Miriam Makeba Who Were Declared Persona Non Grata Because They Dared Criticise The Racism And Apartheid In The USA

That is why, as she told me, she started making moves with the few African Embassies that had opened diplomatic relations with the USA for possible asylum in their home country. Strange enough, Cameroon was one of the first countries she had wanted to go to because of its bi-lingual and bi-cultural colonial heritage. So she applied to Cameroon but was blatantly refused admission. The other countries that she had loved to go to also refused to grant her the asylum. It was only Guinea Conakry of Sékou Touré who offered her the generous accommodation in his country up in the Futa-Djallon mountains where she made her home. She came to realise very shamefully too that the so-called newly independent states of Africa who claimed to have liberated themselves from the European Colonial Masters, were now more strongly tied to the hamstrings and aprons of the All-Powerful-America to whom they had to bend double on their knees and bow chest down to the ground with the begging bowl in the hand for the management of the corruptive independence handouts they were looking for to fight Communism and radicalism in Africa.

Carmichael aligned with Charles V. Hamilton in 1967 to research and write a book titled: "Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America," which carried on a scathing criticism and condemnation of racism and the repression of Black people in America. Using the Marxist approach, but not proposing a dictatorship of the Proletariat, he proposed for an alternative governance of separation divest of the suppression and exploitation of the Blacks by the Whites. He insisted instead on the self-determination and self-reliance of Blacks in the Marcus Garveyanism of Black human and material resources that will be Black Intelligence-Initiative-Driven.

Makeba who outlined to me this hidden agenda of the Black Power Nation in the United States of America to initiate the White Exodus to the Northern States.

Wherefore, the Black Power philosophy was actually derived from the need for Black self-determination; not based on racism in the reverse as some of his protagonists would have remarked. It was based on this fact that without any strong bargaining power-base, Blacks would never be able to convince Whites to buy their own ideas of setting up strategies and developing skills that would solve their political, social, economic and especially their cultural identity needs as a People with Equal Rights as All Human Beings to live in equity and symbiosis with other Human Beings.

In a country where Blacks could not benefit from the civil rights like the Whites were doing, he did not see how the Blacks could trust the Whites to take charge of the needs of Black People and become the voices and mouthpieces of Black People whenever and wherever necessary.



Photos 158 (g) & (h): Stokley Carmichael Sensitising Black People Of The Necessity And Objectives Of The Black Power Philosophy; SNCC Freedom Fighters (from left to right) Obaka (Thomas Taylor), Don Jelinek, Stu House, Jammil Abdullah ALAmin (H.Rap Brown) Kwame Toure (Stokley Carmichael), and Jimmy Lytle during a trial in Selma.

And so Carmichael made it very clear as he sensitised the Blacks that they should rise up and not sit and wait for White Rights that were never meant for Blacks when he <http://goldengrime.tumblr.com/post/25173029248/> declared:

"I-maintain-that-every-civil-rights-bill-in-this Country was passed for white people, not for black people. For example, I am black. I know that. I also know that, while I am black, I am a human being."

And he realised that without Black people fighting for their own civil rights there was never going to come a time when those same rights which the Whites were enjoying would pass on to Blacks without Black Pro-Action. That is why his work with Hamilton was qualified by one of the reviewers <http://www.google.com/review/list/> (10/03/2013) who admits that:

“...this revolutionary work exposed the depths of systemic racism in this country and provided a radical political framework for reform: true and lasting social change would only be accomplished through unity among African-Americans and their independence from the preexisting order. An eloquent document of the civil rights movement that remains a work of profound social relevance 25 years after it was first published.”

Carmichael's Black Power Philosophy was rejected by members of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People – NAACP, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference – SCLC who accused him of Black Racism in reverse. Their criticism levied against him and <http://www.google.com/review/list/> (10/03/2013) Black Power was that:

“Black Power was responsible for “highlighting racial divisions,” “eschewing coalitions with whites,” attempting “to kick whites out of the civil rights movement,” and being “anti-white, defeatist, and bitterly rejecting the civil rights movement’s traditional goal of integration”...”

But Carmichael and Hamilton were of the opinion that before coalitions are made, they must emanate from a platform of equality which did not exist between the Black community and the Whites who were seen as more or less patronising the elitist Blacks. The call for all Black people to unite into a common platform was to enable them as a people set stable launching sustainable counter-base apart because of their race and colour to build a stronger and common voice to build up a social capital capable of investing in the negotiations of their contiguities and needs in a White dominated society where the play-ground was not even, open and free for initiators of social change. That is the reason why Carmichael and Hamilton talked elaborately on “The Myths of Coalition” in their work, while insisting that:

“There is strongly held view in this society that the best - indeed, perhaps the only – way for black people to win their political and economic rights is by forming coalitions with liberal labor, church and other kinds of sympathetic organizations or forces,

including the “liberal left” wing of the Democratic Party. With such allies, they could influence national legislation and national social patterns; racism could thus be ended. This school sees the “Black Power Movement” as basically separatist and unwilling to enter alliances. Bayard Rustin, a major spokesperson for the coalition doctrine, has written: ‘Southern Negroes, despite exhortations from SNCC to organize themselves into a Black Panther Party, are going to stay in the Democratic Party – to them it is the party of progress, the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society – and they are right.’ Apart from the fact the name of the Lowndes County Freedom Party (which will be discussed in a later chapter) is not the “Black Panther Party,” SNCC has often stated that it does not oppose the formation of political coalitions per se; obviously they are necessary in a pluralistic society. But coalitions with whom? On what terms? And for what objectives? All too frequently, coalitions involving black people have been only at the detriment of the black people.”

Charles V. Hamilton <http://www.googleads.com/review/list/> (accessed 10/3/2013) is of the opinion that there was a crass misconception and misunderstanding of the Philosophy of Black Power by those who did not take the pains to study the dialectic material history of the United States of America, since its creation from violence and deprivation of the weak and poor, especially the First Nation People the so-called Native Indians on the one hand, and the forcefully extracted and transported Black People of Africa, in its slave-driven capitalist imperialism to the present day of Might always being Right.

The Black Panthers’ Philosophy of self-determination was in perfect order and was not racist because they were asking for an equal level playground and open free space for everybody to negotiate their contiguities, Black and White on an equal footing. It must be understood that Non-violence programme could not yield much fruit if change did not come from inside the White Racist Community who were those advocating for White Supremacist America at all cost. No matter how many times Black people turned the other cheek to be slapped with all impunity, no matter how docile the Blacks were, the Racist Cultural Philosophy of America would hold sway and remain intact as the sacrosanct TRUTH and the way of life for everyone to emulate; and not as an aberration of the skewed minds of the Biological and Social Science Engineers as well as the Cultural Philosophers of Scientific Racism in America and the world at large.

That is the reason the Black Panthers realised that it was psychologically impossible for the White Racist America to change and integrate Black People into their communities just because Black People wanted to mainstream the system. The Eco-Racist-System in which all White Americans were raised in as

Jean Jacques Rousseau confirms was responsible for the type of warped-minded children and adults that America produced. That is why it was normal that for the ordinary White Racist American a good Black man was the lynched and assassinated one; just as it was normal that a good Black woman was a raped and abused one as it was common in the Deep South of the Bible Belt of America, where even the Bible taught, as Frederick Douglas affirms, that the Black man and woman and their children were condemned to serve the Whiteman forever.

So no amount of non-violence would have changed and would ever change the warped mind of the White child who has been taught from the cradle that every Blackman and woman is his or her slave who does not deserve any consideration of Human Rights, Equality and Equity; and no amount of asking for integration by the Blacks would have changed the inbuilt cultural attitude and perceptions of stark ingrained racism that produced the inequalities of the races in America. This is what Michael Jackson was saying in his song reminding the Blacks and the Poor of America that no matter the efforts of Black People and the Poor dejected have been subjected to put up with all the crap the White Racist society has perpetrated against Black people, "...They (Still) Don't Really Care About Us."

In 1992 Hamilton had to give a response to the criticism levied against the Black Power Philosophy and the book which was later reviewed and published in the Google Review Reader (April 24 to July 04, 2011) with highlights on some points I would like to share with my readers elaborately:

"No matter that some explanations focused on the denial of these charges and attempted to discuss the concept in terms of viable pluralist American politics. No matter that painstaking efforts were made to point out the years of inability of blacks to enter viable coalitions with other groups, coalitions that would recognize and respect the legitimate needs and complaints of black Americans. Many Black Power advocates tried to make the case that blacks have always understood the necessity for coalitions, but all too often those efforts were thwarted, and blacks, because of their relatively weak status, were unable to do much about this. Where were the viable coalitional partners in the 1930's when black organizations (the NAACP and the National Urban League, most prominently) virtually pleaded with their white allies to include agricultural workers and domestic servants--not only blacks, but all such workers--in the social insurance provisions of the landmark Social Security Act of 1935? Those allies deserted them. Where were the coalition partners when blacks were persuaded not to push for the end to racial discrimination even while liberals urged blacks to support (as blacks did) a meaningful Full Employment Bill? And, when the 1960's arrived, where were the enlightened allies when the racially integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

sought to challenge the white racist Mississippi State Party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention? In each instance, the message was clear: Black Americans were not politically strong enough to convince their potential allies to go along with them. The message was equally clear that the fundamental interests of blacks would be subordinated to those interests of more powerful forces in the society.” The sentiment of this passage along with others expressed by Hamilton in the afterword provides a reworked closing argument for rethinking the role which Black Power should play in the present era. In recounting the mistakes in the Radical Black Power Ideology and Ture’s initial analysis and trajectory, he provides a lens through which we might view the events of the past and the future anew. He speaks to the scenario in which Black Power might have seemed philosophically different for those who are working towards its establishment. Whereas they may have had a socialist orientation and the goal of a more open society attached to their original outlook, it might be just as easily argued that black capitalism and black power are one and the same. This turned out to be the most gripping and transformative portion of the text for me because I was able to evaluate two recent political phenomena in the context of theories explored in the original text: Obama’s election and charter schools. During the course of the election of Barack Obama, we saw a sweeping proclamation of a grassroots uprising; a coalition of Black, Latino, White, LGBT, and all other manner of liberal left leaning forces creating a groundswell tide that were to sweep President Obama from his humble roots as a community organizer and member of the founding advisory board at Public Allies through state and federal Senatorial roles direct into the White House. I am not going argue the point whether there are any significant “roots” remaining in that “grass” for I think we have other outlets which have vetted that point thoroughly. I will examine where black people stand nearly 4 years hence. For 4 years, we have had challengers both in and outside of our community whom have shouted down the naysayers with cries of “He’s not simply the President of Black America. He’s the President of all America.” A hollow argument at best. If we examine this statement in the context of the chapter “The Myths of Coalition,” we are able to clearly see how the same coalition which beseeched us to “get on the bus” when many in our community were initially mistrusting of organizing around a black candidate and were ready to vote for any available Blackman. Clinton have now deserted us in our pleas with the President to attend to the needs of our community. Are we markedly different from any other special interest group in need of social uplift? No. But we have been conned into accepting a weakened position as window decoration for a mythic coalition of American populism. On charter schools, we have not fared much better. Whereas once we were organized around the goal of improvement for the conditions of our neighborhood schools as discussed in the chapter “The Search for New Forms” regarding such a case at I.S. 201 in Harlem, we have now created an educational crap shoot. If you cannot locate a viable school in your neighborhood, you can search out one of the many available magnets,

private, or charter options perhaps a few buses or trains away. Less the case with private schools although it can happen, even when you settle on a magnet or charter school, your child could be in a few years before you realize that their skills are either not improving or regressing and perhaps by then the state will release a new report card and the Sun Times will do a "special investigation" to tell you that you rolled a 7 instead of an 11. Individual gain in a capitalist system will inevitably be purchased at a social cost. The arguments in the charter movement are largely positioned in artificial opposition to each other. Every so often a test case will bubble to the surface at one of these schools which will show that a child from a broken home or damaging neighborhood environment can still be educated to succeed when given the right tools in their educational space to reach those goals. Still when we question why the tools in all schools are not simply improved to offer a greater supply of children the same success, we often hear the argument that the school is not a parent or that education does not end at its doors. Which is it? Can we save more students through education or not? We will never be able to have it both ways no matter how much mental justification we afford ourselves for accepting this as "just the way things are". Douglass, DuBois, Harrison, Garvey, and Shabazz all stood in agreement on the matter."

This comment shows that despite the efforts of Blacks to integrate into the mainstream American White Society, it is only a few Blacks who, like Obama, are chosen to taste the White opulence of the Slave-Driven liberal capitalist economic aristocratic state. While the rest of the Black population and their children cannot be sure even to be given the skills and the tools though education to attain just the "Marble Floor," not even the Glass ceiling of the American racist, gender-biased stratified arch-patriarchal society.

Carmichael's declaration for The Black Panther Movement raised him to the post of "Honorary Prime Minister," a position flaunted with a lot of pride and dignity giving a new image to the African Personality with Afro-looks and mascara confirming the new catch word coined by Carmichael himself that "Black is Beautiful".

Carmichael sported the Afro-Look which became a signature tune for progressive African Americans and Africans looking for their roots and their regaining of their personality pride. With this rediscovery and assumption of the New African personality came the change of names and the replacing of colonial and slave names with African names; and European and colonial forms of dress with the African dress forms.

And thus Carmichael became Kwame Ture, just like Casius Clay and others became Mohamed Ali. And when Kwame Ture just like Mohamed Ali criticized the United States involvement in the Vietnam War he was called "persona non grata" and his passport withdrawn.

The United States of America, in its hypocrisy on Human Rights and Freedom of speech, was furious that he dared bite the finger that was feeding him, because he had the audacity and courage to tell the truth and criticise it for what he called the injustices and politics of containment of Black People in America's system of the corporate society's continuous exploitation of Black People in its slave-driven capitalist economy. The Black Panthers Party and the Black Power Movement were created as a respond to the nonviolence strategy of Martin Luther King not yielding enough fruits for the disinherited Black People of America. Actually in the words of Kwame Toure, the nonviolence of Martin Luther king produced an empty egg-shell with no corporate social responsibility for Black People for their contributions to produce the mighty wealth of America of which they were refused a fair share. It was for this reason Kwame Toure insisted that if the exhortation of Black leaders who were often prone to urge that "if-you-work-hard-you'll-succeed... were true, then black people would own this country."

For Kwame Toure therefore, which was just like the Apartheid practiced in South Africa, as Miriam Makeba confirmed to me when we met in Paris in 1982, could be compared to what the "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" ended with forgiveness of White brutality, depriving Black People of their ancestral lands, humiliation, lynching and serial injustices, without any compensation of the crimes of injustices committed against Black People of South Africa. Nonviolence was an empty egg-shell for Black People in America, just as it has become for Black South Africans. This so because it did not produce the fruits of Corporate Social Responsibility – CRS, and the Welfare system for the Disadvantaged and Induced Poor of America, South Africa and the Colonised World at large.

It was for daring to tell this truth to America that Kwame Toure accuses America (kwekudee, 2012) for planning to assassinate him; and why he sought refuge in the Nation of Islam and protection from Honourable Elijah Muhammad and later from Louis Farrakhan and Fidel Castro of Cuba. He discloses:

"In 1967, the U.S. imperialism was seriously planning to assassinate me. It still is, this time by the FBI induced cancer, the latest in the white man's arsenal of chemical and biological warfare, as I am more determined to destroy it today than in 1967. It was Fidel Castro who before the OLAS Conference said: If imperialism touches one grain of hair on his head, we shall not let the fact pass without retaliation." It was he, who on his own behalf, asked them all to stay on contact with me when I returned to the United States to offer me protection. I could never be ungrateful to the people of Cuba not to Cuba's incarnation – Fidel Castro."

Regarding the protection he had from the Nation of Islam and from Honourable Elijah Muhammad and later from Louis Farrakhan, he discloses how:

“In 1966, when I just been elected Chairperson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, my first official act, was to visit the Honourable Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. It is then that he ordered all members of the Fruit of Islam to protect me wherever I travelled, anywhere in the world. I am still under that umbrella of protection today, here in Africa, in Guinea. I could never be ungrateful to the Nation of Islam, to the Honourable Elijah Muhammad, not to his incarnation – Minister Louis Farrakhan.”

Kwame Ture and his newlywed wife Miriam Makeba were both expelled from the United States that feared the ripple effects of their bad influence. Miriam Makeba was also declared “persona non grata” for criticizing the racism and Apartheid practiced in the United States against the Black people. The couple took refuge in Guinea where Kwame Toure in 1971 published another book titled “Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan Africanism”. The publication of the book was followed by the establishment of the All African People’s Revolutionary Party. Kwame Ture became the adviser of President Sékou Touré of Guinea till he was overthrown by the military coup d’état.

His contribution to the struggle for freedom and Pan Africanism before his death in 1998 has been immortalised by the writings and followers he garnered and groomed during his life time which is full of his undying activism for the liberation of Africa and unity of the African people.

His life’s efforts and sojourn in Africa till his death made his come back to Africa a Marcus Garveyan fulfilment of the Exodus. And even though Kwame Toure had not supported the Garveyan Exodus ideology, he nevertheless, due to destiny and circumstances of his radical militancy in upholding the ideology of Black Power in the United States of America, assumed his African responsibility of contributing to African liberation. That explains the homage (Kwekudee, 2012) he pays to the patriotic Africans who invited him to come and reside in Africa, as he explains:

“In 1967, President Ahmed Sekou Ture and Kwame Nkrumah, through the intercession of Shirley Graham DuBois, invited me to attend the 8th Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (RDA). They invited me to live, work, study and struggle here in Guinea, an invitation which I readily accepted, despite tremendous criticism from almost every quarter. Thirty years

later, I still live in Guinea, working, studying and struggling for the African Revolution. And I will continue to do so until the last day. And it is my wish to sleep here in Guinea, eternally. I could never be ungrateful to the People of Guinea, eternally. I could never be ungrateful to the People of Guinea, nor Guinea's and Africa's incarnations – Ahmed Sekou Ture and Kwame Nkrumah.”

This brilliant and versatile orator and writer first published in 1967 the book entitled “Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America,” a revolutionary work that exposed the depth of systematic racism in the United States and provided a radical political framework for reform. Stokely Carmichael believed that true and lasting social change would only be accomplished through unity among African-Americans and their independence from the pre-existing order. This independence could also be materialised and concretised by the creation of an independent Black State, preferably in the southern Bible belt of America where Black people outnumbered the White populations. Considered as an eloquent document of the Civil Rights Movement, it remains a work of profound social relevance up to this day, 47 years after its publication. This is the book that set the tone for subsequent publications Stokely Carmichael aka Kwame Ture, undertook while living in Africa to expound on the African Revolution and the revolution of all Black People in America and the World.

Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) contributed to the cause of African Revolution through his ground-breaking historical writings, especially the book entitled “Ready for Revolution” which became a bestseller for Pan Africanists and post-independence Africa. Michael Ekwueme Thelwell, John Edgar Wideman, (2005) affirm that:

“Ready for Revolution recounts the extraordinary course of Carmichael’s life, from his Trinidadian youth to his consciousness-raising years in Harlem to his rise as the patriarch of the Black Power movement. In his own words, Carmichael tells the story of his fight for social justice with candor, wit, and passion -- and a cast of luminaries that includes James Baldwin, Toni Morrison, Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Malcolm X, Ho Chi Minh, and Fidel Castro, among others. Carmichael’s personal testimony captures the pulse of the cultural upheavals that characterize the modern world. This landmark, posthumously published autobiography reintroduces us to a man whose love of freedom fueled his fight for revolution to the end.”

He also published the book on “Black Power to Pan Africanism” (1971); wherein he traced the history, ideology and necessity of Black Power, as the main strategy to salvage Black America, Black Diaspora and the Continental

Africa, to be fully emancipated from White Imperialism and domination. This book also traced the origins of Black Power linking it as a Revolution for Pan Africanism. In this book the author presented the speeches and articles that build up the Ideology of Black Power and its relation to Pan Africanism.

Stokely Carmichael the great black activist, organizer, and freedom fighter traced the dramatic changes in his own consciousness and that of black Americans that were at the base of the founding of Black Power from the Civil Rights Movement that was tied to the evolution of Pan Africanism. Stokely Carmichael (1971) insisted that:

“The destiny of African Americans could not be separated from that of oppressed people the world over, Carmichael’s Black Power principles insisted that blacks resist white brainwashing and redefine themselves. He was concerned not only with racism and exploitation, but with cultural integrity and the colonization of Africans in America. In these essays on racism, Black Power, the pitfalls of conventional liberalism, and solidarity with the oppressed masses and freedom fighters of all races and creeds, Carmichael addresses questions that still confront the black world and points to a need for an ideology of black and African liberation, unification, and transformation.”

Kwame Ture(Stokely Carmichael) is celebrated as that dedicated and ardent Pan Africanist who stressed on the importance of studying History, especially African History as Kwekudee (2012) quotes also Carmichael insisting that:

“The Importance Of Studying History, Stokely Carmichael, breaking down the paradigm of social and cultural racism which was historically backed through scientific racism from the 18th century till today in some places. However this ideological view is on its deathbed. So its proponents are desperately reevaluating, revising, and rationalizing the justifications for obsolete racist views. Yet, they’re failing miserably. They’re facing the inevitable IDEOLOGICAL EXTINCTION. Furthermore Kwame reemphasizes the importance of people on the continent and Diaspora knowing their history. He emphasizes the importance of Africa being the Centre of history for the people on the continent. The thing he said that got me going, was, ‘If the indigenous people of America Started their history with the Arrival of Columbus they would be in trouble’...”

Among the tributes paid to Stokely Carmichael what stands out as the most celebrating for Pan Africanism is that he changed the cause of changed the course of the Civil rights Movement from a nonviolent to a more proactive rationalised structured Malcolm-Xian violence when he was head of

the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. As Honorary Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, he reorganised in a more strategic structured manner the fight against racism and deprivation and poverty. Stokely Carmichael became known as an American legend, whose work as civil rights leader, fundamentally altered the course of history and our understanding of Pan-Africanism today.

Walter Rodney was the enigmatic iconic activist for the liberation of Africans and Africa wherever they may be and whosoever they may be; struggling as a disinherited and dispossessed people for the assertion of their Human Rights; and for African Unity.

Walter Rodney was among those Pan-Negro Movement activists and Pan-Africanists, who like George Padmore and Stokely Carmichael, believed that for Pan-Negroism or Pan-Africanism to succeed it had to come down from the pedestal of the Black elitist and intellectual class to permeate the masses and take roots first among those whom his brother Franz Fanon described as the disinherited of the earth.



Photos 159 (a) & (b) : Walter Rodney: 23 March 1942 – 13 June 1980

That explains why after earning his PhD at the London School of Oriental and African Studies in 1966, at the young age of 24, he took a teaching position at the University of Tanzania, and later in 1967 at his Alma Mater, the University of West Indies; where he honed his innovative and critical ideas about Pan Africanism, and his sharp criticism of the post-independence neo-colonialism in the so-called liberated territories. He was very critical of a Pan-Africanism which was serving the rising liberal capitalist middle class in the post-colonies. Walter Rodney was able to mingle with the poor and disinherited of the earth in Jamaica who gave him the insights of publishing his first critical work in 1969, titled: “Groundings With My Brothers”.

Horace G. Campbell, Professor of African American Studies and Political science at Syracuse University, pays this living tribute to Walter Rodney's genius, during the Africana Colloquium Series, organized in his honour on September 28, 2005, at the Africana Studies Research Centre. Campbell's review of Rodney's first academic book highlights the salient points raised by the author and their impact on the post-colonial ruling middle class in Jamaica. He goes on to explain that:

"It was based on a number of speeches and statements he made, when grounding with the working class and the underprivileged in Jamaica; so much so that he became a threat to the Jamaican government. They eventually banned him from returning to Jamaica. He could not go back there for many years, because, they saw his activities as subversive and dangerous and you know that in certain polities, if you hook-up too much to the underprivileged, the oppressed and the working-class, your identification becomes 'a subversive'..."

Actually, in the spirit of Rodney's "Grounding With My Brothers" he became the advocate of the downtrodden people whom he sensitised and incentivised about their duties and rights as deserving the democratic participation: in the policies that shaped their lives; and in the equitable sharing of the commonwealth for their sustainable livelihood development. Walter Rodney intensified his contacts with the Black Panther Movement trying to put its ideology into practice in the Caribbean. His activism and advocacy in the Afrocentric Rastafarian and in the working poor sectors resulted into the social awakening of the poor which resulted to what became known as the "Rodney Riots" of 16th October 1968, which claimed many lives and caused millions of dollars damages. Actually the government of Jamaica had published a ban on Walter Rodney who was declared "persona non grata" on 15th October 1968 never to return to Jamaica because of his advocacy and activism for the poor.

This ban made Walter Rodney to return to the University of Dar as Salaam in 1969 where he served as a Professor of History until 1974. He must have kept pace with Kwame Toure's ideas especially with his publication in 1971 of the ground-breaking book: "Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan Africanism". The publishing of his PhD thesis in 1970: "The History of the Upper Guinea Coast," and in 1974 of "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa," propelled him to the heights and hall of fame as an academician and into the world readership. A follow up was the later book on "World War II and the Tanzanian Economy" which focused on "the impact of wars on African peoples" and the colonial slave-driven liberal capitalist economy which laid the

foundations of the neo-colonial economy in Africa. While in Dar es Salaam, he became very influential in developing the new centre of African learning and discussion. His posthumous published book on: “A History of the Guyanese Working People” sealed his advocacy for the poor working class of the indentured-slavery-driven liberal capitalist system of the world.

According to Horace G. Campbell, (2005), the writings of this genius and activist of an academician marks out very clearly where Walter Rodney “stood in terms of the research that he did (and) showed his importance as a scholar, as a Pan-African activist, who transcended the black world and also lived in so many other parts of the white dominant world of North America, Europe and elsewhere.”

Campbell is of the opinion that Walter Rodney’s life and writings set the trailblazing questions of how to look and conceptualise on a different Pan Africanism in the Twenty-first Century, and for the students of the academy to consider what Rodney’s ideas meant in terms of a new research agenda. Campbell highlights that to answer these questions one must consider how Walter Rodney intervened in the Pan-African discussions and debates. He cites an important essay Walter Rodney wrote: “Toward the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of International Class Struggle in Africa, in the United States and the Caribbean;” arguing that researchers and students of today have to read Rodney’s contributions in the light of the new questions arising in considering Pan Africanism:

“In so far as there is a major war being prosecuted at this very moment. The leaders of the United States call this a war on terror, they say that this is a war without borders; how does the Pan-African movement relate to the present war? What are the issues of Pan-Africanism today relative to this war? How do we define Pan-Africanism? What are the research agendas? Is the Pan Africanism of today the same as the Pan-Africanism of the Nineteen hundred - the Pan-Africanism of states, or is there a re-definition of Pan-Africanism? What lessons can we learn from the history of the Pan-African movement?”

Campbell shows how Rodney inspired researchers to start thinking about Pan-Africanism of the 21st Century, including his monographs on Pan-Africanism, Pan Africanists, and African Liberation in the 21st Century; where questions regarding Pan-Africanism from above, Intellectual Pan-Africanism, Pan-Africanism of the Congresses and the new Pan-Africanism of the masses, Pan-Africanism from below, which he defines as:

“Pan-Africanism from below is a Pan-Africanism that manifests itself in the daily lives of the people, and that Pan-Africanism from below goes back to the simple definition of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is a search for dignity by African peoples. That search for dignity has gone through many different iterations in the past five-hundred years. It had many different meanings for the enslaved, who were one of the first articulators of Pan-Africanism in the new world. The enslaved wanted to elevate their humanity on a plane which used their spiritual essence, their spiritual being, to maintain their humanity. That spiritual essence, that spiritual being manifested itself in the diversity of religious observances, religious reflections, and it erupted from time to time in an emotional and spiritual voice, which is what is called the music of the African people. At any moment that the enslaved wanted to rebel, that spiritual essence was manifested in spiritual-religious movements, whether it was Candomble or Voodoo, or the uprisings in Jamaica, or the uprisings in the United States of America, whether Hoodoo, Voodoo or Rastafari. The spiritual essence of the people meant that the enslaved were asserting that aspect of the Pan-African movement which dealt with the question of the cultural, psychological and historical unity of the African peoples. It is Cheikh Anta Diop who dealt with this question of cultural unity. Cheikh Anta Diop went into three aspects of this cultural unity, that is: historic unity, cultural unity and psychological unity. What Patrice Mailhoman Some has brought to the Western world, was an understanding of the importance of the relationship between spirit and matter and the way in which the African spirit was at the foundation of the life and the consciousness of the people. This ideation system serves to illustrate how, while the bodies of the enslaved was captured, they never captured the spirit of the enslaved. So, our conception of Pan-Africanism goes back to the enslaved person having their spiritual essence to validate their dignity. Pan-Africanism has been through much iteration. At the time of enslavement, Pan-Africanism meant freedom from slavery, freedom from bondage. And at the time of colonialism and the partitioning of Africa and the Pan-African Congress, Pan-Africanism meant independence, the struggle against Jim Crow discrimination. At the time of apartheid, Pan-Africanism was the struggle for the dignity of the African people. And at that moment, the leaders of Africa articulated a vision of Pan-Africanism leading to the unification of the continent of Africa. But, that vision of the leaders of Africa was different than the vision of the people. So, within Pan-Africanism today, we have accomplished one major task of the Twentieth Century, that is, the task of ending apartheid, the task of having African unity. But, that was Pan-Africanism from above, the Pan-Africanism of states. How do we look at Pan-Africanism today - that is, the Pan-Africanism of the people? What are the lessons to be learnt of how the people manifest their dignity in the era of bio-technology, the era of the war on terrorism, the era of stem cell technology and AIDS? What is the meaning of Pan-Africanism in the era of global warming and the era of Katrina? These questions are being posed at a moment when the tools that are available to us in the academy,

cannot explain fully what is happening to us, because, societies have been mobilized around a concept of greed and a concept of human beings organized around profits. So, what happens to the environment, what happens to human beings is not the major priority. The African ideation system, the knowledge system of Africa, helps us to retreat from the dominant ideas that are reproduced in the universities. And, the reason we are having this discussion, this colloquium, is not only to remember Walter Rodney, but, for us to assess where we as human beings can liberate our humanity at the moment when there is the devaluation of the lives of the majority of the peoples of the planet."

Walter Rodney's "Grounding With My Brothers" brought into perspectives the plight of the disinherited of the earth under the yoke for the so-called liberal slave-driven capitalism that widened the chasm between the haves and the have-nots in today's globalizing planet earth. And unless Pan Africanism in the 21st Century becomes Pan Africanism of the Masses and not that of State and Elites, the Poor and Disinherited of the Earth shall never benefit from the fruits of their labour and the resources of the commonwealth. Walter Rodney was very anxious the way Pan Africanism after independence was confiscated and transformed into a club of mercenary Heads of State vying just for their private corporate interests and family interests that denied the Masses their common sustainable development interests. In that trend of ideas Horace G. Campbell highlights Rodney's disquietude arguing:

"If there are six billion people on the planet, the way that wealth is produced and organized, is for the benefit of ten percent of humanity, if that many. In reality, we have the one percent principle in operation. That is, in reality, the one percent that dominates the global economy; this dominant one percent uses the Neo-Liberal ideas to justify their hold on economic and political power. What Hurricane Katrina has taught us is the limitation of Neo-Liberalism when it comes to nature and the reality that, questions of the environment, health and disasters cannot be left to the private sector. So, our discussion on Walter Rodney today and Pan-Africanism is to be able to, not only venerate Walter Rodney as an icon and to canonize him. We need to remember his life to end the silence around Rodney, but, also, so that we can understand what he fought for and to introduce him to a new generation, that is, the generation of people who were born after 1980, which are not associated with the struggles against colonialism and the struggles against apartheid. I remember walking on the University of Dar es Salaam, campus in the 1990s and I asked a high school student who was Samara Michel. This student had no clue about who Samora Machel was, because, this new generation has not been taught and not been trained in the issues of the liberation movement. So, the objectives of the commemoration are, to promote and extend Rodney's ideas, the methods of inquiry that shaped them and their application, tactics and strategy for creating

another world. The notion of creating another world is not just a slogan from the World Social Forum; it is the requirement of the majority of the peoples of the planet - that is, to find a way to go beyond the present forms of human economic and political organization. How can we draw out the implications for current politics, from the direction Rodney took over twenty-five years ago? These are the questions I want us to raise in our work, in terms of how we define the research questions and the issues before us today. Groundings: Why do we call the events groundings? Why do we call them Groundings? Walter Rodney himself called them groundings, when he was in Jamaica in the 1960s and he spent his time among the Rastafari... This is how he sought to distinguish himself from his colleagues at the University of the West Indies... "There is no continuity in my life in respect of old acquaintances. We meet; I try to be pleasant; and I move on. For our generation too is adding its quota to the frightening sterility of the society. Living off campus is a great boon, for it reduces my contact with rum-sipping soul selling intellectuals of Mona..." I doubt whether the situation is explosive, and I doubt whether I will be here long enough to witness the explosion; but as a matter of integrity I must address myself to that question so long as I am here. Otherwise, what will distinguish me from the Philistines?" I am sure that if he was writing now, he would be clearer about the need for groundings with the brothers and sisters, and would emphasize the need for the black intellectual to attach himself or herself to the activity of the masses."

Walter Rodney's ideal of the New Wave innovative Pan-Africanism entailed a mixing and sharing of experiences from the intellectuals and the masses of the poor in the post-colonial setting, tapping deeply into their Indigenous Knowledge and Technology pool as well as their Modern Technological Knowledge and Globalisation Impact Experiences – MoTeKGIE - in order to come up with more adaptive innovative ideas for a popular and pro-active Pan-Africanism.

Rodney was quite aware that with the advent of the liberal capitalist system in the classical African communitarianism, there was going to develop the individualistic Slave-Driven Capitalist Economic Culture of class stratification and class struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and in America. It is interesting that since the introduction of the Slave-Driven Capitalist Economy in the Caribbean, in the Americas and in Africa, the vast majority of Africans of the continent and the Diaspora were experiencing same form of exploitation within the various forms of the new globalisation.

Walter Rodney, unlike George Padmore before him who made a sharp distinction between Pan-Africanism and Communism, was very concerned with how to reconcile Communism and Pan-Africanism which was of the elitist kind, and African Communitarianism, which was more and more

becoming the refuge of the poor class experiencing the raw liberal Slave-Driven capitalism imposed by the indentured slavery called colonialism.

Rodney was very eager to build a common front among all shades of Pan-Africanism that had come out of the different colonial experiences of colonised Africans on the continent and the Diaspora. He wanted to bridge the gap between the Marxists and Pan-Africanists of the liberal economic setting, like the Kenyatta kind of Pan-Africanism and the Mau-Mau Pan-Africanism of Dedan Kimathi, Mau Mau founder; or the Pan-Africanism of the ANC which was very Communist oriented and the more radical Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania or PAC which was more radical developing a more African based-independent system seeking for an African autonomous system marked by African self-determination. Horace G. Campbell (2006) explains this ambivalent position of Rodney insisting that:

"What Walter Rodney was doing in his essay, is saying that we should not be involved in these differences. As Howard Dodson says in his book "Walter Rodney Speaks," some people call Walter Rodney a Marxist, some people call Walter Rodney Pan-Africanist, some people call him a simple black power nationalist, but, Walter Rodney's life defied simple definitions, because, he was above all, a human being more concerned with the dignity of African peoples. The book "Groundings With My Brothers" has, in my view, one of the clear Pan-African statements, especially the chapter which he presented at the Black Writers Conference in Montréal, in 1968, before he was banned from Kingston. The lecture is entitled "African History in Service of Black Revolution." If you want to really get into that chapter, you must go back to see what Cheikh Anta Diop would say about the need for historical continuity. He states that the people have to be given that spiritual security about their history in order for them to be able to act in politics. I would encourage you to read the book Groundings With My Brothers. To talk about Pan-Africanism, to talk about international solidarity with the black world, with every center of the black world where we live, there is a series of responsibilities attached. "One of the most important responsibilities is to define our own situation - that is the first responsibility. A second responsibility is to present that definition to other parts of the black world, indeed, the whole of the progressive world." So, we define ourselves if we are in the United States and if we are in New Orleans. We define ourselves to other people in Brazil, or Cuba, or elsewhere. "A third responsibility is to help others in different sections of the black world to reflect on their own specific experience." How do we help the people of Haiti, or the Sudan, to reflect on their experiences? This is Walter Rodney's definition of Pan-Africanism: "Any pan-concept is an exercise in self-definition by the people, in the establishment of a broader re-definition of themselves than that which has so far been permitted by those in power. Invariably, however, this exercise is undertaken by a specific social group or class

which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole.” So, let us look at the different experiences of Pan-movements to discern their articulation of a Pan movement.”

Walter Rodney was for sure a revolutionary who did not see society as static and condemned to remain in autarchy. He saw society to which Pan-Africanism would assume the dimensions of Eco-Pan Africanism as well as the Global Pan Africanism which had to constantly redefine itself in consequence of the context in which it finds itself as permanently dynamic with its changing Material, Technological and Spiritual Cultural History. That is the reason he insisted on Pan-Africanism moving away from the box or pigeon-hole attitude of the conference intellectual elitist structure to embrace the street masses dynamic Pan-Africanism.

In this vision he foresaw the need to redefine Pan-Africanism to embrace new challenges like the AIDS pandemic which erupted after his assassination and many more like Climate Change, Global Warming, as it impacts on the African peoples and other poor peoples of the world. This is how Horace G. Campbell is trying to resituate Pan-Africanism within the context of today, just as he cites Philippe Wamba who talks of “Kinship” and Pan-Africanism today, as well as Professor Misere Mugo who raises the problem of youths and women today in a Pan-Africanism of office box intellectuals. So he raises the same question Walter Rodney would have raised making us to critically dwell on Campbell’s questions as he asserts:

“But, what I want to look at is what is it that we mean by Pan-Africanism today? The book by Philippe Wamba entitled “Kinship,” captures the essence of what is meant by Pan-Africanism today. As the title implies, the book looks at what is meant by kinship and what Philippe Wamba does, is to deal with African people, ordinary people everywhere, such as Amadou Diallo and begins to give contour to the notion of Pan-Africanism of the streets. Pan-Africanism of the streets views AIDS as the particular responsibility of human beings all over the world and considers how do we understand the human body, life and health? How do we organize healthcare? The AIDS pandemic is the number one issue for all of humanity, but, more importantly, for African people, if we have twenty million people dying of AIDS. Therefore, any agenda that we have for research, must be very different from the agenda of the pharmaceutical companies whose interest in the development of drugs is based on making profits and not to find a cure for AIDS. So, we must address what Professor Micere Mugo has said in her essay on Pan-Africanism. Professor Mugo has addressed the issue of women, youth and the masses in the redefinition of Pan-Africanism and this is how we move from the Pan-Africanism of yesterday - a Pan-Africanism of Congresses and leaders, of yesterday. How do we go to the Pan-Africanism that is needed today? To do this we

must turn to Walter Rodney for inspiration and to see what he said. In his book "Walter Rodney Speaks," it was written that; "To talk about Pan-Africanism, to talk about international solidarity with the black world, with every center of the black world where we live, there is a series of responsibilities attached."

The reason why according to Walter Rodney, the talking of Pan-Africanism and how it tackles the crucial problems of the dynamic world like AIDS, Climate Change and Global Warming and the new upsurge of Terrorism and Religious conflicts and wars in Africa and in the world. The point for New Wave Pan Africanism is to insist not only on the international solidarity with the Black world but also on the diversity and contextual reality of Black living experiences. This entails the sensitization of African people to be more aware and critical of the responsibilities every African owes to go grounding with his brothers and sisters as a duty he or she owes the others and being "his brother's, her sister's Keeper". This also means that in a more and more complex world where individualism and greed is paraded to bear and take sway and projected to the lime light Pan Africanism must ever and more fervently demonstrate a pro-active enterprise for alleviating poverty, enhancing Justice and Human Rights wherever they are abused and to shun parochialism. That is why Walter Rodney insisted on what he called (Horace G. Campbell, 2005): "The responsibilities that impinge on all Pan-Africanists" when he quotes Walter Rodney's "Responsibility Maxims" saying that it "is to help others in different sections of the black world to reflect on their own specific experience." It was this idea which urged Campbell to pose the question as to: "How do we help the people of Haiti, or the Sudan, to reflect on their experiences?" only to embrace Walter Rodney's definition of Pan-Africanism and its responsibilities which hold that:

"...one of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people from one part of Africa are responsible for their brothers and sisters in other parts of Africa, indeed, black people in all parts of the world are to share in this responsibility...To talk about Pan-Africanism, to talk about international solidarity with the black world, with every center of the black world where we live, there is a series of responsibilities attached. One of the most important responsibilities is to define our own situation that is the first responsibility. A second responsibility is to present that definition to other parts of the black world, indeed, the whole of the progressive world." So, we define ourselves if we are in the United States and if we are in New Orleans. We define ourselves to other people in Brazil, or Cuba, or elsewhere. "A third responsibility is to help others in different sections of the black world to reflect on their own specific experience." How do we help the people of Haiti, or the Sudan, to reflect on their experiences? This is Walter

Rodney's definition of Pan-Africanism: "Any pan-concept is an exercise in self-definition by the people, in the establishment of a broader re-definition of themselves than that which has so far been permitted by those in power. Invariably, however, this exercise is undertaken by a specific social group or class which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole."

In the footprints of Rodney, Campbell therefore initiates the researchers to look at the different experiences of Pan-Movements in order to discern their articulation of some Pan-movements in the world when he cites two pertinent Pan-movements after the Second World War, the Pan-Slavic movement and the Pan-Arab movement, with very diverse national and trans-national Diaspora settings:

"The Pan-Slavic movement and the Pan-Arab movement. When we speak of pan-movements, we speak simultaneously of unity and diversity. When we speak of the Pan-Slavic movement, for example, there is unity and diversity between the Slavic people as a whole and the diversity between someone who is in Yugoslavia and someone who is in Romania, and, someone who is in the Ukraine. Similarly, Pan-Arabism deals with Arab peoples as a whole, whether those Arab people are in Saudi Arabia, or, Morocco, or Yemen. We have to look at the particularities of that Pan-Arabism to discern how that Arab identity manifests itself in different locations."

Campbell therefore poses the same Rodneyan question with regard to how we should define Pan-Africanism today. He reverberates on the idea of Pan-Africanism speaking contextually to the condition of Africans as living in Brazil, in Australia, Papua or Caledonia, Colombia and Beaumont, Texas, in Chicago and Madrid, Spain, in Great Britain, France, Africa, and Madagascar.

He goes on to insist therefore that "we have to look at the particular context of the struggle of the African in these particular spaces." This Eco-Pan Africanism approach must take cognizance of the contextualized experiences of African People all over the world.

And in so doing one has to be critically asking the Rodneyan question regarding; "which class leads the national movement? In the United States today, in Europe or in Africa right to Oceania. When we speak of Pan-African movements," in such a manner we must know how to ask ourselves to consider who are the spokespersons for Pan-Africanism in the midst of the conditions of black people.

For instance we should be able to ascertain "who are the spokespersons in South Africa, or in Brazil, or in Cuba? In France, Great Britain, Russia, Africa,

Asia and Oceania. And, against that backdrop, we must also ascertain “who are the silent classes on whose behalf national claims are being articulated?”

This insistence on giving voice to the voiceless is very pertinent in all the writings of Walter Rodney and his spirit of what I can rightfully call “Neo-Eco-Pan-Africanism” or “Eco-Innovative Pan-Africanism.”

Campbell very artfully demonstrates from his piecemeal analysis of Rodney what a pragmatist and strategist Walter Rodney was when it comes to redefining Pan-movements like Pan-Africanism, and the challenges they might face if they do not take into consideration other previous experiences, which will militate towards their own disintegration and may be total destruction. He quotes Rodney’s writing to showcase the pertinence of the problems faced by Pan-movements:

“What Rodney wrote in his chapter for the Sixth Pan-African Congress is that we need to look at the experience of Slavic nationalism and Pan-Slavism at the end of World War I. We need to examine the relationship between the intelligentsia and the peasantry and the way in which the Slavic people faced Balkanization and the divisions among the Slavic people after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The concept of Balkanization came out of that experience. There was a time when there was an attempt made to build a socialist alternative in Yugoslavia, but, recently, that socialist alternative shattered in the face of chauvinism and ethnic rivalry and that breakdown led to genocide. So, when we look at pan-movements like this and see which class is leading it, we have to see the inherent dangers; we see the same thing in Pan-Arabism. Pan-Arabism has a direct relationship to the Pan-African movement and the Pan-African world. A society such as Egypt stands at the crossroads of both the Pan African and Pan Arab world. There are many lessons for Pan-Africanists to learn and to see how they relate to this part of the world. Because, there are sections of the Pan-African movement that says we don’t deal with Arabs, because, Arabs took Africans in slavery. I would argue that they are embracing a simplistic notion about Africans in all parts of the world, related to all Arabs. There are some black intellectuals who collapse Islam with Arabism, and so, make no distinction between someone who is Islamic and African in Morocco and someone who is Islamic and Arab in Yemen or in another part of the Arab world. We have to, as the colleagues in the Afro-Arab unity is doing, look at the specificity of the history of the relationship between Africans and Arabs, the spirit of the Arab Islamic Empires and the impact it had on Africans.”

It is very evident that Walter Rodney strode very heavily on the footprints of Kwame Nkrumah’s philosophy of Consciencism where he encouraged Africans and Pan-Africanists to embrace and celebrate all forms of positive colonisation in Western Europeanism and Americanism as well as Semitic

Judeo-Arabic Islamism as well as Judeo-Christianity, as an indelible historiographic and cultural African Heritage from which Africa has to forge a new consciousness of Liberation and Humanism.

It is this new form of “Ubuntuism” which Bishop Desmond Tutu is preaching today not only among the new Rainbow Nation of South Africa and South Africans; but in the entire Africa in its God-Sent Humanistic Philosophy to rebuild the primordially fundamental Rainbow Nation of the Planet Earth, in this our Globalising World of today.

It is this renewed St. Augustinian vision and philosophy of establishing the City of God on this our Human and Natural Earth. This seems to be the vision the newly elevated Pontiff Francis (of Assisi) is preaching today. This Nkrumahist and Rodneyist Humanistic Philosophy militates contrary to the present day George Bush Zionist Philosophy of the permanent opposition of what he calls “the axis of Good and Evil,” of the Clean and Unclean, the Chosen and the Condemned, the Pacifist against the Terrorist that must be annihilated at all cost. These are the Western home-grown Terrorists which the Obama Drone Missile Planes must eliminate and wipe out of the face of the earth without giving any room for dialogue with those condemned in absentia and without the right to due process or “Habeas Corpus” as “Infidels”.

This Neo-Pan-Africanism of the Neo-Humanism perpetrated in the Nkrumahist and Rodneyist Philosophies cannot be downplayed today by the Powers that be in the name of a World Pacifist turned World Terrorist with all the impunity and flexing of the muscles of atomic military might that mercilessly clamps down on any other rising opposing force in the name of Self-Determination and Human Rights of every nation, every people under God-Given-Sun.

According to Horace G. Campbell the Neo-Pan-Africanism must bear in mind the various histories that have contributed to shape this Pan-Movement and must bear with the Nkrumah and Rodney legacies without compromise and without fear of standing for the Truth of this Humanism which cannot be brokered in favour of any mighty Powers today. Horace G. Campbell cautions all Neo-Pan-Africanist to beware of certain pertinent historical facts which will lead us to understand and re-evaluate that:

“What we do know is that at a certain moment at the end of World War II, the progressive wing of the Arab Nationalist movement had the same interests as the progressive Pan-African movement and we saw that in the Algerian Revolution. We also saw that with Nasser (the former President of Egypt). We saw the way in which Nasser supported the African Liberation movements throughout the African world.

Where is Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism after Nasser? Where do Africans stand on the number one question of North Africa and the Middle-East the question of Palestine? I know that in some universities, we cannot even discuss Palestine, because, Zionism is such an important force within the university. And now in the war against terrorism, people collapse people who are Islamic with terrorism, so, we cannot really discuss the issues of the Arab world. What I am saying is, for the Pan-Africanist, the level of analysis has to be a bit more sophisticated than the simplistic differences between black and white, Arab and African, Slavs and Jew. We have to be able to grasp the class context of these things, so we can begin to understand the history of oppression, the history of genocide, the tradition of genocide and rise above the European ideation system. Eurocentrism celebrates genocide as progress, so that the killing of the First Nations Peoples in North America was considered progressive. David Stannard, in his book "The American Holocaust," claims that over one hundred million first nation peoples were killed, from North America to South America; we do not study this as genocide. We have to be able to see how this genocide is part of the history of what we are dealing with today. Today we are told of another genocide that is going on in Darfur. How do Pan-Africanist relate to the genocide in Darfur? How did we organize against the genocide of yesterday? Why was there a silence when it was maintained that Jews were inferior and vermin, and therefore, should be liquidated. Who spoke out when the Eugenics movement that grew out of the United States became a worldwide movement? Where is the eugenics movement today? There is a movie that I recommend you see, called: "The Constant Gardener."...

Horace G. Campbell ingenuity lies in his manner of presenting Walter Rodney which cannot be matched in the intellectual world, it seems, as he goes on to show the very critical mind-set of the said author, even though as young as he was at the time he propounded on them. He analyses "The Constant Gardener" to demonstrate how it correlates this uni-linear mind-set of a Zionist, Bushist or the Obamaist with their "Drones" superpower mongering where one generation of humanity must either be disenfranchised and refused dialogue and branded "Terrorists" who must be sacrificed and eliminated at all cost to maintain the "Omni-Potestatis-Pacem," the Peace of the Most Powerful, with all the impunity it takes. And so he uses the analogy of "The Constant Gardener" to demonstrate how the Super-Powerful States and Statesmen like the Israeli Netanyahu or the American Obama would sophisticify in the face of any threat to their Omni-presence and control as he goes on to demonstrate how:

"The Constant Gardener" The movie is adapted from the book by the same name. It is a movie about eugenics in which John Le Carre uses the metaphor gardener to

explain a manifestation of eugenics today. The movie depicts how the pharmaceutical interests in Africa wield power and the economic dynamics of the AIDS pandemic relative to how Africans are devalued. This is a very sophisticated movie and I would recommend it very strongly. In the relatively recent past, a similar mind set prevailed. Do you know who the gardener was in World War II? Hitler was the Gardener. In his way of thinking, Hitler was keeping the world free of the "vermin" who were the Jews. Hitler was metaphorically, cleaning the world. So, genocide was cleansing. How do we respond to the AIDS pandemic? We cannot respond by the old responses of Pan-Africanism from above. For, however important the leaders of the Pan-African movement were, we have to look at the different forms of Pan-Africanism as social movements, to see which class leads the social movement. We have to see Pan-Africanism from below as coming from the masses of the people, and not by making distinctions between the leaders, because, leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah learnt from the movement of the people. The Universal Negro Improvement Association, in the 1920s, was a coming together of Africans from Costa Rica, Africans from Jamaica, Africans from Guyana, Africans from Barbados, Africans from the South, coming together in Harlem, resisting against the Jim Crow of the 1920s. The Negro World, (the newspaper of the U.N.I.A) was a tool for mobilizing black people; and, the Universal Negro Improvement Association continued to be one of the foremost movements among the Pan- Africanist of the 1920s As a giant of the Pan-African movement, Dubois was involved in four or five of the major Pan-African Congresses from 1912 through 1945. What those of us who came along later have done, is fallen into a trap of creating profound distinctions between the Pan-Africanism of Garvey and the Pan-Africanism of Dubois. What many scholars have done is to dwell on these divisions. We have to be able to appreciate, celebrate and learn from the positive lessons of both the Garvey movement and Dubois, or we are doomed to reap the harvest that results from divisions. When we become too focused on the differences between the various leaders or movements, we create opportunities for outside forces to exploit the resulting fractures. The political leadership of the United States, for example, exploited the differences between Dubois and Garvey these forces, led by J. Edgar Hoover exploited the differences within the Harlem Renaissance movement. And we can see today, how the United State government is seeking to exploit differences between Christian and Muslim in the so-called war on terror. So, we have to see Pan-Africanism and African liberation as coming from the masses of the people. And the voices of the masses of the people are different from the voices of leaders."

What this permanent opposition of contraries which determine the Indo-European-American and the Judeo-Christian liberal capitalist system; boils down to what Walter Rodney defined as "Ego-Centricism" (1968) which consists of always giving the dog a bad name and hanging it. This is a policy of

always refusing the voice of the voiceless under-trodden masses which is very typical within the corporate political systems of Western liberal capitalist systems and their avatars. This is what Walter Rodney was wary about when expressing his caveat for African post-colonial regimes of Africa adopting the very system of exclusion or Ego-Centricism when at the Congress of Black Writers of October 12, 1968, at Montreal, when making reference to “Eurocentric Categories of Societies” he reminded them saying:

“But I want to move on from there because I don’t feel that we should accept these categories that have been established by European writers. These categories are established simply by looking at European society as it has existed, extracting out the elements which they consider to be meaningful in that society, and then judging the rest of the world with these standards as though these are universal criteria. It is what I call cultural egocentrism.”

While advocating for the acceptance and activism for multicultural diversity and encouraging their contributions to national peace-building and international world-peace-building Rodney frowned on these cultural egocentricisms brutal individualism that was gaining grounds more and more in the post-colonial States of Africa and the developing world. He compared the historical evolution in pre-Castro Cuba, Burnham’s post-colonial independent Jamaica and the United States to demonstrate the relevance of his pre-occupation, as he said:

“...a black man in Cuba was just dirt. I mean it was the South; it was apartheid. If you (the black man) were seen in a certain part of Havana after a certain hour you were liable to be shot, guilty of being black, you see. So that the black situation in Cuba was as bad as any other sector that we can point to. But within the process of revolutionary struggle, first as slaves--because they were the first revolutionaries; we black people were the first revolutionaries, the first guerrilla fighters in this part of the world, this hemisphere--and then as freed men, the black people struggled in Cuba. They struggled, of course, alongside white people who had a vested interest in struggle--white people who wanted to break the imperialists bonds. Not white liberals who are enjoying the luxuries of capitalism and give us some platitudes about behaving in the right way and so on; white people involved in struggle. It’s a completely different conception of white from the metropolitan white who, whatever category he falls into, is objectively involved in our oppression and our suppression. Anyway, in Cuba that’s not a position. Whites fought against the system, and in that process, the black people could be genuinely emancipated. Now, in Cuba today, barriers to entering certain buildings, certain eating houses, and that sort of thing completely disappeared. Juan Almeida, one of the members

of the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party, is a black man who was involved in the struggle from the time of the Sierra Maestra with Fidel Castro. And the position of the black people is such, not only socially and politically emancipated, but moving in a direction of reasserting their culture (the Afro-Cuban culture), of getting official encouragement to assert that culture. So that we find in Cuba today more genuine interest in the African Revolution, more interest in the African plastic arts and in African drama than there exists in Jamaica, which is a place 95 percent black, because the black people of Jamaica are still involved [in,] and are dominated under, imperialist relations. So that is Cuba and that is Jamaica... Now, it means that for the African historian in Cuba, he can go ahead and research and talk about African history in a new social context. But for anybody in Jamaica, he can't seriously talk about history divorced from revolutionary struggle. He isn't serious if he's doing that. You can't say that "African history will proceed as normal. We'll just teach it in the curriculum and that will be fine. Let imperialism proceed."

Unlike in Cuba, where the Castro revolution brought in a new dimension of humanism and equitable social justice which destroyed the racial and class divide among its people, the USA was still racially divided; and Jamaica, even though racially homogeneously black, was still stratified into the slave-driven capitalism of the haves and have-nots, typical of the Victorian Patriarchalism and Aristocratism.

Castro Cuba turned the tables where it became clear that "capitalism" was welcomed as long as it was capitalism for the commonwealth of the people and not the people at the mercy of capitalism as was the case in the United States and post-colonial Jamaica.

While the racist bourgeoisie that could not contain the Fidel Castroan revolution of a new non racist proletarian culture were forced to seek refuge in the USA, where today most anti-Castro bourgeoisie colonised Florida which today has one of the highest Latino residents in the USA, Castroan Cuba was fostering the healthy multi-interracial engineering in power participation.

Walter Rodney was disconcerted with the new racism that was perpetrated by the post-colonial state of Jamaica and Guyana, his own country of birth, which were now applying the tactics of neo-colonialism against the very philosophy of grounding with my brothers and sisters that he advocated for.

That is why it is very embarrassing that Joshua Agbo (2010) on discussing on "Racist Politics in Guyana" accuses without much foundation, Walter Rodney for being partisan to these racist conundrum in the post-colonies of the Caribbean. Joshua Agbo in his over zeal to become the new Walter Rodney, could be forgiven for his fallacy of "non causa pro causa" accusations against Walter Rodney that are very unfounded.

For certain, Walter Rodney was never a member of the People's Progressive Party – PPP, and the demise of Mark Benschop who got arrested and tortured after the assassination of Walter Rodney. Walter Rodney was concerned that the post-colonial state did not as much as cared to sensitise its citizens on the history of their forefathers and imbibe them into their ancestral heritage as he remarked that:

“In any event, the system doesn't even want you to do a simple thing like teaching African history. The prime minister of Jamaica, a black man (you know he looks black anyway), was approached with a request to let African history and an African language, Swahili, be taught in the schools, and he said, “No, we can't have any of that.” He gave some reason--a curious reason--something about there being so many different races in Jamaica. Very curious. I mean, 95 percent of the people are black but he can't teach an African language. They teach Latin, French, Spanish, and everything else. A lot of different reasons don't seem to come into that. But it shows that the colonial structure is itself aware of the fact you can't separate a new conception of self, which should spring from historical investigation with a new actuality, [from the] revolutionary process to change the situation that presently exists. So that for the Jamaican, the system makes it impossible for him to come to this new awareness of himself because it doesn't want him to be involved in a revolutionary process. For any historian who seeks to reconstruct the African past, to reconstruct the past of black peoples in this continent, in such a context he cannot say that the revolution will wait until people are re-educated and that re-education reaches an advanced stage because he isn't even allowed to engage in that process of re-education...”

Walter Rodney was a revolutionary who believed first in the revolution of the mind before any physical and material revolution. Following Cheikh Anta Diop's declaration that the African people must reconstruct their history as a basis to assert their humanity and contributions to the cause of the human evolution, he insisted in the same strategic planning to reconstructing African history in Jamaica and the Caribbean. It was Walter Rodney's belief that:

“African History (must be) in the Service of the Black Revolution,” even though he also believed that the first contradiction, the first dilemma which one faces in attempting to utilize African history as one of the weapons in our struggle would be the realization that, in a very real sense, we, as black people, are placed in [the] invidious position of having to justify our existence by antecedents, having to prove our humanity by what went before. Now this is very invidious. Humanity is not a thing one proves. One asserts [it] perhaps, or one accepts [it]. One doesn't really set out to prove it. But, unfortunately, the historical circumstances in which black people have evolved in recent

centuries have implanted in the minds of black brothers and sisters a certain historical conception and, in order to destroy that historical conception, one has to engage in this type of game of saying, "This is what the white man said but no, it isn't really so, we have a past," and that sort of thing."

Regarding the situation in the USA Walter Rodney was very concerned about the situation which, despite the Civil Rights movements and the various Pan-Negro movements, starting from the New Negro and the Harlem Renaissance, which initiated the assertiveness of Black people in America; it was still not very easy for Black people and the Pan-Negro and Pan-African movements to always find a common ground of understanding and to orientate their Pan-Africanist driven-philosophy. He showed concern for this discordance in the new voices of the voiceless and repressed people, which allowed the liberal capitalist system and the bourgeoisie to infiltrate and recuperate some of the Black leaders. This could explain why Walter Rodney was more enticed by the Black Panther Movement and the new self-determination philosophy of an independent Black nation in the USA, since Blacks were consistently denied equal rights with the Whites who enjoyed full citizenship. This hypothesis is supported by Walter Rodney's expressed fears when he reiterates that:

"But the US bourgeoisie is employing a different tactic... But the brothers and sisters, and here I am addressing myself particularly to the brothers who have come up from the United States, will have to be aware of the gambit which is in fact already being utilized with respect to African history and culture. And that is this: The national bourgeoisie in the United States appears to be giving a concession. They are saying, "Okay, fine, you go ahead and study African history and African culture," and they will give you so much African history and culture [that] you just have time for nothing else. The object is to divorce the process of thought and reflection on our past from the process of changing the present so that you feel that you've gained something but you end up in some remarkable contradiction. What you will find is this (in fact it's happening already): Rockefeller--who is making most of his money out of South African gold, out of the Rand, out of exploiting and participating in apartheid, the most vicious racial system in the world--that guy is going to finance a chair in African history. That's the type of contradiction. So that if a black progressive thinks he's doing something by going into African history, using up a Rockefeller grant, all he is doing is forgetting both the domestic and external implications of American capitalism and, in fact, supporting that system because the guys don't mind if you go in a library or museum and lock yourself up all day. That's wonderful; keep you off the street, keep you out of struggle. So we have to avoid that type of myth that cultural revival, per se, is going to carry us a long

way. I don't want to seem to be critical of the development of interest in African history and culture. Quite obviously not, that's what I myself am involved in. What I am trying to suggest is that sometimes, while involved in a process, we ourselves have to be very careful to delimit how far that process should go. Let's all wear afros, let's put on African clothes. Fine. But that doesn't mean we are not going to struggle. The system still has to be broken before we can express ourselves in any fundamental way..."

Walter Rodney was of the opinion that Black people in America and the world at large had to break away for what he called "cultural ego-centricism," which entails judging others only from one's point of view. Hence he tried to find out how Pan-Africanism could be fostered by allowing for the divergences of conceptualizations and practice. He condemned the linear and straight jacket by which the capitalist Eurocentric system tried to define those that did not resemble their familiar settings explaining that:

"These fellows have no concept of judging any culture by attempting to get out of their own. They base themselves solidly in their own limited perspectives and then you judge everybody else by that. In Africa, even apart from the state systems which I have merely enumerated and which, presumably, Richard Moore will talk about in more detail, one could find a whole variety of people, millions of people, living outside of the normal political state. And in European terms they were not civilized because to be civilized you had to be living in this large political conglomeration, you had to be writing, preferably (this is one of the criteria which is normally adduced for civilization), and you had to be engaged in a political and administrative process which is rather similar to that, let's say, of the modern United States. In other words, the greatest expression of human progress is in terms of the size of the state, in terms of the size of the armies that the fellows can send against each other to kill each other out and the like. I mean it really is amazing because, even within white society, those people who question the society--and there have been many in the post-war epoch who question the very basis of the society--would wonder if, on sheer size and population and so on, the United States is the most civilized country in the world, if we use those criteria. We know that it is the most barbarous because of the way in which it has exercised its power, because of the way in which it has stifled its own population. And that is not only the black population but the white population. So we have to challenge those criteria and when I look back at African states, at African society in the broadest sense, I would, in fact, like to throw out the word civilization. I think it is a very arbitrary word, I don't think it gets us very far. I mean, we use it as a prop so that we can advance our thoughts and at a certain stage it will abolish itself, as it were."

The recent work of Joshua Agbo (2010) on Walter Rodney is very good example of half-baked intellectualism that is emerging in Africa today among those who study African history mid-way, partially and shabbily; and do not bother to study it holistically and from its origins.

Joshua Agbo, the historical neophyte, in his very brilliant and captivating book which is the reversal of Walter Rodney's brilliant and ground-breaking work on "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa," comes out with a rebuttal on "How Africans Underdeveloped Africa."

What is disturbing about Joshua's Agbo's work is that he did not take the time to read all the works of Walter Rodney and put him in the contextualised situation of the time. On writing on the Racial Politics in Guyana, he seems to accuse Walter Rodney for not handling well the racial politics in his country of origin. He therefore makes a "qui pro quo" fallacy of assuming that Walter Rodney wrote his book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" in a bid to please Africans or to raise a sentiment of Euro-phobia and encourage Afro-centricism.

He forgets that a true historian, just like a true creative writer of living captivating fiction, is never inspired to write to please some people, as to set certain facts of human living conditions and situations in society that are taken for granted and often not investigated and brought to the front stage and public discourse, public criticism and honest appreciation.

Actually, if Walter Rodney was to live again and write a critique on Africa he would have written, without any hesitation and never fearing whose ox he gored, a more virulent history on how "Africans Are Underdeveloping Africa." Actually his first work on "Grounding With My Brothers" as a freshman PhD graduate was his earliest research into putting to practice his pioneer theories of Neo-Pan-Africanism. He was also a keen critic of Living Pan-Africanism and not the Pan-Africanism of the past and of the libraries and of the intellectual bourgeois drawer-driven class who would classify everything on Pan-Africanism as already said and done with.

Walter Rodney was very critical of what Pan-Africanism would become for the living ordinary people of Africa, the youths, the women, the working class. He was concerned about how Pan Africanism would move from the Elitist class that has made it a Statesmen's Club of confiscation of the rights of the ordinary African People, to become more a Pan Africanism of the Masses and the Poor wherever they may be found.

Rodney was very critical of the post-colonial bourgeoisie Africans and the ruling political class on how they would move Pan-Africanism to serve the cause of the African people, instead of confiscating it and transforming it to

serve their personal and corporate and family interest to the detriment of the Masses.

Wherefore, for one like Joshua Agbo to say that Rodney wrote history to please Africans or some kind of classes of Africans is like to accuse the Jews of writing about the Jewish Holocaust and Nazism to please some people.

This hypothesis is supported by David Hinds lectures in Caribbean and African Diaspora Studies at Arizona State University who wrote a tribute on http://www.guyanacaribbeanpolitics.com/commentary/hinds_061009.html, “What Walter Rodney did for Guyana” (Pan-African News Line, 2009) <http://www.GuyanaCaribbeanPolitics.co> saying that:

“As we observe the 29th anniversary of Walter Rodney’s assassination on Saturday June 13, it is a good time to reflect on his role and legacy to Guyana. Some people like to have it both ways. They want to suck cane and blow whistle at the same time. According to these people, Walter Rodney was a “visionary,” a good man and a bright man. But he was also a bad politician who should not have opposed Burnham. In the final analysis he did nothing for the Guyanese people and should not be revered. Those views are rooted in the perception that one is only of service to people if one panders to their racial insecurity and uses that insecurity to achieve state power and give the people a sense of dominance, however illusory. It is also rooted in the assumption that a great leader is one who achieves state power for his race or his supporters. The problem for Rodney’s detractors is that they cannot dismiss him. So they admit that he was a visionary and a bright man-- to them these are harmless characterizations. The truth of the matter is that Guyanese who lived and suffered under and struggled against the PNC dictatorship are indebted to Walter Rodney. That is a fact that cannot be disputed. While Jagan and Burnham led the fight for bread and justice they both failed miserably in the quest for racial unity. Rodney on the other hand simultaneously waged the struggle for bread and justice and racial unity. He led the Guyanese people in the direction of national unity with the most effective unifying tool--UNITED ACTION. That is what makes Rodney a qualitatively different leader to the two “gods.”...”

David Hinds goes further to illustrate how Walter Rodney was the unifying strategist between the rival bourgeois political classes of the Guyanese Indian Community and the African community that dominated the Indian and the African masses of Workers and the poor. His strategy to pre-empt the conflict from exploding into an ethno-racial war that would have led to ethnic cleansing was very crucial to the survival of the Neo-Pan-Africanism and Humanism he was promoting and not a sectarian ethno-racialized politics of exclusion and annihilation of any human group by another, no matter the

arguments for. He brings out this Rodneyist strategy very clearly when he argues that:

“As is well known, Rodney’s united movement brought home to the PNC the harsh reality that it could no longer command African loyalty with the threat of Indian take-over. But Rodney did even more than that. Along with the WPA, Rodney made it possible for Dr. Jagan and the PPP to re-enter African communities. This was most significant, for it allowed Dr. Jagan to make his case directly to the African masses in an uncensored manner. It also helped the anti-polarization elements in the PPP to break out of the racial prison in which they found themselves. When Rodney arrived on the scene, the morale of the Guyanese people was quite low. Those Africans who wanted to fight the PNC were constrained by racial considerations, while their Indian counterparts were dismayed by Jagan’s flip-flop as evidenced in his critical support for the PNC dictatorship. What Rodney did was to give inspiration to the people to fight despite those obstacles. To paraphrase Martin Carter, those who had forgotten how to fight learned how to fight for the revolution. Rodney reinvigorated that fighting spirit in the Guyanese people and soon the battles were moved to the union halls and the street corners. Those battles of the late 1970s ignited the progressive decline of the dictatorship and made October 5, 1992 possible. What else Rodney did for the Guyanese people? He encouraged them in the direction of self-organization and self-emancipation.”

David Hinds goes on to conclude that Walther Rodney joined camp with other leaders of the Guyanese Workers groups to build up a stronger pressure group that militated to change the course of the ethno-racialisation of Guyana which could have resulted not only into the Rwandasation of Guyana, but would have contributed to the destabilization not only of Guyana but also of Venezuela and the entire region. He makes the point pertinently in favour of Rodney when he affirms that:

“The Rodney, Thomas and Kwayana workers’ classes in Wismar/McKenzie were greatly responsible for the heightened consciousness that led workers under the banner of the Organization of the Working People (OWP) to continue to take action independent of the leadership of the unions. That independent spirit soon moved to the costal workers and gave rise to the independent Four Union bloc: GAWU, CCWU, NAACIE and UGSA (later renamed UGWU). It was the Rodneyite consciousness and militancy of the workers that brought union leaders such as Gordon Todd on to the streets to march with workers. It was the Rodneyite consciousness that inspired young people in Buxton to occupy the Village Hall until their demands for improved services were met. Yes, Rodney raised the consciousness of the Guyanese people in a way that propelled them to concrete action for their own liberation. He inspired People’s Power. Finally, Walter

Rodney's achievements as a brilliant scholar and his global reputation were largely responsible for the international attention to the plight of the Guyanese people. Remember that Burnham's progressive profile on the world stage could not be effectively countered by Jagan who had backed himself into a narrow communist corner. It was the entry of Walter Rodney that caused world opinion to begin to scrutinize Burnham more closely. Rodney is to Guyana what Mandela is to South Africa and Martin Luther King is to the USA. His scholastic achievements also did something else that was profound to the Guyanese struggle. It drew the scholars out of their ivory towers and into the people's struggle. He also inspired church-people to openly witness for the poor and the oppressed. And he inspired young people to educate themselves, not to become intellectual mercenaries, but to be true patriots of peoples' liberation. That's why Walter Rodney lives."

David Hinds' comparative study on Walter Rodney is also corroborated by Professor Horace G. Campbell's tribute to Walter Rodney and Pan-Africanism Today (2005), which highlights the invaluable contributions made by this Pan-African icon to innovate the strategies of Pan-Africanism. When asked to elaborate on issues of Pan-Africanism in Guyana today, Horace G. Campbell answered:

"Yes, it is very delicate, very delicate and the way to deal with it is to have a conversation about it, to be open about it. Let us look at the specific contradictions of Guyana. Walter Rodney was an African in Guyana. There are African workers in Guyana. But, the Guyanese African middle class is very developed. It is one of the most developed middle classes. Forbes Burnham who was the President of Guyana and an African, was in control of the government that is responsible for the assassination of Walter Rodney. Walter Rodney was assassinated because he wanted to bring African and Indian workers together with a new politics. In Guyana, there are Indian workers and there are also Indian capitalists. The African middle class has begun a campaign to organize the African working class to say, we must not be under the power of the coolie (Indian). In other words, they collapse the Indian workers with the Indian capitalists and they have gone to the point of mobilizing African workers in a certain city in Guyana, called Buxton, to say, they are waging armed struggle against Indians and they are going around killing Indians. It is a very serious situation. We are very worried about it, because Guyana is next to Venezuela, and it is our belief that there are external forces that have an interest in destabilization and violence. So, the Indian-African inter-ethnic violence could serve to destabilize Guyana, so that elements could intervene to destabilize Venezuela. I don't know if you know that Venezuela is now asserted itself as a leader in what is called the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America (ALBA). What progressive Pan-Africanists are saying is that there can be no

liberation of Africans in Guyana that involves the killing of Indian workers. It is in the interest of Pan-Africanists to see that their dignity is respected. As Africans it is in our interest to be supportive of the dignity of Indian workers. And so, we are not silent in Pan-Africanism. That is why it is so important to draw the line between conservative elements in the movement called ACDA - the African Cultural and Development Association (and the more progressive elements.) The conservative elements of ACDA say that Walter Rodney was foolish to talk about Indian and African unity. We want to be able to raise the issue of Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century and do what Professor Mugo has said and what Rodney has said - move Pan-Africanism beyond Pan-Africanist leaders, toward a Pan-Africanism of women, youth and the masses. In that sense, we know that there are (historical and cultural) differences between us and Indians, but, you have to look at the point of convergence. Let's look at one point of convergence of the Guyanese people."

This Rodneyist philosophy of convergence is essentially of the classical African philosophy of the interpenetration of contraries well defined by Prince Dika Akwa Nya Bonambella (1984), and by Kwame Nkrumah's philosophy of Consciencism (1972) which Gang Njuli (1996) expressed as the principle of "Lábà-Kábà" in Mbum Philosophy where the force of persuasive dialogue was encouraged to bring about convergence. For according to Mbum Philosophy, without opposing fronts, there can never be mutual understanding. According to Mbum Philosophy, mutual understanding does not mean that one person or one partner gives up his or her position. Rather, both parties hold to their opposing positions but will agree to build a compromise in such a way that nobody feels or goes away feeling tricked or duped into an agreement. For, according to "Lábà-Kábà" each party must find convenience and satisfaction in the mutual deal.

Walter Rodney advocated for dialogue and sensitisation about each party's needs as the foundation for convergence and understanding the common mutual need to build on differences in order to attain a more viable and peace-driven community. The Rodneyist idea for convergence is intended to build a more participatory society where the gap between the intellectuals and the workers, the rich and the poor, will be narrowed to the barest minimum. Professor Horace G. Campbell (2005) insists on this element in Walter Rodney's pragmatic philosophy when he highlights that:

"In chapter one of "The History of the Guyanese Working Peoples," Walter Rodney laid out the geographical location of Guyana and the fact that the enslaved people built (the city of) Georgetown. They built the polders, the dams ... In January of this year, Guyana was threatened by flood. They were about to move two-hundred

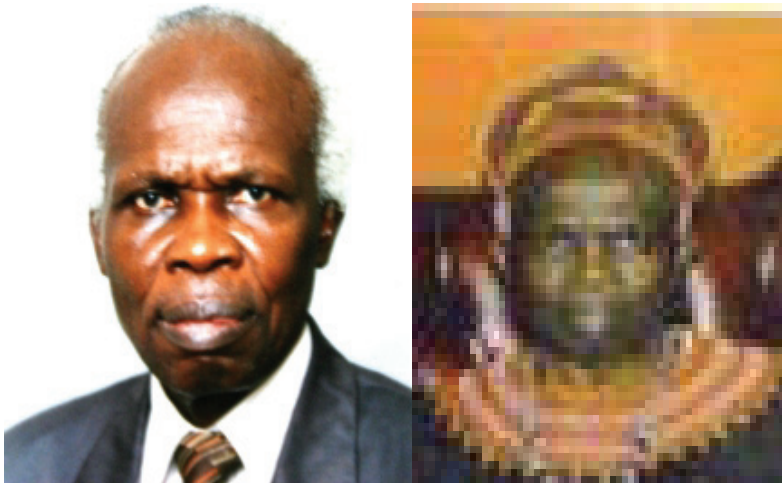
thousand people out of the city. I mention this event to illustrate how nature does not participate in these human constructs around differences. The flood threatened Indian and African alike, even those who built the town. This teaches us that we have to have a vision of how we rehabilitate society for everyone. Hurricane Katrina has shown us that we cannot be organized as a society around the interests of capital. We have to be particularly vigilant in the case of what is happening in New Orleans, because, the capitalist class has a vision of reconstruction which does not include the masses of poor, working peoples of New Orleans. That is why our research work, whether it be in law, engineering, economics, or business, has to focus on how we strengthen our people in New Orleans, to insure that this administration does not use the hurricane to dis-empower the people. Relative to Walter Rodney's assassination and its similarity to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Patrice Lumumba and Malcolm X, I have an article which draws a parallel between all three of these assassinations. We are not just having these celebrations because we want to celebrate Walter Rodney's life. Walter Rodney was assassinated physically, there are others who are assassinating him intellectually. These detractors say that he shouldn't have been there, that he was adventurous and therefore, there is a disinclination to raise the matter of his assassination. In fact, Professor Mazrui was one of the boldest ones who before the Guyanese government said we must end the silence around the assassination of Walter Rodney, in Guyana, he stated that there should be a complete investigation. Professor Mazrui and Walter Rodney did not agree politically, but we must recognize the decency of Professor Mazrui who said, we must insure that we end the silence around the question of Walter Rodney."

What a true historical anthropologist and what I would call a Neo-Pan Africanist has to know is that Walter Rodney's legacy to Pan Africanism is his vision and determination to put his philosophy of "Convergence" among peoples of Africa and the rest of Humankind into practice. Even though he was assassinated for endeavouring to make this happen in his home country Guyana, his legacy will forever outlive him just as it will endear Africans to appreciate his foresight for the innovative Pan Africanism that will come from the masses; and from the man and woman in the street he stood for and endeared his life and

Wilson Ndeh Ntumazah stands out as one of those few national liberation movement activists who dedicated his life to the true Pan Africanism independent of any of the patronizing forces of Europe, Russia or China that he considered neo-imperialist in Africa. Born in Mankon, Bamenda, former German Kamerun Protectorate, just after the First World War, after the European Allies Conference of Versailles in 1919, had seized the German colonies as booty of war, and distributed them among them.

Professor Horace Campbell (2010) who was a living partner and witness to Ndeh Ntumazah's Pan Africanism has paid him tribute which I feel I should quote from. He states that:

“Cameroon had been handed to the German imperialists at the Berlin conference in 1885. After the first imperialist war, the peoples of the Cameroon were divided between the French and British colonialists. After the Second World War, Cameroon was under the trusteeship of France and the British, courtesy of the United Nations. Ndeh had been involved in building the UPC as a force capable of uniting people from all parts of Cameroon, regardless of class status or ethnic association.”



Photos 160 (a) & (b): Wilson Ndeh Ntumazah: 1926 - 21 January 2010

Ndeh Ntumazah was thrust into the fame and mastery of Pan Africanism by providence and by his God-given inborn talent as a leader of Africans, not only in his country of origin, but throughout the continent and the Diaspora. He was a down to earth person who did not throw around his royal strapping around, especially in those days when royalty wielded an envious power and enjoyed a legitimate security base. That is how he came to be known, apart from the many names that were given him, as a Man of the People. His sojourn in many lands transformed him into a true linguist and a people-friendly person.

Apart from ‘Ghà mú-Múnkòn’, the language of Mankon, he also learnt and spoke Fan-Beti when he lived in Sangmelima with his uncle who ran a cocoa farm and butchery. He also spoke ‘Mùngáàkà’ the language of Bà’ni-Nyòngá, ‘Mógháámò’ the language of the Tadkon-Widekum, Kiswahili which he learnt in exile in Tanzania, some Kabil-Berber and Arabic which he learnt in Exile in Algeria, and in Egypt when he worked with Abdel Nasser; French which he

learnt as a youth in the French Trust Territory of Cameroon, and English which he learnt in the British Trust Territory where he was born, and later perfected when he went on Exile to London where he lived for over thirty years till his transition to the land of his ancestors.

He was very keen about justice to everyone no matter race, ethnicity, religion or ideological preferences. There was nothing he frowned against as injustice. Though soft-spoken and very friendly, his alacrity to stand up to the defence of anybody in the face of injustice was very daunting and expedite.



Photos 160 (c) & (d): Wilson Ndeh Ntumazah: 1926 - 21 January 2010

His defence of the marginalized and downtrodden was manifested forcefully when, as a youth in Sangmelima in the late 1940s, when he was already a member of the newly formed radical revolutionary party (Richard Joseph, 1973) UPC – Union des Populations Camerounaises. An incident occurred when a French colonial master maltreated a Cameroonian labourer in the plantations. Ntumazah reacted immediately by giving the Frenchman a wallop. This incident earned him his being declared a “persona non grata” in the UN Trust Territory of Cameroon under French Administration and his escape to Mankon his home since the French colonial authorities were after him to arrest and destroy him. That is how in the late 1949 when Ntumazah arrived Bamenda, he decided to disguise his political militancy into an occult society and started sensitising his people underground according to the manifesto of the UPC of Um Nyobe.

This was because even though the British tolerated the introduction of political parties into Southern Cameroons from Nigeria, they did not tolerate any party that had leanings to Communism.

Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, after taking over from Herbert Macauley as the leader of the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon - SCNC, had come

to Southern Cameroons twice: in 1944 to introduce and launch the SCNC party in 1946, and in 1951 to campaign for the upcoming elections into Nigerian House of Assembly that year.

The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons - NCNC thus became the only political party in Southern Cameroon before the other political parties of Southern Cameroon were created. Ndeh Ntumazah started his underground party more like an occult society specialize in healing and in sensitising people on diseases, one of which was “colonialism” for sure. This was certainly because had he started a political party which was daubed ‘Communist’ or associated with the UPC which was identified as Communist, the British would have banned it immediately.

The occult group (political party) was named “Mamie-Wata”. The group’s occultist song was very political because it went thus in Mankon language:

*“Mamie-Wata, Mamie-Wata,
MamieWata logho ma-yi ngoe!
Mamie-Wata, Mamie-Wata,
Mamie-Wata logho Mùkára ngoe!”*

*“Mamie-Water, Mamie-Water,
Mamie-Water Take the mother-f-k-r away!
Mamie-Water, Mamie-Water,
Mamie-Water Take the English-Colonialists away!”*

Meetings were usually held at night and candle lights stole the show as smoked perfumed incense aroma wafted in the atmosphere, tearing the stale harmattan air, to give the sacred aura needed for the occultist sensitisation gatherings. Also Seraphinic occultic names were common. This was meant to protect the identities of the participants who had to remain anonymous. For instance members were called by their occultist names like: Araphabel, Lucifer, Seraphinia, Zadkielabel, Arielabel, Razielabel and others. For instance my mother was called Razielabel.

It is also true that the members practiced some occultic “night-masses” and occultic practices because their members were gifted with the power of ubiquity and trans-migration.

I actually witnessed some of the night celebrations as a child because my mother who was also Ndeh Ntumazah’s closest companion and member of the occultic group used to take me the occultic night masses. She used to take me along for the “night-masses” of the Mamie-Wata occultic group. This is how I came to learn the names of the Angels of the political underworld and

the popular heralding song – “Mamie-Wata.” And that is how I came also to experience the power of Trans-migration and ubiquity with my mother when we travelled by night for the “night-masses.”

I also witnessed this power of trans-migration when, one night, our house was surrounded by thugs that were sent to kill my mother, as they were announcing loudly to the hearing of everyone in the house they had come for “Manyi, that strong-headed woman, who has decided to become a man and is teaching other women to refuse to listen to men.” As they broke the door open and came with all force into the house, I saw my mother who was then pregnant, just vanish in front of us all. Her assailant could not find her in the house, and so they were also astounded that the same Manyi they had waylaid and followed right into the house was no longer there. These are some of the powers that the UPC militants also cultivated. They always used it pass unnoticed when in trouble or pursued by the government forces.

This is how Ndeh Ntumazah was able to lie low sensitising his supportive followers till the launching of the O.K. One Kamerun Political Party in 1957, after the UPC was disbanded in the “French Cameroons” in 1955.

This aspect of Ndeh Ntumazah’s political “twilight” as he called it is presented by Professor Horace Campbell though not so clearly as I, an eyewitness, have done. May be Ndeh Ntumazah did not narrate to him fully what this twilight life or occultist political “night-masses” life entailed:

“The same harsh and repressive policies that France used against the freedom fighters in Algeria were used against the freedom fighters in Cameroon. France had outlawed the UPC in 1955, branding this African liberation movement as a communist party. Throughout the building of the party, Ndeh worked in what he called a ‘twilight’ position – that is, he worked above and below ground. He was known to appear and disappear making it difficult for the French to track his movements. But France had many educated Africans who were working for the French security services. These were elements from the évolué strata, who loved France more than they loved Africa. It was the work of the French security that led to the capture of the popular strategist and organiser Ruben Um Nyobé (1913–1958). Ruben Um Nyobé was killed by the French colonialists in the midst of liberation struggles. Like Che Guevara, he was captured alive but later executed by the French colonial overlords. France worked hard to execute the leaders of the UPC, buying off some, tricking others and building strata of Africans who would be forever subservient to France and European interests in Africa. Cameroon, Gabon and the Congo were three territories that were tremendously rich, and Europe ensured that African nationalism would be killed in these areas to protect their interests. Part of the reason many Cameroonian youth do not know this history is because France sought to assassinate both the leaders of the UPC and the

history of the UPC. After killing Ruben Um Nyobé in 1958, the French secret service poisoned the next leader of the UPC Félix-Roland Moumié. He was killed in Switzerland. Ndeh was on the list for assassination and he related the kind of charmed life that he lived while fighting against French colonialism.”

Since the UPC had gone underground, Ndeh Ntumazah was the only mouth piece of the disbanded party. He came out in full force during the negotiations for Unification of Southern Cameroons with the “French Cameroons” as the Cameroon United Nations Trust Territory under French administration was called. He went to the United Nations and disowned the French administration in “French Cameroons,” as it was then called.

By the end of 1961 Ahmadou Babatoure Ahidjo conscripted a special squad of secret police to hunt down Ndeh Ntumazah and Albert Mukong as two of the rare visible and outspoken “Communists” in Cameroon. That is how the UPC and its followers were branded by the French colonial administrators and the neo-colonial State of Cameroon who also branded the underground UPeCists “Terrorists and Maquisards.”

It was this man-hunt which sent Ndeh Ntumazah into political exile in early 1962. He passed through Mamfe and went to Lagos. It was in Lagos that he met Tai Solarin, the Nigerian Communist leader who gave him an international passport under the adopted name of adopted name of Mbarack Ben Ibrahim (Sankie Maimo, 2011) which took him to Ghana, where he was given asylum by Kwame Nkrumah. That was where he aligned with Nkrumah’s school of thought and training in the liberation camp of the militant Pan Africanist. From Ghana he moved to Guinea and later to Algeria, then to Tanzania. That is where he met Professor Horace Campbell who gives this testimony and pays tribute to Ndeh Ntumazah titled: Remembering Ndeh Ntumazah: An African freedom fighter, when he testifies:

“A former leader of liberation movement, the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon, Ndeh Ntumazah was a freedom fighter who devoted his life to the struggle for African independence and emancipation. Horace Campbell pays tribute to a ‘remarkable Pan-African spirit’. Ndeh Ntumazah was a remarkable Pan-African spirit who was one of the leaders of one of the foremost Pan-Africanist liberation movements in Africa, the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC). He was one of the sterling leaders of the liberation movements of Africa. He was a freedom fighter who devoted his life to African independence. He worked with Ruben Um Nyobé, Félix-Roland Moumié, Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Abdel Nasser, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney and those leaders who believed in the full emancipation of Africa. The UPC and Ndeh were independent of China or the Soviet Union and independent of France and the

United States. In our discussions, Ndeh stressed the importance of independence because at that moment African liberation movements were torn by the Sino-Soviet split, Ndeh Ntumazah was born in Mankon, Bamenda in 1926. He was residing in London, United Kingdom when he joined the ancestors on 21 January 2010. He was 84 years old.”

This rare globetrotting freedom fighter seemed to have been destined into this mission of the forgotten prophet to keep alive the spirit of the 1945 Pan African Congress of Manchester which had become the radical turning point of the maturity of and globalization of Pan Africanism.

Just as the Sixth Congress of Manchester marked the growing awareness of the convenors of the Congress that for Pan Africanism to become sustainable, it had to liberate itself from any form of colonialism or imperialism, and assume the original Toussaint L'Ouverture energy of Self-Determination which most of the hard-liners like Marcus Garvey, Ras Makonen, Paul Robbeson and Sojourner Truth had been advocating right from the beginning of its inception. Just like George Padmore, Aimé Césaire, WEB DuBois, C.L.R. James, Patrice Lumumba and Kwame Nkrumah who had discovered the shortcomings in Russian Communism and Imperialism; Ntumazah was the flag-bearer of the UPC ideology of total independence from any imperialistic ideology, be it Western American-European Slave-Driven Capitalism, be it the Eastern Russian, Chinese or Korean Marxist Communism.

It was not therefore by accident that he courted the company and gleaned from the minds of such radical independent-mind driven Pan Africanists like Frantz Fanon, Abdel Nasser, Bourmedien, George Padmore, just to mention this few. That explains why he was feared both by the Western Capitalist Imperialists just as he was not accepted by the Eastern Marxist Communist imperialists. That also explains why it can be explained that even though he used the Marxist Communist rhetoric, as Tozoacha Asonganyi explains in his tribute, he was not a Communist.

Tazoacha Asonganyi, (2010) on paying tribute to Ndeh Ntumazah titled: The Passing of a Great Man, testified that:

“Although Pa Ntumazah was not a communist, he was certainly much influenced by communism because many of his speeches and writings were filled with communist rhetoric. In his conversational autobiography published in 1991 by Patron Publishing House, Bamenda, he stated that “Ouandié advised Mandela and he changed tactics”. Indeed, Mandela changed tactics by starting a guerrilla war against the apartheid regime, like the one the UPC had started in Cameroon against the neo-colonial regime.

Beyond merely changing tactics to engage in a liberation war, the ANC combined war, militant mass action and seduction to win power and is still governing South Africa today.”

What most Africans have failed to realise is that there were Africans who saw beyond this imperialist dichotomy of White Imperialism, whether coming from the West or East. That is because they have always been brainwashed to think that innovative ideas must either come from the West or from the East. This has always blinded them to look into themselves and into their dialectic history like Toussaint L'Ouverture did and came out with a solution, which certainly inspired Karl Marx's theory of Armed Revolution of the Proletariat. Actually the theory of "Armed Revolution" was internalized and put into practice by Toussaint L'Ouverture long before Karl Marx. He was a brave clairvoyant Black Man from Haiti. That is the reason why the racist White Man refused to acknowledge him and pay tribute to his applied theoretical framework. And African Freedom Fighters who assumed the Toussaint L'Ouverturian Self-Determination were frowned at by the colonial imperialist White society which was interested in patronizing and manipulating Africans which they have always considered inferior to the White Race.

Actually, it could be said that this special trait of Pan Africanism which portrayed and encouraged the Toussaint L'Ouverture spirit of Self-Determination and the rising of the oppressed masses to fight for their rights with armed struggle was not originated by Karl Marx. That explains why C.L.R. James was very quick to make that distinction and separation of the Pan African Liberation Spirit through his casting of Toussaint L'Ouverture as the Role Model for all radical Pan African Liberation which must go with armed struggle to overthrow the Slave-Driven Capitalist Master and teach Him the African Humanism.

Neither the West with its Slave-Driven Capitalist Economic Ideology, nor the East with its Marxist-Leninist Communist Ideology was happy with this kind of Freedom that was not tied to their apron strings and manipulative tactics.

Professor Horace Campbell testifies to this very independent mind-set of Ndeh Ntumazah when they first met in Tanzania in Walter Rodney's residence:

"I first met Ndeh Ntumazah in the home of Walter Rodney in Dar es Salaam in June 1974. I was staying at the home of Walter Rodney at the time of the 6th Pan African Congress. Ntumazah was then living in exile in Tanzania, under the protection of the Tanzanian government. When I arrived in Dar es Salaam a week

before the congress, I met Ndeh before Walter went off to the History Teachers' Conference in Morogoro. There were three of us in the house, Ndeh, myself and Omowale. Omowale, originally from the Grenadines, was in exile in Tanzania, after his involvement in the students' struggles at Sir George Williams University in 1969. When Walter returned from Morogoro, he fell ill and it was Ndeh, Omowale and I who cared for him. Walter was admitted to the Muhimbili Hospital and the three of us cooked and took food to him at the hospital. Slowly, as I was driving back and forth between the home in the university and the hospital, I began to learn of the life of Ndeh Ntumazah. We had discussions late into the night on the history of the Cameroonian struggle. He spoke of how the struggles of the peoples of Algeria, Vietnam and the Cameroon were interwoven. Like the settlers in Algeria, the colonists in Cameroon used the most vicious racism to oppress the people. I learnt that Ndeh was one of the freedom fighters of the UPC and that he had joined the organisation in 1948 as a young man, devoting himself to full independence. This made Ndeh one of the top five leaders of one of the most radical freedom parties in Africa after the Second World War. The other leaders were Ruben Um Nyobe (1913-1958), Ouandie Ernest (1924-1971), Abel Kingue (1924-1964) and Felix Roland Moumie (1925-1960). Cameroon had been handed to the German imperialists at the Berlin conference in 1885. After the first imperialist war, the peoples of the Cameroon were divided between the French and British colonialists. After the Second World War, Cameroon was under the trusteeship of France and the British, courtesy of the United Nations. Ndeh had been involved in building the UPC as a force capable of uniting people from all parts of Cameroon, regardless of class status or ethnic association."

Professor Tazoacha Asonganyi and Professor Horace Campbell testify how Ntumazah was not only an ardent historian; he was also an ardent teacher of Pan African History and the need for African Revolution for African Liberation. He was the main brain behind Professor Richard Joseph's Oxford PhD Thesis in History, on the UPC titled "Radical Nationalism in Cameroon." This thesis was later published into a book (Richard A. Joseph, 1977) which was banned from being sold in Cameroon. Professor Richard A. Joseph is now the Chair of Political Science at Northwestern University, USA.

Ndeh Ntumazah was an ardent reader and teacher of History who also fed me with a lot of knowledge when I was a student at the University of Sorbonne and spent my summer holidays with him in South Strecham in South London where he lived. His interest for history and his advocacy for the teaching of the right history to the youths of Africa on Pan Africanism are very elating and are confirmed by Professor Horace Campbell who testifies that Ndeh Ntumazah stressed on the importance of History for young Pan Africans:

“NTUMUZH AND THE UNION DES POPULATIONS DU CAMEROUN (UPC) IMPORTANCE OF THIS HISTORY FOR YOUNG PAN-AFRICANS *Indeed, for younger Pan-Africanists, the history of the political independence of the UPC is worth studying because of its belief that liberation struggle should be grounded in all of the peoples of Cameroon. The party did not make any distinctions between the French and British Cameroonians, between Christians and Muslims, between men and women, or between the different ethnic groups. It was a remarkably united movement.*”

Ndeh Ntumazah was also a strong advocate for Human Rights. He worked very closely with the British Parliament and with Amnesty International to advocate and report on human rights issues in Africa. It was through him that I came to know Frank Russell who was working with Amnesty International from Jamaica, and who was Ndeh Ntumazah’s adopted son. Ndeh Ntumazah introduced me to the secret underground information service of Amnesty International and made me deliver and bring very vital information to and from people whenever I travelled to Africa during my student days in Europe.

He became my mentor and father through the political and intimate circumstances that united him, my mother and myself at my very early childhood days. My readers can then understand why I paid him this homage in the poem I wrote for him during his transition to the land of the Pan African Ancestors titled:

“The Rising Mystical Obelisk
(Immortal Wilson Ndeh Ntumazah)

*Talking of The Way, that Life,
Exuding from your Ntarinkon Pinacle
Where the Mysteries of the Creative
Genius flowered into a Miracle
Of Splendor with the Sacred Fig –Tree
Marking the Holy Sanctuary
In Rituals of Incantations to the
Overwhelming God of True Maternity...*

*As I stooped in Veneration to the
Majestic Audience you were Hosting
Araphabel the Night Angel alerted you of*

*The Mission Tales and Bonding
My Aquiles Tendon had braved it through the
Path-Ways from Igháàyé-Razielabel
Picking and cooking the 'Wá' and sifting the
Corn-Flour for your enticing Entrée...*

*You had to flee mystically flying, your
Gorgeous Magical Musanga round your Neck
To the land of No Return for the Classified
Political Mystics on new Risk Check
For Speaking out, like Lumumba, against the
Colonial Independence of Serfdom
And Cooperation with the Swindling Lucifer
Who had usurped the Black Kingdom...
As Araphabel intones the War Songs of Mamie-Wata
While Seraphina and Zadkielabel brandish your Shield of
Disappearance and Trans-migrations into the land
Where Arielabel prepares the Couch of Liberation
As Razielabel leads you in the Triumphant Wedding Strots
Of Great Victors and Conquerors of Africa's Enslavers...*

*From Futa Toro, through Futa Djallon to the
Congo Basin of Your Liberation Rap-Dance
All the Perching African Trees had lost their
Bullet Proof Barks to NATO Corps Camouflage
Pranks, making the world to believe you were
Terrorist-Marquisards of no Human Rights
Lest your mind set install new cell phones for
Detecting their remotely-controlled Fights...*

*From Bumyebel Um Nyobe's Earth-Soul haunts forever
His Assassins as your Companions'
Ransom Blood reviving Felix Moumie's Offspring of
Vengeance on the Neo-colonial Pawns
Who hanged Eyidi Bebey, Albert Kingue,
Albert Ndongmo and Ernest Wanzí's at the Stakes
As they raced down Quartier Congo with Planes spraying
Petrol and Fire on Men, Women and Babes...*

Today You Lay in State to Rise up the Eternal Obelisk of

*Justice, Truth, Reconciliation and Peace
 For a New Generation of Freedom-Fighters of
 Southern Cameroons Legacy of Re-Unificationists
 The New Generation of Freedom Fighters of
 Africa's World Continental and Diaspora Pan Africanists
 Who believed in their Separate Identities as in their
 Unity in Humanism with Respect of these Legal Differences
 But Mutual Building Blocks for the Lasting Undivided Unity
 The Foundation of Any Lasting and
 True Peace and Understanding
 Among Cameroon's Peoples
 Among all African Peoples.*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Mikkeli, Finland, 16th March 2010 (In Evergreen Dedication to my Beloved Father)

Bob Marley, as historical coincidence, fate and destiny would have designed, happened to have come from the same country Jamaica where Rodney was inspired to initiate and practice his philosophy of “Grounding With My Brothers.” Bob Marley, who happened to be a contemporary of Walter Rodney, used music, especially Reggae Music, that most powerful ammunition that fights the war of “Mental Slavery,” to fight the “War of Sensitisation of African people and all people of African descent in the Diaspora” to build the Neo-Pan Africanism, in the light of the philosophy of Walter Rodney. Bob Marley applied Walter Rodney’s philosophy of “Grounding With My Brothers” to the letter by first identifying with the downtrodden African people; and composed his Reggae Music songs in that light of teaching Africans about their history and sensitizing them for the urgent need of African Unity and Pan Africanism.

Horace G. Campbell (2005) confirms this hypothesis in his contributions on Water Rodney, Bob Marley and Pan Africanism saying:

“Bob Marley was speaking for the majority of African peoples. The Pan-Africanism Marley was speaking to, was a Pan-Africanism from bellow. The unification of Africa was for the unification of the people of Africa, to end apartheid. So, how do we talk about Pan-Africanism in the era after apartheid?”

A Political Anthropological appreciation and Political Linguistic analysis of Bob Marley’s songs portray his pre-occupation in sensitising Africans and all oppressed peoples in the continent, the Diaspora and the world for the need

of African Unity, the urgency of African Education for African Liberation. Like Walter Rodney Bob Marley became the Open School and Open University of the Streets and the Masses. He was truly the devoted and committed Street Professor of the masses. He was very down to earth and used the street English language that the poor and oppressed people were familiar with. The beauty of his songs and poetry and rhapsody lies in the manner in which he was able to touch the simple minds and especially the minds of children, inspiring them with knowledge in the form of story-telling, tickling their attention.



Photos 161 Bob Marley (Nesta Robert Marley): 6 February 1945 - 11 May 1981

The melodies were sweet and full of some awakening and inspiring nostalgia of a past that remained real and strong. I will present some of the very salient activist songs on Pan Africanism and give some political anthropological linguistics insights and political linguistic groundings of some of them.

In the song Africa Unite, Bob Marley is not only advocating for African Unity and Pan Africanism, but also on African humanism. Bob Marley, like Kwame Nkrumah, saw the need for Africa to unite for its liberation. He saw the balkanization and arbitrary partitioning of Colonial Africa, as an agenda for the interest of the Slave Trading Masters who exported Africans to the Caribbean and Americas, and later established the Indentured Slavery in Africa known as the final Colonisation of Africa for the Slave-Driven Capitalist Economic Exploitation and Imperialism.

The imagery of moving Africans right out of Babylon, inspired from the Biblical slavery and bondage of the Jews calls on Black people to break the

shackles of the racism, humiliation and neo-slavery to which they are subjected, in the name of integration in the Americas, and in the name of an independence which only satisfies the black bourgeoisie and intellectual class that have teamed up with the former slave masters and colonial masters to become the neo-slavers and neo-colonisers of their own people in their own rights.

The “going to our father’s land” here referred to does not entail the Marcus Gaveyan philosophy of Black Exodus, but the suffering people seeking a new spirituality that transcend the limit of this earthly material deprivation Black people were experiencing in the neo-liberal capitalist system.

Wherefore, “our father’s land” implies a new creation, and alternative virtual and real creativity that oppressed and abused Africans had to devise both mentally, spiritually, and materially, to ensure that everybody was provided for. That “Our father’s land” had to be created anywhere Black People found themselves in bondage and the contradictions of the Slave-Driven Capitalist Economy of Exclusion and Deprivation. It could actually be in America itself, may be in the Deep South Bible Belt where the Black Panther wanted to declare a Black State for Black People. It was also in Africa, where the restoration of the African Communitarian Philosophy did not bequeath just to a Privileged Mercenary Minority the entire wealth of the continent to the detriment of the Masses of the Other Children of the Land as proposed by the American-European Slave-Driven Capitalism. According to the African Communitarian Philosophy of Collective Ownership “*Usus Fructus*” Rights, no single individual or a group of individuals could claim ownership of the “:father’s land” without transgressing this Sacrosanct Communitarian Right of common ownership of the land and its resources as the common heritage of humanity.

“Our father’s land” taken in the small letter “f” indicated that Bob Marley was not referring to the “Our Father” of the androgenous and hyper patriarchal God of the White people who was not only White, Male and Imposing, but also the one who condoned all the Injustices and Abuses of the Human Rights of the Black People; who were forced to turn to a Colourless God of the Virtual Heaven and land of the ancestors.

“Our father’s land” actually referred to those earthy spaces Africans in the Diaspora and in Africa have occupied and given new life forms to since the time of their “fathers” and “mothers”. These are the various lands of their Diaspora mobility in Asia, Australia, Papua, Caledonia, Meso-America before Columbus; and later in Europe, North America and South America.

Bob Marley also makes allusion to the teachings of Jesus the Rastafarian, or what was then called the Children and adherents to the “Nazarene Sect” who like Samson as the Bible tells us wore his hair in dread locks and swore not to cut them till the land of the Original Owners, the Canaanites, cousins to the ancient Kemet-Egyptians, was restored to their rightful owners. When Bob Marley says “How good and how pleasant it would be

Before God and man

To see the unification of all rastaman,” he is actually stressing on this fact that Jesus the Nazarene-Rastafarian was first and foremost that Revolutionary African who preached the unification of all Rastafarians, of all God’s dedicated children to the cause of Human Rights and Justice and the liberation of the oppressed. And a True Nazarene-Rastafarian and follower of Jesus could not allow for the stark Injustice and UNTRUTH that had taken the world hostage because of the false and skewed interpretation of some deceptive minds.

Africa Unite

Africa, unite

‘cause we’re moving right out of Babylon

And we’re going to our father’s land

How good and how pleasant it would be

Before God and man, yeah

To see the unification of all Africans, yeah

As it’s been said already let it be done, yeah

We are the children of the rastaman

We are the children of the higher man

Africa, unite ‘cause the children wanna come home

Africa, unite ‘cause we’re moving right out of Babylon

And we’re grooving to our father’s land

How good and how pleasant it would be

Before God and man

To see the unification of all rastaman, yeah

As it’s been said already let it be done, yeah

I tell you who we are under the sun

We are the children of the rastaman

We are the children of the higher man

So, Africa, unite, Africa, unite

Unite for the benefit of your people

Unite for it’s later than you think

*Unite for the benefit of your children
Unite for it's later than you think
Africa awaits its creators, Africa awaiting its creators
Africa, you're my forefather cornerstone
Unite for the Africans abroad, unite for the Africans a yard
Africa, unite !
African Herbsman*

In African herbsman Bob Marley combines the healing quest of Black people for their ills of oppression and human rights abuses in a world torn with greed and selfishness that leaves the wretched more downtrodden and poorer. That is the reason why Black people “Can’t see the right rose” (the right herbs, just like the right flowers) “when the streams abate” (when the stream flows away, when the tide is low).

Black people are still deprived of their natural God-given plants for free healing (herbs like Marijuana that are true healing herbs, herbs are nowhere to be found due to the pollution and the destruction of the natural bio-diversity). And even though “The old slave men might grind slow,” the time is coming when the enslaved Black people will succeed to regain their cultural and human heritage and impose their own way of life.

So you do not have to complain about the old enslaved Black people because as “(But) it grinds fine,” so the time is coming, “Yes, yeah,” the time is coming for their liberation!

And so the illusion that is building up in Black downtrodden people and keeping them on edge... as ... “I’m takin’ illusion on the edge of my mind,” so also must the Black people fight, like Bob Marley, the New Role Model of African Renaissance who proclaims... “I’m takin’ losers down thru my life. Down thru my life,” ...

And so the impostors and oppressors will have to leave me alone, to leave Africa alone. Yes... “yeah (yes, how quick they had to part), they will have to leave me alone (... how quick they had to part)” in my self-determination to trace out my destiny.

And so Bob Marley warns that the true herbsman healer must not forget his heritage and remain downcast and do nothing to rectify the wrong, because “The remembrance of today, will determine the feeling of what tomorrow will be like...Is the sad feelin’ of tomorrow...”

And Africans must not waste time to seize their chance of today, because the past is past, if we seize on the future of innovation and progress... The Black man, the African cannot sit down cry and complain of the Slave Master,

of the Coloniser Master. He/She must become a victor of his predicament; not a victim of his oppression. That is why he must act quickly, yes “(... how quick ...) oh (... part), oh yeah...”

Wherefore it is very crucial for Africans to seize their chance and act innovatively and positively now... “African herbsman, seize your time...” Before it would be too late! Bob Marley’s lesson here in “African Herbsman” is that Africans must remember their past heritage, but must not live in modern times in the past, which is already destroyed and they must live to the challenge of the crucial challenges of re-invention; the re-inventioning of Africa and the healing of Africa for Africa and for Humanity.

African Herbsman

*All twinklin’ lee
Can’t see the right rose when the streams abate
The old slave men might grind slow
But it grinds fine, yeah
African herbsman, why linger on?
Just concentrate, ‘cause heaven lives on
Greet-i-eth slave men will look with a scorn
With a transplanted heart (yes, how quick they had to part)
(... how quick they had to part)
The remembrance of today
Is the sad feelin’ of tomorrow
(... how quick ...) oh (... part), oh yeah
African herbsman, seize your time
I’m takin’ illusion on the edge of my mind
I’m takin’ losers down thru my life
Down thru my life, yeah (yes, how quick they had to part)
(... how quick they had to part)
Dideb part, yes, they part
In remembrance of today
(... how quick they had to part)
African herbsman, why linger on?
Just concentrate, ‘cause your heaven lives on
Greet-i-eth slave men will look with a scorn
With a transplanted heart, yes, how (... quick they have to part)
(... how quick they have to part)
In remembrance of today
Brings sad feelings of tomorrow*

(yes, how quick they have to ...) lead me on, oh, lord, I pray to you
(African herbsman) (African herbsman)
African, african herbsman ...
Blackman Redemption

In *Blackman Redemption*, Bob Marley sets out to let Black people understand that their salvation lies not in mimicking and adopting foreign idols and prophets; but in retracing their ancestral redemptive roots, which even though it might get jumpy, rough and tedious and bumpy... “No need - no need to get jumpy.”

Black people do not have to give up but actually wake up and move on never caring on the bumpiness... “No need and-a no need to get bumpy, And-a no need - and-a no need to get bumpy.”

But they must adapt to the state of the arts of the times and still dance on and move on to success, which does not come easy except with hard work and determination... No “nee-nee-nee-nee-nee-nee-need to get jumpy...”

And success comes only when there is patience and resolve to win.

Bob Marley’s recalling of King David and King Solomon is only to remind the Blackman that a part of King David and King Solomon is African right from the time of Queen Candace of Ethiopia, the Queen of Sheba the extension of the Ethiopian Empire (what is Saudi Arabia and Yemen today), and the time of Jesus who was African as Joseph was instructed by the Angel to take him and hide him among his people in Egypt during the persecution of King Herod.

That explains why Jesus was a Nazarene and a Rastafarian who took the oath of wearing their hair and their beard long, till the restoration of the Land of Canaan to the autochthonous people. The Jews had never accepted Jesus as a Jew for they knew him as a true Nazarene. And that is why many people, due to the racist presentation of the Acts of the Apostles, do not even know that Christianity first took roots in Africa immediately after the death of Christ before ever going to Europe.

Bob Marley intones the heralding call the “Woy-a, for natty Congo: A dreadlock Congo! Woy-a, natty Congo: as A blackman redemption!” It is the celebration of this forgotten Black Truth of Pan Africanism and the Pan African religion which is Christianity and its Avatar which took the form of Islam. Even though Christ has been bleached White by Europeans and the Jews the Ethiopians have always depicted Jesus as Black and Ethiopian.

Jesus was a Nazarene belonging to the original native Canaanites to which Samson belonged, who were fighting for their liberation and the liberation of their motherland from occupation by the migrant Jews and the Roman

colonisers. The reason why Jesus was not accepted as the Messiah by the Jews was because the Jews did not recognize him as Jew. That is why during the persecution of King Herod who was afraid of a Messiah who would dethrone him and reinstate the original Canaanite power, (DeVaux, 1982) Joseph was instructed by the Angel to take the child Jesus and go and hide him among his people, who were none other than the cousins of the Canaanites who originally were Black people of the land of Kemet-Egypt. All Nazarenes wore dread-locks and wore their hair and beard long. They vowed not to shave till the kingdom was restored to the original owners of the land of Canaan – Palestine. That explains why all the apostles carried their beards and their hair long to sport the Nazarenean Renaissance Self-Determination Philosophy and Theology of Liberation launched by Jesus Christ.

Even Moses, according to Rev. Engelbert Mveng (1990) was a pure African-Egyptian Revolutionary. Even King David and King Solomon due to this miscegenation between Indo-Europeans and Blacks were depicted as Black not White. This is because, since the immigration of Abraham and his Elamite-Persian descendants into Canaan, the Semitic Jewish sub-race had undergone miscegenation with the Black race of Canaan which was also Black and cousins of the Kemetian-African-Egyptians.

For Kemet, the ancient name of Egypt, meant not only the Black land of the alluvial black loam soil of the River Nile. It was also depicting the original natives and Pharaohs who occupied and ruled ancient Egypt.

The Biblical myth and story of the sons of Noe: Sem and Japhet (Shylebeecx, 1969) being White; and Cham as being Black and cursed by Noe and God to serve his brothers forever, is from this hyper androgenous and patriarchal culture and ideology of the Jews.

It was from this identity crisis and complex where the Jews, in order to create their own identity and history, according to Shylebeecx, (1969) and De Vaux, (1982) depicted every scriptive symbols and cultural heritage and monuments of the people they intended to assimilate as bad and inferior. And nobody has ever cared to ask that if Noe had only three sons, who were white and black, where did their wives come from?

That is the reason for the surprise the Ethiopian Jews, the Falashas, had when they were rescued in the 1980s and flown to Israel, because of the scathing draught and famine in Ethiopia. The Falasha Ethiopian Jews declared that they had never been taught that Jews were White, or that there were White Jews.

And today the racism due to colour is showing up in Israel. The new Israelis, even after Hitler had vilified and gassed them in the holocaust chambers for being Black and contaminating the Arian blood, still project their

Whiteness to spite their Blackness. Israel does not even want to be reminded of its Black Heritage today, because it wants to pass for WHITE.

But Bob Marley warns them, the Whitewashing Jews who deny their Blackness and all Black people, and people of Black descent, in “Blackman Redemption,” that they have to face the risk and celebrate their Blackness before anything else. Because in their Blackness is engraved their humanism and Redemption.

Blackman Redemption

Woy-a, natty congo:

A dreadlock congo i!

Woy-a, natty congo:

A Blackman redemption! woy-yo, yo-oo-wo-oo!

A blackman redemption! woy-yo, wo-oo-wo-oo!

No need - no need to get jumpy;

No need and-a no need to get bumpy,

And-a no need - and-a no need to get bumpy;

No nee-nee-nee-nee-nee-nee-need to get jumpy!

Youth and youth agree to:

Cool runnings; can you dig it?

Cool runnings; yeah, one more time! a-beg ya:

Cool runnings; can you stop it?

Cool runnings:

Spread out, spread out,

Spread out, spread out.

Tell you about the blackman redemption; can you dig it? (oh, yeah!)

A blackman redemption; can you stop it?

Oh, no! oh, no! oh, no!

Coming from the root of king david

Through to the line of solomon,

His imperial majesty is the power of authority:

Spread out, spread out,

Spread out, spread out,

Spread out, spread out,

Spread, spread out.

---/instrumental break/

---No need - no need - no need to get jumpy,

And-a no need - and-a no need to walk away.

Let me tell bout ya:

Cool runnings, can you dig it?
Cool runnings: it's one more time we want it;
Cool runnings;
Cool runnings;
Spread out, spread out,
Spread out, spread out,
Spread out. spread out, spread out.
Spread out, spread out.
It's just-a blackman redemption
Can you dig it (wo-yeah!) good, lord! good, lord! good, lord!
Blackman redemption, can you stop it? oh, no! oh, no!
Blackman redemption - /fadeout/

Buffalo Soldier

In Buffalo Soldier, Bob Marley celebrates and advocates for the redemption of Black people the way he did in Africa Unite and the American-Babylonian enslavement, and the Blackman Redemption. Celebrating success and resilience in the face of the odds and making victory out of the victimization Black People are forced to go through is what Black people have been doing since the series of slavery and racial discrimination they have been subjected to. Bob Marley built on the spiritual strength underlying the suffering of Black people and other people of the world.

Bob Marley intended to set the records straight and right and celebrate in his song the uncelebrated Black soldiers, so-called “Buffalo Soldiers,” because of their rare resilience and fighting bravery and resemblance to the revered Buffalo of the First Nation People, the so-called Native Indians.

Most young African Americans today, just like most young African University students who do not know who Samora Machel was, as Horace G. Campbell (1999) explains his surprise of this social identity ignorance of African children today, do not know that Black people served proudly in every great American War, and that over two hundred thousand – 200,000, <http://www.buffalosoldiers-amwest.org/history.htm> .African American servicemen fought bravely during the Civil War.

That even though the racial segregation against Black people extended to the military African American soldiers defended their country with all loyalty and unconditional service to the nation.

Even though Black soldiers built forts and facilities they were denied to use they remained resilient and fought faithfully to keep America together; as testified by Stanford L. Davis (1999) that:

“The army supported segregation. It maintained separate facilities where possible. The Buffalo Soldiers built many forts whose facilities at times they couldn’t use. At Fort Concho for example, there were separate rooms for educational purposes, etc... In 1866 through an act of congress, legislation was adopted to create six all African American army units. The units were identified as the 9th and 10th cavalry and the 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st infantry regiments. The four infantry units were reorganized in 1868 as the 24th and the 25th infantry. Black soldiers enlisted for five years and received \$13.00 a month, far more than (their White counterparts and than) they could have earned in civilian life.”

The Buffalo soldiers roles were also to protect White settlers moving westward, because of the reverence the First Nation people, the Native Indians, had for Black people because of their fierce resemblance to the Buffalo they held in high reverence. But it is also documented (Stanford L. Davis, 1999) that African Americans, sldavis@inreach.com, www.buffalosoldier.net who were soldiers who did not engage in the killings of the Native Indians, were more loved and revered by the First Nation People, because the African American soldiers were advocates and came out openly to defended the rights of the First Nation People - Native Indian Peoples.

This testifies to the humanitarian Pan-Africanist spirit, where the Black People, even though they had suffered discrimination and injustice, could not withstand the injustices against the First Nation People. They detested the idea of ganging up with the same White enslavers and exploiters from Western Europe who had raped the First Nation People, taken their lands and reduced them to abject poverty. Stanford L. Davis states that:

“So brave and courageous were these men that their legendary Indian foes called them Buffalo Soldiers... Their commanding officer, Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson of Civil War fame, said the name was given because the Indians respected a brave and powerful adversary, which relates directly to their much revered buffalo. Others say it was due to the similarity of the soldier’s hair to that of the hair surrounding the buffalo’s head... After arriving at their posts the alternatives to soldiering were: desert to all white communities, where they were regarded with hateful scorn and risk imprisonment. Death and torture at the hands of the Indians or possible death by exposure to the killing heat and freezing cold. Though the Buffalo Soldiers did their duty in carrying out the government’s version of law and order on the frontier west, many influential blacks such as Senator Blanche Kelso Bruce, continually spoke out for the Indians and against the United States treaty making and treaty breaking policies.

Buffalo Soldier

*Buffalo soldier, dreadlock rasta:
There was a buffalo soldier in the heart of america,
Stolen from africa, brought to america,
Fighting on arrival, fighting for survival.
I mean it, when I analyze the stench –
To me it makes a lot of sense:
How the dreadlock rasta was the buffalo soldier,
And he was taken from africa, brought to america,
Fighting on arrival, fighting for survival.
Said he was a buffalo soldier, dreadlock rasta –
Buffalo soldier in the heart of america.
If you know your history,
Then you would know where you coming from,
Then you wouldn't have to ask me,
Who the 'eck do I think I am.
I'm just a buffalo soldier in the heart of america,
Stolen from africa, brought to america,
Said he was fighting on arrival, fighting for survival;
Said he was a buffalo soldier win the war for america.
Dreadie, woy yoy yoy, woy yoy-yoy yoy,
Woy yoy yoy yoy, yoy yoy-yoy yoy!
Woy yoy yoy, woy yoy-yoy yoy,
Woy yoy yoy yoy, yoy yoy-yoy yoy!
Buffalo soldier troddin' through the land, wo-ho-ooh!
Said he wanna ran, then you wanna hand,
Troddin' through the land, yea-bea, yea-ea.
Said he was a buffalo soldier win the war for america;
Buffalo soldier, dreadlock rasta,
Fighting on arrival, fighting for survival;
Driven from the mainland to the heart of the caribbean.
Singing, woy yoy yoy, woy yoy-yoy yoy,
Woy yoy yoy yoy, yoy yoy-yoy yoy!
Woy yoy yoy, woy yoy-yoy yoy,
Troddin' through san juan in the arms of america;
Troddin' through jamaica, a buffalo soldier# -
Fighting on arrival, fighting for survival:
Buffalo soldier, dreadlock rasta.*

*Woy yoy yoy, woy yoy-yoy yoy,
 Woy yoy yoy yoy, yoy yoy-yoy yoy!
 Woy yoy yoy, woy yoy-yoy yoy,
 Woy yoy yoy yoy, yoy yoy-yoy yoy! /fadeout/
 Exodus*

Exodus is once more the Garveyan theme of revolt of Black people for the deliberate indentured slavery the Western liberal capitalist system has reduced them to. It is their assertiveness and their quest to look for alternatives inside and outside of their materialized world.

Wherefore Bob Marley is appealing to the spiritual strength of reflexion to find alternative strategies for change. Many people might interpret this song as a call to Black people to leave America and go back to Africa.

But Bob Marley is appealing to the spiritual-drive which will lead them to evaluate their material poverty situation and refuse to accept it as designed by fate or by God.

The Exodus he is advocating for here is the mental-exodus from the chains and shackles of mental and material poverty America and the Western Powers have reduced Black people of America, Africa and the World to for a long time in their skewed agenda of permanent exploitation.

Wherefore he advocates for the Revolutionary Liberation Theology of the children of Jah the Creator. Thus he urges them to look inside themselves and do some mind searching for alternative and creative answers and not to leave all to fate or to God, Jah.

For Jah is the God of Liberation and not of slavery and domination. And so when Bob Marley calls the suppressed to:

*"Open your eyes and look within:
 Are you satisfied with the life you're living?
 We know where we're going;
 We know where we're from.
 We're leaving babylon, y'all!
 We're going to our father's land.
 Exodus, all right! movement of jah people!
 Exodus: movement of jah people!"*

He is giving the oppressed that new alternative to take their liberation into their own hands. Bob Marley calls for the new self-determination of Black people. And that is why he sings defiantly that Black people are going to walk all – right –through the roads of creation: even though they are going through

great tribulation, they are determined to walk right to Freedom, for their self-determination and liberation.

And Bob Marley is guided by this African belief in God's power of liberation, for the spiritual liberation is mightier and surer than the mere physical liberation. That is why he believes that only Jah can save Africans when human redemption fails. He invokes the Almighty Jah to take the lead and show the way... crush the repression of Black people, when everyone has failed Africa:

*"Jah come to break downpression,
Rule equality,
Wipe away transgression,
Set the captives free."*

And if this Liberation Theology will not save Africa, then only Jah will take the lead to see the captives of capitalism free. And the captives of capitalism are not only Africans. They are also the downtrodden and the dregs of humanity.

Exodus

Exodus: movement of jah people! oh-ob-ob, yea-eah!

.....Men and people will fight ya down (tell me why!)

When ya see jah light. (ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha!)

Let me tell you if you're not wrong; (then, why?)

Everything is all right.

So we gonna walk - all right! - through de roads of creation:

We the generation (tell me why!)

(trod through great tribulation) trod through great tribulation.

Exodus, all right! movement of jah people!

Yea-h-yea-h-yea-h, well!

Uh! open your eyes and look within:

Are you satisfied (with the life you're living)? uh!

We know where we're going, uh!

We know where we're from.

We're leaving babylon,

We're going to our father land.

2, 3, 4: exodus: movement of jah people! oh, yea-h!

(movement of jah people!) send us another brother moses!

(movement of jah people!) from across the red sea!

(movement of jah people!) send us another brother moses!

(movement of jah people!) from across the red sea!
Movement of jah people!
Exodus, all right! oo-oo-ooh! oo-ooh!
Movement of jah people! oh, yeah!
Exodus!
Exodus! all right!
Exodus! now, now, now, now!
Exodus!
Exodus! oh, yea-ea-ea-ea-ea-ea-eah!
Exodus!
Exodus! all right!
Exodus! uh-uh-uh-uh!
Move! move! move! move! move! move!
Open your eyes and look within:
Are you satisfied with the life you're living?
We know where we're going;
We know where we're from.
We're leaving babylon, y'all!
We're going to our father's land.
Exodus, all right! movement of jah people!
Exodus: movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Move! move! move! move! move! move! move!
Jah come to break downpression,
Rule equality,
Wipe away transgression,
Set the captives free.
Exodus, all right, all right!
Movement of jah people! oh, yeah!
Exodus: movement of jah people! oh, now, now, now, now!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Move! move! move! move!

Move! move! uh-uh-uh-uh!
Move(ment of jah people)!
Move(ment of jah people)!
Move(ment of jah people)!
Move(ment of jah people)!
Movement of jah people!
Move(ment of jah people)!
Move(ment of jah people)!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!
Movement of jah people!

This ground breaking song of Bob Marley of the Redemption Song ties in with the problem of African liberation, which he says must be mental and spiritual first, before material and physical liberation.

It is very interesting that in this song Bob Marley was articulating the same concerns of mass sensitization and the movement towards what I have tried to call Neo-Pan Africanism of Walter Rodney, Nkrumah and C.L.R. James and other progressive Pan Africanists and Philosophers.

That is why he insisted for Africans to: Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery; and letting them to understand that liberation, especially mental and spiritual liberation cannot come from outside; since it is true that... None but ourselves can free our minds... And no matter the threats Africans have endured they should, ...Have no fear for atomic energy; because it is the time of African emancipation and...'cause none of them can stop the time.

Bob Marley goes on to prophesy and pose the challenge to all nationalist Africans asking them to decide on...How long shall they kill our prophets, While we stand aside and look? ooh!. Even though some Africans are still persuaded to believe that that is the way of life, while...Some say it's just a part of it! And even though we may have to wait for the fulfilment of destiny or fate...We shall not be redeemed individually as the capitalist exploitative theory holds, that each man and woman shall answer only for himself; but we must be aware that Redemption, as Hubert Henry Harrison intimated, is not just for a privileged few if at all it will come; but for the entire humanity, because God is not a sadist God to create people to be free and happy just to turn around to curse some to hell and "choose" a few to be in Heaven right from the time of their living here on earth. So he warns those who propagate injustices, racism, deprivation of other humans for their greed and hidden

agenda to exploit them perpetually and to promote poverty that a time will come when We've got to fulfil de book, meaning, the Judgment.

Redemption Song

*Old pirates, yes, they rob i;
Sold I to the merchant ships,
Minutes after they took i
From the bottomless pit.
But my hand was made strong
By the 'and of the almighty.
We forward in this generation
Triumphantly.
Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom? –
'cause all I ever have:
Redemption songs;
Redemption songs.
Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery;
None but ourselves can free our minds.
Have no fear for atomic energy,
'cause none of them can stop the time.
How long shall they kill our prophets,
While we stand aside and look? ooh!
Some say it's just a part of it:
We've got to fulfil de book.
Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom? –
'cause all I ever have:
Redemption songs;
Redemption songs;
Redemption songs.
---/guitar break/
---Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery;
None but ourselves can free our mind.
Wo! have no fear for atomic energy,
'cause none of them-a can-a stop-a the time.
How long shall they kill our prophets,
While we stand aside and look?
Yes, some say it's just a part of it:*

*We've got to fulfil de book.
Won't you help to sing
Dese songs of freedom? –
'cause all I ever had:
Redemption songs –
All I ever had:
Redemption songs:
These songs of freedom,
Songs of freedom.*

In *Roots*, Bob Marley again shows his genius of grounding with his people the poor and dejected of humanity. Once again he uses *Roots* to identify himself with all the poor and exploited of the world where the ... *Roots natty roots...Dread binghi dread* ... depicts the state of the poor who are the “natty roots” but are determined and self-asserting like the “dread binghi dread”. These are the poor with whom Bob Marley identify and ground himself with as he declares ...” I and I are the roots” insisting on his Blackness, which is more spiritual than really material, because he was a Mulato. But because he had mixed blood running in his vein, that did not stop the White Supremacist domineering society to identify him only as Black.

Even though the White capitalist exploiters of humans are determined to use the poor like fire wood... “Some are the dry wood”... which the White society needs to assert their exploitative superiority, as he remarks... “They need some dry wood...To cook up the raw food”... But Bob Marley encourages Black people who are poorest of the poor not to give up but to rise up and assert their dignity as Black People even though they are suppressed by the maniacs of suppression, even though they are denied their rightful place in the world of the free ... “I got to survive...Inna dis man maniac downpression... Got to survive”...

Bob Marley warns all those that have been forcefully relegated to live the ghetto life... “Inna disyah ghetto, yeah”... should always remember their roots where have always belonged, no matter that only some of them like himself might change their social status, that should not get into their heads for they should always bear in mind their downtrodden origins ... “Remember that I and I are the roots”... He warns all successful Black people to beware of those of the suppressive class who would like to take advantage of their social mobility ... to transform them into the club-agents of the repressive class and therefore would not be ashamed to behave as wolves in sheep skin just to devour and rob them of their treasure and their Blackness which they abhor but would not hesitate to devour. To you they would preach their sophist and

sly ideology of their religion which holds that “Many are called but only a few are chosen,” to justify their capitalist anti-human rights action and dampen their conscience... “Whoa, look at that...Many are called...But only a few are chosen”...

Bob Marley goes on to warn Blacks, just as Frederick Douglas did, for the colomentalised Black and enslaved people, to thank God for their enslavement by these capitalist religions; of these religious quotations from the slaver and exploiter to justify the capitalist repression of Black people. It is always handy when the repressive capitalist maniacs of the White Supremacist society use it always to divide successful Blacks from the repressed ghetto Blacks. And there is no surprise, even though sad, that Black people easily fall victims to these falsehood of religious segregative ideologies always used by the “Wolves in sheep skin”... “Whoa, look at that”... As their machinations will finally fail if Blacks become aware that they have to stick together and fight as one people, with one voice and with one destiny... FREEDOM! ... “Nothing that dividers can do”

When Black people would realise that even though born by different mothers, due to the prevailing circumstances, they belong to one abiding fatherhood which resists all divisions no matter what differences... “Can’t separate us from our father” ... Because if only Blacks will always remember that blood is thicker than water, then they will never make the mistake to join the club of the repressive capitalist class.

For Black people can only survive if they assert their self-determination and freedom for their survival as a people and never as individualistic Westernised capitalist individuals... “Whoa, look at that...You see, blood is thicker than water... Whoa, look at that... Got to survive.”

Roots

Roots natty roots
Dread binghi dread
I and I are the roots
Some are the dry wood
Fe catch up the fire
Whoa, look at that
They need some dry wood
To cook up the raw food
Whoa, look at that
I got to survive
Inna dis man maniac downpression

Got to survive
In iration, yeah
Roots natty roots
Dread binghi dread
Remember that I and I are the roots
Some are wolf
Inna sheep's clothing
Whoa, look at that
Many are called
But only a few are chosen
Whoa, look at that
Nothing that dividers can do
Can't seperate us from our father
Whoa, look at that
You see, blood is thicker than water
Whoa, look at that
Got to survive
Inna disyah ghetto, yeah
Roots natty roots
Dread binghi dread
Remember that I and I are the roots
Roots natty roots
Dread binghi dread
Whoa, I and I are the roots
Some are leaves
While some are branches
But remember I and I are the roots
Some are dry wood
Fe catch up the fire
Whoa, look at that
Got to survive
Inna dis man maniac downpression
Got to survive
In iration
Roots natty roots
Dread binghi dread
Hey, I and I are the roots
Ooh we, roots natty roots
Dread binghi dread
Oh yeah, I and I are the roots

Zimbabwe's Independence gave Bob Marley one of those rare occasions to display his talent and philosophy of the justification of the Marxist theory of armed revolution. Even though Bob Marley was not a devoted Marxist, his endorsement of this Marxist theory could not have come like a surprise to many of his fans to whom he had always been a prophet of the spiritual non-violent war.

Bob Marley's main motto which had always been to encourage the spirit "One Love" among all people of Africa and the world to "...Get together and feel alright..." was the strongest weapon he had ever invented as a Liberation Theologian and Philosopher.

Bob Marley's endorsement of armed struggle was proposed as the last alternative when all other non-violent options had not yielded fruits. He put the verse so nicely in "Zimbabwe" when he declares that:

*"...So arm in arms, with arms, we'll fight this little struggle,
'cause that's the only way we can overcome our little trouble."*

And he also insists on the human rights element in the justification which was a God given right to uphold for everybody. Wherefore he stood out as this Justifier who was wary to uphold this God designed right which nobody had the right to distort, as we find him saying in "...Redemption Song," where he urges all humans to emancipate themselves from mental slavery, and take cognizance of the necessity to defend all human rights.

Or when again he urged in "...Roots," that we should not allow ourselves to be fooled by the dividing liberal neo-capitalist theory that because "...Many are called but a few are chosen," he debunked the capitalist repressive theory and practice where Capitalist Christianity accepts the theory of the "Chosen People" for some to lord it over all others. He then went on to assert the sacrosanct right of every individual no matter race, gender or class as he insists that:

*"Every man gotta right to decide his own destiny,
And in this judgement there is no partiality."*

And so Bob Marley celebrated this victory of Zimbabwe and greeted and encouraged his brothers and sisters, telling them they were right to use force only when there was no other non-violent alternative left. Just as he reminds us that it is true that the surgeon uses the surgery knife to save and not to kill. Wherefore he reassured the Zimbabweans that their liberation action was right

and just, especially as it was to reinstate their rights and to always be vigilant and “sit up” for creativity so that they do not sleep on their laurels of the fought and won revolution:

*“Brother, you’re right, you’re right,
You’re right, you’re right, you’re so right!
We gon’ fight (we gon’ fight), we’ll have to fight (we gon’ fight),
We gonna fight (we gon’ fight), fight for our rights!
Natty dread it in-a (zimbabwe);
Set it up in (zimbabwe);...”*

Bob Marley used the Zimbabwean liberation victory to tell Africans and all repressed people that the only way forward was unity and undivided mind-set. And he insisted that that is what distinguished real nationalist and liberation fighters from mere mercenaries. He thus was reminding Africans and all liberation fighters that when there was no united mind-set, then Africans remained forever mercenaries in their own countries and betrayers of their innovative cultural legacies and the legacies of those who fought for their liberation.

Bob Marley still built on his Philosophical theory in “Roots” to remind Africans that they were going to be the losers if they allowed themselves to be used by those who were prone to propose the capitalist exploitative theory of divide and rule. He reminded them that the prophets of divide and rule would take advantage of the weaknesses in the seams of the disunited fronts of Africa to make the maximum profits and exploitation of their resources and wealth in the same manner as they did during slavery, during the indentured slavery of colonialism and during the colonialised slavery of the post colony:

*“To divide and rule could only tear us apart;
In everyman chest, mm - there beats a heart.
So soon we’ll find out who is the real revolutionaries;
And I don’t want my people to be tricked by mercenaries.”*

Bob Marley seemed to have had a foresight in what was going to happen in Zimbabwe after their hard earned independence. He had foreseen the eventual struggle for power which would ensue, where the divide and rule tactics were going to take sway, between Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, between Morgan Dtsvangerai and Robert Mugabe in their struggle for power. He forecasted the role Tabo Mbeki would later play as the reincarnation of the

Bob Marlean Promethean torch bearer in the Unity solution of salvaging Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe

*Every man gotta right to decide his own destiny,
And in this judgement there is no partiality.
So arm in arms, with arms, we'll fight this little struggle,
'cause that's the only way we can overcome our little trouble
Brother, you're right, you're right,
You're right, you're right, you're so right!
We gon' fight (we gon' fight), we'll have to fight (we gon' fight),
We gonna fight (we gon' fight), fight for our rights!
Natty dread it in-a (zimbabwe);
Set it up in (zimbabwe);
Mash it up-a in-a zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Africans a-liberate (zimbabwe), yeah.
No more internal power struggle;
We come together to overcome the little trouble.
Soon we'll find out who is the real revolutionary,
'cause I don't want my people to be contrary.
And, brother, you're right, you're right,
You're right, you're right, you're so right!
We'll 'ave to fight (we gon' fight), we gonna fight (we gon' fight)
We'll 'ave to fight (we gon' fight), fighting for our rights!
Mash it up in-a (zimbabwe);
Natty trash it in-a (zimbabwe);
Africans a-liberate zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
I'n'i a-liberate zimbabwe.
(brother, you're right,) you're right,
You're right, you're right, you're so right!
We gon' fight (we gon' fight), we'll 'ave to fight (we gon' fight),
We gonna fight (we gon' fight), fighting for our rights!
To divide and rule could only tear us apart;
In everyman chest, mm - there beats a heart.
So soon we'll find out who is the real revolutionaries;
And I don't want my people to be tricked by mercenaries.
Brother, you're right, you're right,
You're right, you're right, you're so right!*

We'll 'ave to fight (we gon' fight), we gonna fight (we gon' fight),
We'll 'ave to fight (we gon' fight), fighting for our rights!
Natty trash it in-a zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Mash it up in-a zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Set it up in-a zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Africans a-liberate zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Africans a-liberate zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Natty dub it in-a zimbabwe (zimbabwe).
Set it up in-a zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Africans a-liberate zimbabwe (zimbabwe);
Every man got a right to decide his own destiny.

Professor Horace G. Campbell (2005) in his tribute to Bob Marley and Walter Rodney celebrates these two seemingly inseparable prophets of the Neo-Pan-Africanism. He, in the Bob Marley's spirit of reconciliation intones the epitaphic song:

"One love! One heart!
Let's get together and feel all right.
Hear the children cryin (one love!);
Hear the children cryin (one heart!),
Sayin: give thanks and praise to the lord and I will feel all right;
Sayin: let's get together and feel all right."
Then he does not hesitate to challenge the detractors of Walter Rodney and Bob Marley
defying and challenging them when he insists:
"Let them all pass all their dirty remarks (one love!);
There is one question I'd really love to ask (one heart!):
Is there a place for the hopeless sinner?
Who has hurt all mankind just to save his own beliefs?
Is there a place? ... Let's stand together ... to see the unification of Africa ... (these words
are voiced over Bob Marley's "One Love"...

Bob Marley was speaking for the majority of African peoples. The Pan-Africanism Marley was speaking of, was a Pan-Africanism from bellow the doldrums of poverty and despair. The unification of Africa was for the unification of the people of Africa, to end apartheid, to end ignorance and poverty. So, how do we talk about Pan-Africanism in the era after apartheid?...as Professor Horace G. Campbell challenges all of us to de-colomentalise our vision for the New Africa:

Let's get together ... let me hear you
One Love ...
One question I want to ask...
Is there a place? ...
get together...
Come on...
Thank you...
One more time...
That's the spirit
Let me go through the last few points about where we are in the Twenty-first Century."



Photos 162 (a) & (b): Fela Anikulapo Kuti (born Olufela Olusegun Oludotun Ransome-Kuti): 15 October 1938 – 2 August 1997

Fela was the incarnation of Africanness and Consciousness of the African Renaissance with the new dimension embracing Pan Africanism and African Unity as the solution for emerging Africa in the 20th Century to assert itself in the global economy and culture of the 21st Century. Fela was the right man born at the right time to address African Slavery, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism. In one swoop Fela was able to simplify and bring to the masses of the streets the lofty ideologies of Pan Africanism, African Renaissance and African Unity. His genius was how he was able to combine all the conflicting ideologies of non-violence, pro-active violence, the ingredients of the Harlem Renaissance and Negritudity, the Neo-African mental as well as physical Exodus, the Decolonisation of the Enslaved African, to come out with a simplified philosophy of African Oneness, African Integrity, African Dignity and Self-Pride that targeted not only the authorities in power but also the masses in the streets. He simplified his message right to

the understanding of little children. He used the language of the masses, and the Buyam-Sellams, Pidgin English.

Fela could be said to have been the street teacher and Socrates of the people whom he empowered in the strategies of the Street and Mass Democracy of the People for the People.

Fela could be called the great Nation-Builder of the Masses whom he sensitized throughout his years in office as the Counter President of the People whom he taught to be very vigilant and to protest when their power was thwarted by confiscation by the Political Institutions.

Fela was that Revolutionary that was bent to sensitise the masses as well as the ruling class against what he called the colomentalisation and neo-colomentalisation of the African which was then promoted by Africans themselves without the colonial master.

This was because colonisation and the slave-driven capitalist economy and brainwashing of the African had succeeded so much that the African had internalised his or her own colonization in such a way that Africans had become Masters and Servants of their own Colonisation.

Fela became that viral fire brand Toussaint L'Ouverturean revolutionary African enslavement and colonization had ever produced that he was considered by Blanche Clark of the Herald Sun of February 2011 as Che Guevara and Bob Marley put together when it declared that:

*"Imagine Che Guevara
And Bob Marley rolled
Into one person and you
Get a sense of Nigerian
Musician and activist
Fela Kuti."*

Looking back at the time Fela initiated his crusade as a social and political critic of Nigerian society, Fela emerged as the builder of the Conscience and Stamina of the Civil Society, at that critical period of Nigerian History tarnished by High Corruption that led to the Civil War and Post-Civil War Reconstruction of Nigerian Political Economy, Nigerian Culture and Nigerian and African Identity. That explains Fela's determination not to spare any energy to sensitise and build the minds of the masses against all forms of social mismanagement, all forms of corruption that was eating fast in the African fabrics of Nigeria at the time in Office of his Stage Performance.

Fela was hated by the political regimes, which at the time were military and despotic, because of his unsparing acerbic criticisms of the military leaders

whom he classified as “Zombies” who did not have a clue about what Democracy and the Rule of Law were. That is how he came to compose the lyric “Zombie” which hit the charts as the masses danced in defiance of the military leaders. Since they trained the military to act like robots they could never become good decision makers or people who could take initiative to bring change in situations where things were not moving. Hence it was useless to think that Zombie would be of any use in time crisis:

*“Zombie no go go, unless you tell am to go
*[CHORUS] ZOMBIE *(after each line)
Zombie no go stop, unless you tell am to stop
Zombie no go turn, unless you tell am to turn
Zombie no go think, unless you tell am to think...”*

Since Zombie has not got the power of reasoning, reflecting or dialoguing, its only resort is the power of the gun. Actually Fela was depicting what had become of all Africa since slavery and colonization. The African had been conditioned to robotized behaviour. Africa after independence had refused to think for itself. Unlike Bob Marley who was renouncing slavery and colonization, Fela took off from independence by castigating the Africans who had become the masters and perpetrators of their own colonization and the colonization of their own people. That is the reason why it was very easy to ask Africans to kill their brothers and sisters and they will do so without any qualms of conscience. Fela was decrying this attitude and mind-set which reduced Africans into animals with their leaders promoting the carnage and the slaughter in the civil and ethnic wars that were tearing Africa apart. Was it not absurd that Africans were killing each other just from the orders they got from their jingoistic leaders without questioning?

*“Tell am to go straight-- Joro, Jara, Joro
No brain, no job, no sense-- Joro, Jara, Joro
Tell am to go kill-- Joro, Jara, Joro
No brain, no job, no sense-- Joro, Jara, Joro
Tell am to go quench-- Joro, Jara, Joro
No brain, no job, no sense-- Joro, Jara, Joro...”*

Fela intimated that for Africa to take its role and place in the Global outreach and transformations Africa’s first priority was to build its counter brain-driven economy and production because without a good counter-brain-bank-setting Africa would never attain the real pro-active “sense-driven skills

and strategies” that would enable her to create new jobs, African-Agent-Based pro-active jobs by her own people; as well as African-People-Centred-Service jobs for her people. According to Fela Kuti, Africa, despite her so-called independence was groping senselessly in the dark night of neo-colonisation, by robotically making the same mistakes and falling in the traps of Neo-Colonisation. Nobody, not even Kwame Nkrumah could have rammed this message in the heads of Africans better than Fela did as admitted by Ogunnaike, Lola writing in the New Times of 17 July 2003, and Blanche Clark writing in the Herald Sun of 4 February 2011, in celebrating the legendary life <http://www.last.fm/Fela+Kuti/The+Best+of.the.Black-President> of Fela and impact on Nigerian music and describing him as the Man of Beats with a New Message, affirmed that:

“Zombie is a reference to the soldiers in the army or the African followers who follow their leaders without arguments!...Zombie was first played by Fela Kuti and Africa 70 at FESTAC (Festival for Black Arts and Culture) in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. The song’s immediate popularity (it satirised the military government of the time) incurred the wrath of the government, and soldiers destroyed Kuti’s home. He fled to Ghana and continued to perform Zombie there, at one point provoking a riot which resulted in the entire band being thrown out of the country. The song is said to have become popular throughout Africa, as a way of cocking a snook at the military governments which plagued many countries there.”



Photos 162 (c) & (d): Fela The New Sensitizer Of New Africans And Their Zombified Leaders

ZOMBIE

*Zombie-o, zombie** ** (police/army-unthinking followers)*

**[CHORUS] ZOMBIE-O, ZOMBIE (2X)*

Zombie no go go, unless you tell am to go

**[CHORUS] ZOMBIE *(after each line)*

Zombie no go stop, unless you tell am to stop

Zombie no go turn, unless you tell am to turn

Zombie no go think, unless you tell am to think

Zombie-o, zombie

**[CHORUS] ZOMBIE-O, ZOMBIE (2X) *(repeat last 2 stanzas)*

Tell am to go straight-- Joro, Jara, Joro

No brain, no job, no sense-- Joro, Jara, Joro

Tell am to go kill-- Joro, Jara, Joro

No brain, no job, no sense-- Joro, Jara, Joro

Tell am to go quench-- Joro, Jara, Joro

No brain, no job, no sense-- Joro, Jara, Joro

Go and kill

**[CHORUS] JORO, JARA, JORO *(after each line)*

Go and die

*Go and quench** ** (destroy)*

Put am for reverse
Go and kill
Go and die
*Go and quench *(3x)*

Joro, Jara, Joro- O Zombie way na one way (3x)
Joro, Jara, Joro- Ooooh

Attention

**[CHORUS] ZOMBIE *(in time- average every 2-3 words)*

Quick march

Slow march

Left turn

Right turn

About turn

Double time

Sa-lute

Open your hat

Stand at ease

Fall in

Fall out

Fall down

*Get ready *(2x)*

Ha-lt

*Or-der *(Repeat 3x from "Attention")*

**[CHORUS] ZOMBIE (repeat on '1' of each measure as desired)*

Dis-miss

Fela concluded Zombie with "Mr. Follow Follow" to decry the complacency and lethargic mind-set of colonially brainwashed Africans who were now reduced to a pack of sheep who only followed the crowd and could never do the thinking and critiquing of their leaders for themselves. The African who had been reduced to a "Yes man" could not afford to think for himself. He was reduced to the door-mat on which everybody wiped his or her feet without a counter-questioning on his part.

Fela therefore describes the kind of "Yes men" followers among which you would find those who follow blindly, with their eyes closed; those who follow with their ears closed; those who follow with their mouth closed afraid to talk against or criticize their leaders; and worse still those who followed

refusing to reason, closing up their sense of reasoning and becoming mind-clappers.

"Some dey follow follow, dem close dem eye
**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE EYE, PIN- PIN- PIN*
Some dey follow follow, dem close dem mouth
**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE MOUTH, PAM- PAM- PAM*
Some dey follow follow, dem close dem ear
**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE EAR, G'BOING- BOING- BOING*
Some dey follow follow, dem close dem sense
**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE SENSE, BIRI- BIRI*
I say dem close sense,
Dem close sense
If you dey follow follow
Make you open eye, open ear, open mouth, open sense (2x)..."

He warned mind-clappers to be aware and be wary to exercise the gift and use of their eyes, their ears, their mouth and their brains critically and pro-actively. Failure to do so they were condemned to miss their auto-determination to trace out their destiny where the result was to end up locked up to live and die in the cupboard of blindness, ignorance and lack of initiative due to misinformation and blindness like the Zombies he described previously. Fela was this Apostle and advocated of critical thinking and critical reasoning.

According to Fela ignorance were not the result of lack of education. It was essentially the result of the wrong kind of education which was primarily "Book-centre" and not critical-thinking-centred and initiative-centred or entrepreneurship-centred. For Fela going to school was not necessarily the panacea for every ill Africa was facing. Being creative and taking initiative was the door of the final remedy that would save Africa from the three Ns namely: Neo-dependency, Neo-colonisation, and Neo-misgovernance.

According to Fela, the worse catastrophe which befall and overtook Africans was the wrong Education and the wrong Book: the colonial education of the Colonial White Slave Master and the Colonial Book which included the White Slave Masters' Bible which contributed to the Colomentalisation of Africa. Because they are full of colomental Cockroaches, the colomentalising Rats, the colomentalisng Ikan and the colomentalising Darkness. That explains why he is very wary about the Colonial Book as he warns:

"If you dey follow follow dem book

**[CHORUS] NA INSIDE CUPBOARD YOU GO QUENCH (2x)*

Coakroach dey, ee-rat dey, Ikan dey, darkness dey- ee

[CHORUS] NA INSIDE CUPBOARD YOU GO QUENCH*

*** (destroy)*

My brothers, make you no follow book-o....

Make you open eye, open ear, open mouth, open sense

My brothers, make you no follow book-o

Look am and use your sense..."

Fela made Africans to understand that it was better not to be educated at all if it would mean obtaining the colomentalising education of the White slave Master for the reproduction of the slave-driven capitalist exploitative economy which does not serve the needs of the Africans, but that of the White Slave master. The best reaction of Book people should be to have a good look at a book, study it critically and then leave it alone. One thing Africans must know is that Books are contagious like pornography and diseases; just as their mind-corrupting viral effect is also very contagious for those who do not have the critical protective mind-gloves to handle and screen them thoroughly before reading. Fela is very wary when he warns Africans to "look am and use your sense," to avoid this mental contamination that goes with reading the wrong 'colomentalising' books.

The massive brain drain that Africa is experiencing today is the resultant of this long term planned colomentalisation of Africa for the interest of the colonial corporation and the colonial mission policy. If Africans were not trained in colomentalising books and reasoning they would have been more creative and entrepreneurial. Africans would have developed problem-solving skills and techniques of handling African problems and not to always depend on colonial books which give only colonial problems and colonial problem-solving skills and techniques. Africans will stop going bowl in hand if only they will develop their own creativity from their own ingenuity to handle African problems by finding African solutions the way South East Asian countries and china have done today.

MR. FOLLOW FOLLOW

"Mr. Follow Follow"

**[CHORUS] FOLLOW, FOLLOW, FOLLOW,- FOLLOW, FOLLOW, FOLLOW (2X)*

Some dey follow follow, dem close dem eye

**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE EYE, PIN- PIN- PIN*

Some dey follow follow, dem close dem mouth

**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE MOUTH, PAM- PAM- PAM*

Some dey follow follow, dem close dem ear

**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE EAR, G'BOING- BOING- BOING*

Some dey follow follow, dem close dem sense

**[CHORUS] DEM CLOSE SENSE, BIRI- BIRI*

I say dem close sense,

Dem close sense

If you dey follow follow

Make you open eye, open ear, open mouth, open sense (2x)

Na dat time

Na dat time you no go fall (2x)

If you dey follow follow dem book

**[CHORUS] NA INSIDE CUPBOARD YOU GO QUENCH (2x)*

Coakroach dey, ee-rat dey, Ikan dey, darkness dey- ee

[CHORUS] NA INSIDE CUPBOARD YOU GO QUENCH*

*** (destroy)*

My brothers, make you no follow book-o

Look am and go your way

**[CHORUS] FOLLOW, FOLLOW (on 3, 4- continues until end)*

Make you open eye, open ear, open mouth, open sense

(riff/ repeat as desired)

My brothers, make you no follow book-o

Look am and use your sense..."

Fela Kuti did not leave any leaf unturned about colonial education and colomentalised African approach to solving African problems. Fela understood that if Africans were to liberate themselves and to become problem-solvers instead of copycat beggars, they had to integrate the

indigenous knowledge practitioners and the African street schools. Africa had to build its own logic of development according to its various eco-systemic and circumstantial needs. Africa did not have to tailor its priorities to the size, aesthetics and tastes of the Neo-Colonial Slave Masters and the Globalising system of the world which is controlled predominantly by Neo-Colonial Corporations. Africa had to build from its indigenous and cultural knowledge and creativity. Fela is very bitter in criticism about educated Africans who can measure their progress only on the parameters set up by the so-called ‘Globalising World’ with all its attractions and deceptions which do not promote or give room for African creativity and sensitivity.

Fela laments the fact that Africans have been forced to learn and speak foreign European languages more than any people on earth. They have even been brainwashed to the point where they are now competing even with Native Speakers of European languages, in their strive to become ‘Global’ or ‘International’. Yet they abandon their own languages and indigenous knowledge and intelligence and cultural heritage just to mimic the Europeans and copy sheepishly what does not give them an extra edge in anything Global. This is due to the fact that they have never tried to reinvent the wheel of their own development and set their own political economic priorities right. And so Fela reminds us that:

“*[CHORUS] WHICH MAN?

*Web talk Oyinbo** well-a-well to rule our land ee-oh ** (foreigner/ white)*

*[CHORUS] THAT MAN!

Oh yes

*[CHORUS] HE TALK OYINBO PASS-EE ENGLISH MAN –
[AFTER EACH LINE]

He talk Oyinbo pass American man

He talk Oyinbo pass French man

Me, I say he talk Oyinbo pass Germany man

The better Oyinbo you talk

The more bread you go get

School start- na grade four bread

BA- na gradee three bread

MA- na gradee two bread

PhD- a gradee one bread

The better Oyinbo you talk

The more bread you go get...”

Fela regretted the fate of colomentalised African whose livelihood is determined and measured on the social hierarchy by how much European languages they can speak and bamboozle those who do not even have a clue of all the abracadabra thrown around by the sophisticated Europeanized Africans. The Africans have been so conditioned they cannot come out of the mould which keeps on imprisoning them every day as they wake up to a flood of newspapers, full of all the colomentalising jargons and vocabulary which neither the common market man, nor the simple market woman can comprehend or make any sense out of. Fela goes to elaborate:

*“Hear it! (Horn responses)
 One more time
 First thing for early morning
 Na newspaper dem give us read
 First thing for early morning
 Na newspaper dem give us read
 The Oyinbo web dey inside
 Petty trader no fit to know
 The Oyinbo web dey inside
 Market woman- na fit to read
 The Oyinbo web dey inside...”*

Fela criticizes the destruction of African cultural structures and the creation of vocabulary of words which do not exist in African cultural lexicology. Thus the problems and mentality of the Colonial Slave Masters are transferred to Africa. There are words like delinquency, words in Latin, which do not exist in African semantics and lexicology. Fela therefore concludes that if ever there people to be classified as delinquent, it would be the Colonial Slave Masters themselves who behaved very delinquently and who also introduced delinquent behaviour in Africa. He explains:

*“Inside dey paper
 Lambastical dey
 Inside dey paper
 Ipso facto- dey dat one na Latin
 Inside dey paper,
 Jar-gonism dey
 Inside dey paper,
 Youth delinquency dey
 Who be deliquent?”*

*Na dem be delinquent
Who be delinquent?
The Oyinbo talker delinquent
Who be delinquent?
Na be me-ob..."*

According to Lola Ogunnaike (2003), Fela criticised this system of education as detrimental to Africa because it did not expose Africa to the principles of self-determination and creativity. Thus Africans were made to be subservient to the Slave Masters and the Colonisers who encouraged the slave-driven capitalist economy and the neo-dependence of Africa:

"A criticism of African Educational system as a 'poor imitation' of the Western Education system. The man who speaks better English gets paid more. The school's grades are rated (better bread as climb). The English use words against us-- first thing in the morning we are given newspapers, they brainwash us with big words. It's all jargon/nonsense-- irrelevant issues that have no bearing on common men. Then the leaders blame the poor's problems on ignorance & delinquency, but it's the (English speaking) leaders who are delinquent..."

MR. GRAMMARTICALOLOGYLISATIONALISM IS THE BOSS

*"Now listen to me now
My brothers & sisters- I beg you
Now listen to me now!
Oh- now listen to me now
My brothers & sisters I beg you
Now listen to me now!
Dey na be man
*[CHORUS] WHICH MAN?
Web talk Oyinbo** well-a-well to rule our land ee-ob ** (foreigner/ white)
[CHORUS] THAT MAN!

Oh yes

**[CHORUS] HE TALK OYINBO PASS-EE ENGLISH MAN –
[AFTER EACH LINE]*

*He talk Oyinbo pass American man
He talk Oyinbo pass French man
Me, I say he talk Oyinbo pass Germany man
The better Oyinbo you talk*

The more bread you go get
School start- na grade four bread
BA- na gradee three bread
MA- na gradee two bread
PhD- a gradee one bread
The better Oyinbo you talk
The more bread you go get

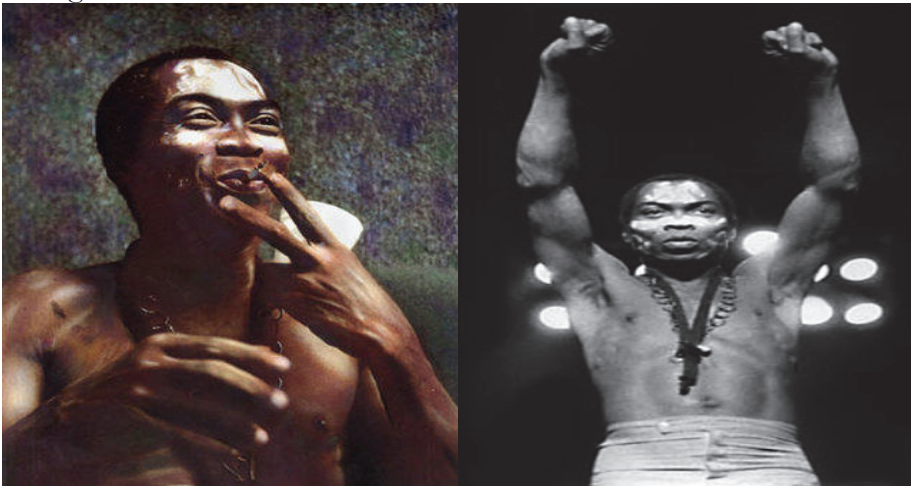
Dey na be man
 *[CHORUS] WHICH MAN?
Weh talk Oyinbo well-a-well to rule our land ee-ob
 *[CHORUS] THAT MAN!
Oh yes
 *[CHORUS] HE TALK OYINBO PASS-EE ENGLISH MAN
He talk Oyinbo pass American man
 *[CHORUS] HE TALK OYINBO PASS-EE ENGLISH MAN

Hear it! (Horn responses)
One more time
First thing for early morning
Na newspaper dem give us read
First thing for early morning
Na newspaper dem give us read
The Oyinbo weh dey inside
Petty trader no fit to know
The Oyinbo weh dey inside
Market woman- na fit to read
The Oyinbo weh dey inside
Na riddle for- laborer man
Inside dey paper
Lambastical dey
Inside dey paper
Ipsa facto- dey dat one na Latin
Inside dey paper,
Jar-gonism dey
Inside dey paper,
Youth delinquency dey
Who be delinquent?
Na dem be delinquent
Who be delinquent?

*The Oyinbo talker delinquent
Who be delinquent?
Na be me-ob*

*Na be man
*[CHORUS] WHICH MAN?
Web talk Oyinbo well-a-well to rule our land-o
CHORUS] THAT MAN!*

*Ob yes
*[CHORUS] HE TALK OYINBO PASS-EE ENGLISH MAN -
[AFTER EACH LINE]
He talk Oyinbo past American man
He talk Oyinbo past French-e man [Fill]
He talk Oyinbo past Germany man
Me, I say , he talk Oyinbo past French man
*REPEAT CHORUS INDEFINITELY
Organ solo..."



Photos 162 (e) & (f): Fela The Political Critic Against The Personalisation Of The State For Personal Aggrandisement

“Power Show” brings out in a very descriptive pertinent way the manner in which Africans personalise the State Power by transforming the services into instruments of self-aggrandisement and personality cult and worship. Fela in this lyric shows how Africans have not grasp the fact that Administration is actually for the service of the public and the country. He castigates the various services like the post office or any other public service where the public agent spends time in preening himself, wasting time without attending to the client.

Sometimes the public servant takes pleasure to go ease himself and leaves the client waiting instead of attending to him.

Fela laments the fact that national sovereignty has become a way of blocking African integration instead of facilitating mobility among Africans. Hence the Immigration and border restrictions have become the agents of frustrating African Integration as Immigration Officers make it impossible for border crossing in the name of sovereignty. This is the power show that is frustrating Africa's human integration at all levels.

Fela laments this poor situation where misgovernance is rampant everywhere as people in power make their own laws at will without consideration of enforcing any rule of law:

*"Before him go know say you dey there
If you no talk quick
Him go go for shit
Him go shit come-back
And you talk to am
Then you surprise when him
Shack for you
Him go say you no go cross
You no go cross today
Na that time dem go start
Dem Power Show O O
Na wrong show
Go post office na the same
Dem go bluff you
Waste your time
Run you up
And then run you down
Dem go tire your body
And then tire your mind
And them tire your whole mind
Dem go say no change for fifty kobo
Na that time dem go start them..."*

Fela is quick to denounce this attitude which has overtaken African administration since independence, where Africans have instituted misgovernance as a rule of law and do not care about national interest and service. This attitude is due to the misconception that public service is not the responsibility of the public agent as servant of the people and the nation.

Public service is still seen by many Africans as service of the Colonial Master and therefore the service of the \nation and the people as people in public serve are often heard to say: “it is not my father’s business.” This implies that he is not obliged or responsible to give any service to the client at all or for free. If he does it is at his own discretion and not out of obligation. Hence this engenders the high corruption where public service must be “paid for” or must be facilitated through bribing and the “following” or “pushing up of dossiers,” the “pushing of files” at the discretion of the public servant who with all impunity will demand for a percentage of the “service” he thinks he is rendering to you the client and not to the nation. And this is the root of all nepotism and ethnic politics or what is commonly called “Tribalism” in Africa, where public servants have confiscated the public services as their own private enterprise for making extra real money apart from their salaries. And so the State has been privatised and made a commodity of personal interest for the individual and his or her family according to Agonda Ochola (2004). This is the Power Show Fela is decrying bitterly as it ravages Africa:

Power Show

I open my eye I see for my land

**(CHORUS) NA WRONG SHOW O*

Everywhere you dey

Everywhere you go

Everybody want do power show

**(CHORUS) NA WRONG SHOW O*

You reach boarder immigration

officer dey immigration

Him go bluff you

**(CHORUS) YES – [AFTER EACH LINE]*

Waste your time

Change him pen him pant

Some dey comb dem hair

Den tidy dem table

Den him/ dem pull dem chair

Before him go know say you dey there

If you no talk quick

Him go go for shit

Him go shit come-back
And you talk to am
Then you surprise when him
Shack for you
Him go say you no go cross
You no go cross today
Na that time dem go start
Dem Power Show O O
Na wrong show
Go post office na the same
Dem go bluff you
Waste your time
Run you up
And then run you down
Dem go tire your body
And then tire your mind
And them tire your whole mind
Dem go say no change for fifty kobo
Na that time dem go start them

Power Show O O
Na wrong show O
Motor car owner sef him go take
him car push him car push laborer
Down for road
Then him start to yab (tease/ bother)*
Foolish labourer
Nonentity, him no get money
Look him sandals e don tear finish
*Look him trouser e don tear for yansh** **(ass)*
Look him singlet e don dirty finish
Look him body e no bath this morning
Look him pocket e don dry finish
You go suffer for nothing
You go suffer for nothing
You no know me sha?
I be General for Army Office I
I be Officer for Police Station
I be secretary for government office
You foolish laborer, you go suffer for nothing

*Nonentity, you go suffer
for nothing
Na that time dem go start dem*

Power Show

*Na wrong show O
Power Show na wrong thing
(CHORUS) YES

Na sad thing

*Na sad thing
Na wrong show O
Power na to help your land
Na to help your mates
Na wrong show O*

In “Authority Stealing” Fela continues his scathing criticism on those in power who use their office either to intimidate and frustrate the common man, or to illegally amass wealth for themselves through dubious means. Fela does not hesitate to call a spade a spade and instruct the man in the street about this abuse of power which goes without the necessary sanctions, since the entire State management is corrupt. Fela out rightly condemns this irresponsible management of state affairs by the so-called leaders of the people. In Africa state managers and state officials use their authority to steal because they feel nobody is competent to check and control them.

This is because there has never been set up any state control mechanism set up to monitor the state authorities who instead of behaving like “servants of the people” accountable to the people, they behave with all impunity like “masters of the people” and above the law. These state authorities change their selfish lifestyles at will using state and tax payers’ money and peoples’ common wealth-resources. Fela demonstrates graphically how with this impunities and authoritative stealing state officials can afford to pay for themselves and their families luxurious cars, luxurious helicopters and even luxurious personal and presidential planes.

Fela decries this fact of those who in authority are the real thieves of public coffers, are left to go scot free while small delinquent stealing gets very heavy reprisals and fines from the state courts and street courts which sometimes cost their lives. And while the small thieves who can be likened to rats stealing little bits of grain and corn, and are monitored and trapped at the risk of their lives, those big authoritative thieves in the big offices who practice

what is called civilized stealing go scot free. Fela therefore castigates this attitude of the crowd and the courts that go for the small thieves and leave alone the big thieves who practice civilized stealing which is worse than arm robbery, as he illustrates:



Photos 162 (g) & (h): Fela The Whistle-Blower Against State-Authority Stealing And Corruption

Authority Stealing

*“I say turn your face small
To the right wing
Oga patapata dey for there
Authority people dey for there
Instead of workers
We have officials
Instead of buses
Them dey ride motor-car
Instead of motorcycle
Na helicopter
Instead of them waka
Na worker go waka for them
Authority people them go dey steal
Public contribute plenty money
Na authority people dey steal
Authority man no dey pickpocket
Na petty cash him go dey pick
Armed robber him need gun
Authority man him need pen
Authority man in charge of money*

*Him no need gun, him need pen
Pen got power gun no get
If gun steal eighty thousand naira
Pen go steal two billion naira
[Chorus]*

Thief, thief thief!

Rogue, rogue, rogue!

Robber, robber!

You no go hear them shout

You no go hear them shout at all

You no go hear them say

You no go hear them say response at all

Na different way be them way

Na civilize style be them style..."

Meanwhile, in order to dissimulate their thievery, these same authorities engage in fabricating catch words and jargons that bamboozle the more the ordinary person in the street not used to this kind of civilized stealing. These high sounding catch words give the impression that these state authorities are not part of the "authoritative stealing":

"Yes, yes, yes, yes!

"Oh yes, of course, contract, have some money back in hand, ha h

Hear the words them dey take deceive the people:

Misappropriation

Maladministration

Nepotism

Mitigation

Make I remember another one wey them dey use

Defraudment

Forgeryization

Embezzlement

Vilification

Mismanagement

Public inquiry

Authority stealing pass armed robbery

We Africans we must do something about this nonsense

We say we must do something about this nonsense

I repeat, we Africans we must do something about this nonsense

Because now authority stealing pass armed robbery

Authority man him go dey steal

Public contribute plenty money..."

Fela knew that only popular uprising will put an end to these malpractices by state officials and other officials of Government. He insinuated that without this concerted mob action, and the concerted action of civil society, there will be no revolution and no social change will come, and stealing by state officials with all impunity will continue. Fela knew that a strong state is built only on the strong Civil Society. He therefore made himself the advocate and educator of the Civil Society which was the real government even though it remained the shadow-government in ignorance.

AUTHORITY STEALING:

[Chorus]

Authority stealing!

You be thief (I no be thief)
You be rogue (I no be rogue)
You dey steal (I no dey steal)
You be robber (I no be robber)
You be armed robber (No be armed robber)
I no be thief (You be thief)
I no be rogue (You be rogue)
I no dey steal (You dey steal)
I no be robber (You be robber)
I no be armed robber (You be armed robber)

[Chorus]

Argument, argument!

Argument, argument, argue
Them argue
Everbody dem argue
Them dem dem argue
Up and down them argue
Everbody dem argue
Them dem dem dem argue
Yes yes, them argue
Everbody dem argue
Argument about stealing
Somebody don take something
Wey belong to another person
Then you go hear:
You be thief (I no be thief)..
. On top of the road, on the side

People dey wak

Office workers, labourer workers, workers' workers

Them go dey waka

Inside bus them go dey

Motorcycle them dey ride

Plenty, plenty crowd

Inside this crowd

Sometimes for one corner

Sometimes for one street

You go dey hear: ha ha!

[Chorus]

Thief, thief, thief!

Rogue, rogue, rogue!

Robber, robber!

Catch am, catch am! Thief, thief, thief!

Catch am, catch am! Rogue, rogue, rogue!

Catch am, catch am! Robber, robber!

Catch am

Pull am

Get am

Keep am

Ole...

[Chorus]

Catch am, catch am!

Looking go start

Watching go start

Chasing go start

Somebody go dey

Wey them go grab

Them go beat am well-well

Them go lynch am well-well

Police go come well-well

Them go carry am go court

Them go put am for jail

Them fit put am six months

(Them go put am for one year)

Them fit put am two years

(Them go put am for five years)

Them fit put am seven years
(Them go put am for ten years)
If not them go shoot am well
Them go shoot am for armed robbery
On top of the road, on the side
People dey waka
Office workers, labourer workers, workers' workers
Them go dey try
To try to make ends meet
Them go dey hustle
To try to make ends meet
Them go put hands for back
To try to make ends meet
Them go dey beg oga
To try to make ends meet
Them go be slaves for them town
To try to make ends mee
I say turn your face small
To the right win
Oga patapata dey for there

Authority people dey for there
Instead of workers
We have officials
Instead of buses
Them dey ride motor-car
Instead of motorcycle
Na helicopter
Instead of them waka
Na worker go waka for them
Authority people them go dey steal
Public contribute plenty money
Na authority people dey steal
Authority man no dey pickpocket
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[Chorus

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You no go hear them shout at all

You no go hear them say

You no go hear them say response at all

Na different way be them way

Na civilize style be them style

[Chorus]

Yes, yes, yes, yes!

“Oh yes, of course, contract, have some money back in hand, ha ha”

Hear the words them dey take deceive the people:

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Maladministration

Nepotism

Mitigation

Make I remember another one wey them dey use

Defraudment

Forgeryization

Embezzlement

Vilification

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Public inquiry

Authority stealing pass armed robbery

We Africans we must do something about this nonsense

We say we must do something about this nonsense

I repeat, we Africans we must do something about this nonsense

Because now authority stealing pass armed robbery

Authority man him go dey steal

Public contribute plenty money...

[Chorus]

Authority stealing!...



Photos 162 (i) & (j): Fela The Social-Political Critic And Mobiliser Of The People For Change

Fela was not just a social and political critic and moralizer. He was also a social counsellor who tried to use as much of African indigenous knowledge and philosophy as possible to educate both the masses and the leaders of Africa. As just as he castigates the African Authority for their immoral extravagances in stealing he also tried to teach them the African philosophy of the essence of people friendliness and people-centredness in governance, using the metaphor of water and its indispensability in every venture of humans, animals and nature in all spheres of life. The African philosophy holds that water is life and even goes further to hold that water in all life is so indispensable that one cannot afford to minimise the power of water, no matter how small, no matter how insignificant it might seem, no matter how inconvenient and adequate for one person's liking and taste. This philosophy is well expressed in the Chamba-Tadkon proverb which holds that:

“ntsì kùe bo nì nguot, kùe bo nì nsún, kùe bo nì kòndúm boe.”
“Water has no family, no friend, and no enemy.”

This is to say that that whether person would like it or not she or he cannot do without water in his life at all times. Water is so important and indispensable to humans, just like to creatures, in such a way that it has become part of the shadow and essence of humans. In a transferred and metaphorical sense, it holds that the people that make up a family, a polity or a nation are like water; and whiter we like it or not, we cannot do without them.

Wherefore this proverbial philosophy teaches that one should always be careful and appreciative of people whether in the family, in the polity or in the nation; and leaders of people should be cautious and develop a people-friendly

attitude and demeanour when handling them, because they are as indispensable as they are also unpredictable.

I really understand how Fela was trying to bring back this African philosophy of people-friendly and people-centred policy in all governance, because if it fails, all good governance has failed. It is in this regard that I fully support all the various interpretations that have been given by various authors, Azizi Powell in Lyrics about meanings of “Water No Get Enemy” <http://songmeanings.com/songs/view/3530822107858713048/> (August 2, 2013) and (An architect, March 27, 2008):

“WHAT DOES THE PHRASE & THE SONG “WATER NO GET ENEMY” MEAN? I believe that “water no get enemy” means that water doesn’t have any enemy because it’s so powerful. To paraphrase the song’s lyrics, if you fight against water, you will lose. It also seems to me that by his mention of “black power,” Fela Kuti implies that it’s just as foolish to fight against black power as it is to fight against the power of water.”

Tavia Nyong'o, (2010) gives another version of the meaning of “Water No Get Enemy” saying <http://www.socialtextjournal.org/blog/2010/01/water-no-got-enemy.php> that:

“...I gather that the song featured prominently in the Broadway show Fela! -- “Water No Get Enemy” -- means something like “nobody hates something as useful as water.” Make yourself as indispensable as this, goes the implied wisdom, and any detractors you gain will just look silly.”

The interpretation which seems to tie in with the African philosophy is this one given here by another contributor who holds that <http://songmeanings.com/songs/view/3530822107858713048/>:

“Water is essential to human life. Only a fool would dare go without it. Likewise, the people and the body politic are a nation’s lifeblood. They populate the land, power the economy, and preserve its culture. Only a foolish government would fight or antagonize its citizens. Trample on your own people, and your nation will die of thirst.”

WATER NO GET ENEMY

“T’o ba fe lo we omi l’o ma’lo

If you want to go wash, na water you go use

T’o ba fe se’be omi l’o ma’lo

If you wan cook soup, na water you go use

T'o ri ba n'gbona o omi l'ero re
If your head dey hot, na water go cool am

T'omo ba n'dagba omi l'o ma'lo
If your child dey grow, na water be go use

If water kill your child, na water you go use
T'omi ba p'omo e o omi na lo ma'lo

Ko s'obun to'le se k'o ma lo'mi o
Nothing without water
Ko s'obun to'le se k'o ma lo'mi o
Omi o l'ota o

[Chorus]
Water, him no get enemy!

Omi o l'ota o
If you fight am, unless you wan die
I say water no get enemy
If you fight am, unless you wan die
Omi o l'ota o
I dey talk of Black man power
I dey talk of Black power, I say
I say water no get enemy
If you fight am, unless you wan die
I say water no get enemy
I say water no get enemy
Omi o l'ota o
Omi o l'ota o ..."

In "Beasts of No Nation," which Fela wrote in 1986 after serving two years in prison, Fela becomes more critical about governance and the fate of the citizens in a system where political leaders have become adamant perpetrators of what he calls the "Craze World" of all the injustices and bad governance of their people. Mabinuori Kayode Idowu (2002) narrates how frustrated Fela was after he had left prison about the rampant corruption and brutality of the state against its citizens:

“He said when he was in prison he called it ‘Inside World’, out of prison he called it ‘Outside World’. But for him it is actually ‘Craze World’. Otherwise, what name can one give a world with: police brutality, army oppression, courts without justice, magistrates who are supposed to uphold the law, obviously seen bending the law to please some special interest. As further proof of the craze world, he sings about the judge who sent him to jail for five years on a trumped up charge, only for the same judge to visit Fela in a prison hospital two years after. The judge apologized, claiming he was under pressure from the government to convict. This could only happen in a Craze World, Fela reasons. It can only be in a craze world that people sit and watch governments shoot down protesting students with impunity, like in Soweto(South Africa), Zaria and Ife(Nigeria). Bearing in mind that Nigeria like all craze world countries, condemns the apartheid regime in South Africa, yet committing crimes against humanity in their respective countries. Turning to another aspect of craze world policy of the Nigerian government.”



Photos 162 (i) & (j): Fela The Prophet Of Beasts Of No Nation And The Critic Of Bad Governance

In *Beasts of No nation*, Fela was x-raying the governments of Africa, who after twenty-five years of independence were incapable of establishing a system of the rule of law and respect of the rights of the citizens. For Fela the global political systems in Africa which had been transformed into autocratic states of dictatorships which never developed to states protecting the rights and democratic principles of the peoples and nations, are animal systems.

The Nigeria Fela was describing was typical of that state where animals were then ruling people; animals in human bodies and attires ruling people. At the time of Fela’s critical political lyric, it was Colonel Buhari and his assistant Tunde Idiagbon who were ruling Nigeria. When Muhammadu Buhari took over as Head of State by a 1983 coup d’état that deposed Shehu Shagari, he

and his second in command Tunde Idiagbon persecuted Fela for his outspoken criticism that did not spare friend or foe and any government, especially a military government that came to power through the use of force, and throwing democracy to the wind. Mabinuori Kayode Idowu (2002) and Lola Ogunnaike (2003) recount that in 1984, Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon had Fela arrested on fake foreign currency charges prior to an international tour to prevent him from “publishing anything that might embarrass any government official”- even if true (which they had formally made illegal). It was later that Fela’s trial judge Okoro Idogu admitted that he was ordered by Idiagbon to find Fela guilty and to give him a harsh sentence. That could explain why the judge later begged to dismiss Fela’s conviction which was never granted as Fela served 5 years in prison. Buhari and Idiagbon also instituted what was called a campaign against “indiscipline” known as “War Against Indiscipline” (WAI), which was nothing but face powder since the real Delinquents and Indiscipline were Statesmen and Heads of State in Nigeria, Africa and all over the capitalist and the communist world which Fela castigated bitterly.

Wherefore, Fela was of the opinion that, most African and World leaders political leaders and state leaders are ruthless animals in human bodies: animals wearing ties, animals wearing “Agbada,” animals wearing suits, animals wearing shoes, animals with no country to admit them; stateless animals. How then do they dare talk of Human Rights?

According to Fela, States which did not respect the rights of their citizens did not deserve the respect and collaboration of other States and the United Nations. Fela felt that these States were “Monster States” which perpetually abused the rights of their citizens. He did not understand how these states could assemble under one roof of the United Nations and rub shoulders with each other. Fela thought that the United Nations did not have the right to exist because it thwarted the very democracy and the human rights of peoples it upheld in its Charter. He thought it was absurd to table sanctions upon Apartheid South Africa when it serially abused the rights of other people. He argued that:

“In 1983, the Buhari/Idigabon military regime launched a public campaign dubbed War Against Indiscipline’. This was the regime’s solution to corruption inherent in the Nigerian society. To justify this campaign, the Nigerian head of state, General Buhari and his deputy General Idiagbon publicly used words like: ‘...my people are useless! My people are senseless! My people are indiscipline!’ to describe Nigerian People. For Fela, only in a crazy world can such remarks be made. Moreover, such statements could only have come from an ‘animal in human skin’. How could these two animals use such words to qualify a people who feed them? This being so, other leaders from other

countries must either be animals themselves to associate with, or accept to co-habit under such an umbrella as the United Nations with a head of state that considers his people useless. Turning to the United Nations, Fela saw it as a majorly unhealthy organization that suffers major inadequacy in its organizational principles. It is absurd to organize the UN principle bodies; the Security Council and the General Assembly, in such an undemocratic manner as one member's vote can veto the decision of the majority. Is this Democracy? "What is United about the UN?" Fela asked. Thatcher went to war with Argentina over Falkland—yet both countries are members of the world body. Reagan and Libya were at war. Israel versus Lebanon. Iran versus Iraq. East-West cold war. It looks more like a group of disunited nations, so how can such a body work to promote and encourage respect for human rights? For Fela, that is another kind of animal talk. How can people talk about 'individual' rights? No one has the right to deprive someone else of what belongs to the individual—only an animal would try to take away another person's legitimate rights."

When people warned Fela that his utterances could earn him another prison term for perjury, Fela reminded them that he was not the one who had called the members of the United Nations beasts of no Nation. He was just repeating the remarks other people before him, like P. W. Botha of South Africa, were used to saying:

"People who hear Fela say things like this reminded him that he was sent to prison for having such opinions of government. He, in his defence, said it was not him who called members of the UN animals. It was P. W. Botha, the former South Africa President at the peak of the anti-apartheid struggle, in reaction to the persistent riots against the racist regime. He came out with a statement that his regime would act more brutally if the riots did not stop: "...this uprising will bring out the beast in us". Fela's reminded us that President Reagan advocated: "...constructive engagement with the apartheid regime" among member nations of the UN. The same policy as Mrs. Thatcher — an indication that they were sharing the same friendship and animal characteristics as Botha. If this is so the UN can only be an assembly of Beasts of No Nation."

According to Fela, Pieter Willem Botha displayed one of the most ruthless animal characters in that "Pieter Willem Botha was the militantly racist white prime minister of apartheid era of South Africa." He could be described as: "a cartoonish super-villain, who made almost unbelievably racist public statements, laws, and atrocious violations of human rights (including torture & murder) against blacks in South Africa."

BEASTS OF NO NATION

*Ab- Let's get now into another, underground spiritual game
Just go to help me the answer, go to say, "Aiya-kata"- Oh ya*

O'feshe-Lu

*[CHORUS] AIYA-KATA *(after each line)*

*O'feshe- g'Bob *(2x)*

O'feshe-Wob

*[CHORUS] AIYA-KATA *(after each line)*

O'feshe-g'Beh

Aiya kata

Aiya Koto

Aiya Kiti

Aiya Kutu

O'feshe-Lu

*[CHORUS] AIYA-KATA *(after each line)*

*O'feshe- g'Bob *(2x)*

Oh-----.....

Basket mouth wan start to leak again, oh-

[CHORUS] BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH

*Abi** you don forget I say I sing, ee-oh *(is it not)*

[CHORUS] BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH

Oh, I sing-ee say, I go my mouth like basket, ee-oh, malan biag bere

(stanza 2x)

Basket mouth wan start to leak again, oh-

[CHORUS] BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH

Fela, wetin you go sing about?

*[CHORUS] DEM GO WORRY ME... *(after each line)*

(3x)

Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry, worry, worry

*[CHORUS] DEM GO WORRY ME *(After each line)*

Dey wan to make us sing about prison

Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry all over da town

Dem wan to know about prison life

Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry all over da town
**(repeat stanza)*

Fela, wetin you go sing about?

[CHORUS] DEM GO WORRY ME

Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry, worry, worry

The time web I dey, for prison, I call am "inside world"

The time web I dey outside prison, I call am "outside world"

Na craze world, na be outside world

*[CHORUS] CRAZE** WORLD *(after each line) / **(crazy)*

Na be outside- da police-i dey

Na be outside- da soldier-ha dey

Na be outside- da court dem dey

Na be outside- da magistrate dey

Na be outside- da judge dem dey

Na craze world be dat

Na be outside- Buhari dey *(Nigerian Head of State via coup d'etat)*

Na craze man be dat

Animal in craze-man skin-i

Na craze world be dat

Na be outside- Idiagbon dey *(Chief of General Staff- 2nd in command)*

Na craze man be dat

Animal in craze-man skin-i

Na craze world be dat

Na be outside- dem find me guilty

Na be outside- dem jail me five years

-----I no do nothing

Na be outside-dem judge dey beg ee-o

Na craze world be dat, Na craze world be dat

Na be outside- dem kill dem students

*Soweto, Zaria, and Ife** (600+ students killed protesting Afrikaans schooling)*

Na craze world be dat, ee-oh

Na craze world be dat,

Na be outside- all dis dey happen

Na craze world be dat, ee-oh

Na craze world be dat, ee-oh

Na craze world be dat, ee-o

Na craze world be dat, ee-oh

Na craze world be dat, ee-ob
Make you hear this one [sax responses]
War against indiscipline, ee-ob

Na Nigerian government, ee-ob
Dem dey talk ee-ob
“My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people lack discipline”

Na Nigerian government, ee-ob
Dem dey talk be dat
“My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people lack discipline”

I never hear dat before- oh
Make Government talk, ee-ob
“My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people lack discipline”

Na Nigerian government, ee-ob
Dem dey talk be dat
Which kind talk be dat- ee-ob?
Na craze talk be dat ee-ob
Na animal talk be dat ee-ob
Na animal talk be dat ee-ob

[CHORUS] MANY LEADERS AS YOU SEE DEM
[CHORUS] NA DIFFERENT DISGUISE DEM DEY-OH
[CHORUS] ANIMAL IN HUMAN SKIN
[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I PUT-U TIE-OH
[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I WEAR AGBADA *(robe)*
[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I PUT-U SUIT-U
**(2x- 2nd time with lead voc)*

These disguising leaders ee-ob, na wah for dem [sax responses after each]
Dem hold meeting everywhere, dem reach America (2x stanza)

Dem call the place, the “United Nations” [sax responses after each]
Hear-ob another animal talk
Wetin united inside “United Nations”?
Who & who unite, for “United Nations”?
No be there Thatcher & Argentina dey
No be there Reagan & Lib-i-ya dey

Is-i-rael versus Lebanon

Iran-i-ob versus Iraq-i

East West Block versus West Block East

No be there dem dey ob- United Nations

Dis "united" United Nations

One veto vote is equal to 92 [...OR MORE, OR MORE]

What kind sense be dat, na animal sense (2x)

[CHORUS] MANY LEADERS AS YOU SEE DEM

[CHORUS] NA DIFFERENT DISGUISE DEM DEY-OH

[CHORUS] ANIMAL IN HUMAN SKIN

[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I PUT-U TIE-OH

[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I WEAR AGBADA

[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I PUT-U SUIT-U

**(2x- 2nd time with lead voc)*

Dem go hold meeting, oh, Dem go start yab human beings *(tease/ bother)*

Animal talk don start again

Dash dem, human rights *(give/ grant*

**(repeat stanza)*

How animal go know-say dem no born me as slave?

How animal go know say slave trade don pass?

And, dey wan dash us human rights

Animal must talk to human beings

Give dem human rights

I beg-ee, oh , make you hear me well-u well

I beg-ee, oh, make you hear me very well

Human rights na my property

So therefore, you can't dash me my property

Human rights na my property

Dey want dash us human rights

Some people say, "Why I dey talk like dis,"

No be talk like dis, dem take to carry me go prison ee-ob"

No be me dey talk, na Prime Minister Botha dey talk, ee-ob (2x) *(PM of S. Africa)*

Him say, "this uprising will bring out the beast in us"

[CHORUS] THIS UPRISING WILL BRING OUT THE BEAST IN
US

(repeat stanza 3x)

Eh Ji Keke- my argument

Botha na friend to Thatcher & Reagan

Botha na friend to some other leaders too

And together dem wan dash us human rights

Animals wan dash us human rights

Animal can't dash me human rights Animal can't dash us human rights

[CHORUS] MANY LEADERS AS YOU SEE DEM

[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I PUT-U TIE-OH

[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I WEAR AGBADA

[CHORUS] ANIMAL-I PUT-U SUIT-U

**(2x- 2nd time with lead voc)*

Beasts of no nation- Egbe Ke Gbe na bad society

[CHORUS] BEASTS OF NO NATION, EGBE KE GBE

[CHORUS] BEASTS OF NO NATION, OTURU GBE KE

(repeat stanza many x, lead vamp)

Easy... easy

[solos]

***Do chorus & end again...*

In the lyric "Black Man's Cry" Fela tries, like James Brown to reconstruct the Black Image, Black Personality and Black Pride. At a time when racism based on colour was still very rife, he like the Black Power initiators and activists, was fighting to restore lack Pride. He was saying to Black people to hold their heads high and shout out, with James brown, "I am Black and Proud; Black is Beautiful."

This was necessary at a time when Black people, even though they had gained independence from their White Slave Masters, were still reverting to

hating themselves and their colour which subconsciously and consciously they were struggling to discard and become White.



Photos 162 (k) & (l): Fela The Black Power And Black Personality Advocate

This head-start was very necessary when Black men and Black women started bleaching their bodies, their pubic hair, their eyelashes, finger nails, and hair to become Blonde and White. Some Blacks even resorted to Plastic Surgery to change their facial structures to look more aquiline so as to appear and pass for White.

This song was followed up by “Yellow Fever” which decried this dehumanization of Africans by Africans themselves. Yellow Fever makes fun of popular fad (“sickness”) of Africans bleaching their skin to look white-turning themselves yellow.

Slavery and colonization had brainwashed Africans in such a manner that they had become their own enslavers and the agents of destruction of their race and peoples as well as their cultural heritage. This is what Fela decried as Colomentality and Teacher Teach Me Nonsense, in his other lyrics.

BLACKMAN’S CRY

Nijo wo la ma bol’oko eru o (2X)

A o bo njokan o,..... l’oko eru o (2X)

REPEAT STANZA

-[VOX FILLS] HEY-----JEH- AH-JEH

Talo so fun mipe awo dudu mo gbe sara mi oda o

Emu wa ki nri o (4X)

-[VOX FILLS] --HEY- YEH AH YAH
-[VOX FILLS] JEBU-JAY-U-JAY- U-JAY JAY JEBU-JAY-U-JAY- U-
DAY (ETC)

Nijo wo la ma bol'oko eru o (2X)
A o bo njokan o,..... l'oko eru o (2X)

* SAX, KEYS SOLOS

Nijo wo la ma bol'oko eru o (2X)
A o bo njokan o,..... l'oko eru o (2X)

She-ma Hey, She-ma Hey, She-ma Hey

Talo so fun yin pe awo dudu m ti e gbe s'ara yin oda o
E mu wa k'eri o (2x)
-REPEAT STANZA

Ko s'oshun to da bi awo dud tu e gbe sara yin
Ko s'oshun to da bi awo dud tu mo gbe sara mi
E wo mi dada o
-REPEAT STANZA

YEAH_YEBA YEAH-EE YEAH YEAH
THAT'S THE BLACK MAN'S CRY
GET IT ONE MORE TIME
-REPEAT AT WILL

Translation:

When will we be free from plantation slavery (2X)
We'll be free one day from the plantation (2X)
Who says my black skin is not beautiful?
Show me the person- I want to see him
When will we be free from plantation slavery (2X)
We'll be free one day from the plantation (2X)

SAX, KEYS SOLOS

When will we be free from plantation slavery (2X)
We'll be free one day from the plantation (2X)
Who tells you that your skin is not beautiful
Produce the person so you can see him

REPEAT STANZA

There is nothing as beautiful as your black skin
There is nothing as beautiful as my black skin
Look at me closely

YELLOW FEVER

Different different fever na him dey
Different different fever na him dey
Different different fever na him dey
Different different fever na him dey

Malaria fever nko

**[CHORUS] HE DEY *(AFTER EACH LINE)*

Jaundice fever nko

Hay fever nko

Influenza fever nko

Inflation fever nko

Freedom fever nko

Yellow fever nko

[CHORUS] NA HIM DEY BRING THE MATTER NOW HE DEY

Yellow fever nko

**[CHORUS] HE DEY*

[Chorus] NA HIM DEY BRING THE MATTER NOW HE DEY

I say tell them make them bear

**[CHORUS] YOU SAY *(AFTER EACH LINE)*

All fever na sickness

Original sickness

Hay fever na sickness

Original sickness

Malaria na sickness

Original sickness
Jaundice na sickness
Original sickness
Influenza na sickness
Original sickness
Inflation na sickness
Original sickness
Freedom na sickness
Original sickness
Yellow fever nko

[CHORUS] ORIGINAL AND ARTIFICIAL HE DEY

Yellow fever nko
*[CHORUS] YOU SAY
One more...

[CHORUS] ORIGINAL AND ARTIFICIAL HE DEY

Bom bom bom, tell me now...

Original catch you
*[CHORUS] YOU SAY *(after each)
Your eye go yellow
Your yansh go yellow
Your face go yellow
Your body go weak
I say but later if you no die inside
The yellow go fade away
Artificial catch you
You be man or woman
Na you go catch am yourself
Na your money go do am for you
You go yellow pass yellow
You go catch moustache for face
You go get your double colour
Your yansh go black like coal
You self go think say you dey fine
Who say you fine?

[CHORUS] NA LIE, YOU NO FINE AT ALL AT ALL, NA LIE

My sister, who say you fine

[CHORUS] NA LIE, YOU NO FINE AT ALL AT ALL, NA LIE

Yellow fever

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

[CHORUS] YOU DEY BLEACH, O YOU DEY BLEACH *(after each)

African mother

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

Sissy wey dey go

Yellow fever

Stupid thing

Yeye thing

Fucking thing

Ugly thing

Yellow fever

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

African mother

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

Sissy wey dey go

Yellow fever

Now to the underground spiritual game

Underground where dey down for school

Over there for school, yes

Where dey go say, teacher

Oya!

Who steal my bleaching

*[CHORUS] TEACHER *(AFTER EACH)

My precious bleaching

I buy am for shopping

For forty naira

How I go yellow

How I go find out

I go die o

I go die o

I go die o

According to complaint

Complaint must get answer

I beg please, help me help teacher

Oya, foolish

Oya!

Who steal your bleaching

*[CHORUS] FOOLISH *(AFTER EACH)*

Your precious bleaching

You buy am for shopping

For forty naira

You self all yellow

How you go find out?

Your face go yellow

Your yansh go black

Your moustache go show

Your skin go scatter

You go die o

You go die o

You go die o

You go die o

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

*[CHORUS] YOU DEY BLEACH, O YOU DEY BLEACH *(after each)*

African mother

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

Sissy wey dey go

Yellow fever

Stupid thing

Yeye thing

Fucking thing

Ugly thing

Yellow fever

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

African mother

You dey bleach, o you dey bleach

Sissy wey dey go

Yellow fever

COLOMENTALITY

Colomentality

*E be say you be colonial man
You don be slave from before
Dem don release you now
but you never release yourself
Colomentality*

*E be so , E be so dem dey do,
dem dey overdo all the things wey dem dey do
e be so dem dey do, dem think say dem better pass dem brother.
No be so?*

E be so

*The thing wey black no good
na foreign things dem dey like.
No be so?
*[CHORUS] EE BE SO/ I BE SO
Dem go turn air condition and close dem country away.
Na be so?
E be so
Dem judge him go put white wig and jail him brothers away
No be so?
E be so*

*Dem go proud of dem name and put dem slave name for head
No be so?
E be so*

Colomentality now make you hear me now

**[CHORUS] COLO MENTALITY*

*Mr. Ransome you make you hear
Mr. Williams you make you hear
Mr. Ali -a you make you hear
Mr. Mohammed you make you hear
Mr. Anglican you make you hear
Mr. Bishop you make you hear
Mr. Catholic you make you hear*

Mr. Muslim you make you hear
Na Africa we dey O make you hear
Na Africa we dey O make you hear
Colomentality hear
Colomentality! listen!
Mr. Ransome you make you hear
Na Africa we dey o make you hear this

*[CHORUS] COLOMENTALITY –[REPEATED]
 TEACHER DON'T TEACH ME NONSENSE

A kujuba, A kujuba,

*[CHORUS]- EH_____

(repeat 7x)

Yehhhh- eh!

Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-JI-KE-KE

*[CHORUS]- YAH

Ke-re-ke- JI- Ke-ke

CHORUS)- YAH

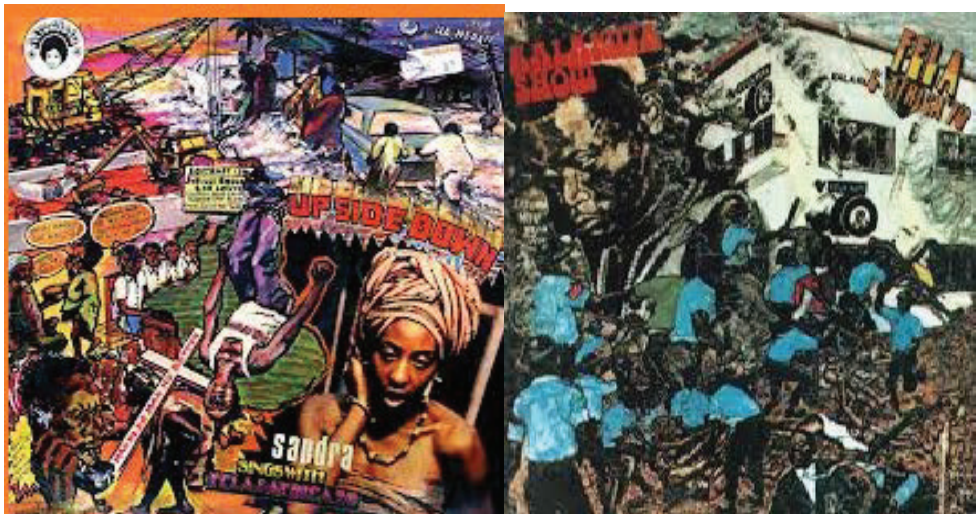
-----ke- JI- Ke-ke

*[CHORUS]- YAH

Ke-re-ke-KE- JI- Ke-ke

(repeat 3x)

Ke-RE-ke...



Photos 162 (m) & (n): *Fela Counter-Power Of Bad Teachers And Perpetrators of Bad Leaders Of Bad Governance*

*All the wabala***, *all the problems*, **(*affliction / trouble*)
All the things, all the things they go do,
For this world go start,
*When the teacher, schoolboy & schoolgirl jam** together **(*meet*)*
Who be teacher?
I go let you know...
(repeat 3x)
*When we be pikin**, **[child]*
 *[CHORUS] 'FATHA/ MAMA" BE TEACHER
When we dey for school
 *[CHORUS] TEACHER BE TEACHER
When we dey University
 *[CHORUS] LECTURER BE TEACHER
When we start to work
 *[CHORUS] GOVERNMENT BE TEACHER
Who be government teacher?
 *[CHORUS] CU-ULTURE AND TRADITION
Who be government teacher?
 *[CHORUS] CU-ULTURE AND TRADITION
Cu-ulture and tradition
 *[CHORUS] CU-ULTURE AND TRADITION
Cu-ulture and tradition
 *[CHORUS] CU-ULTURE AND TRADITION
Now the problem side, of a teaching student-ee
I go sing about
I don pass pikin, I don pass school, university, se-fa pass
As I don start to work, na government I must se-fa pass
Da go for France
 *[CHORUS] YES SIR (*after each line) [*occasionally "YES MAAM"*]
Engi-land
Italy
Germany
Na dem culture
For der'
Be teacher
For dem
Go China

Russia
Korea
Viet Nam
Na dem culture
For der'
Be teacher
For dem
Go Syria
Jordan

Iran
Iraq
Na dem culture
For der'
Be teacher
For dem

Let us face ourselves for Afrika
Na de matter of Afrika
This part-ee of my song
Na all the problems of this world
In we dey carry, for Afrika
Wey no go ask-ee me
**[CHORUS] WHICH ONE?*
(repeat 4x)

Problems of inflation
**[CHORUS] WHICH ONE? (after each line)*
Problems of corruption
Of mismanagement
Stealing by government
Nothing dey we carry
All over Afrika
Na de latest one
Na him dey make me laugh
Austeri-
**[CHORUS] AUSTERITY *(after each line) *(belt tightening/ rationing)*
Austeri-
Na him dey latest one
Na him dey make me laugh
Why I dey laugh?

*Man no fit cry?
Who be our teacher na Oyinbo?
Who be our teacher na Oyinbo?
A na false, the first election
And the second election held in Nigeria
Na the second election na it was na pass
Boba la nonsense*

[CHORUS] BOBA LA NONSENSE (*repeat after each line) ** (misinform,)*

*Boba la nonsense
He pass o regime-o
He pass corruption
Which kind election be dis?
People na go vote
Dem come get big big numbers
Thousands to thousands
Millions to billions
Which kind election be dis?
Boba la nonsense*

*Na dem-o-cr-a-z-y be the deal-ob
Na dem-o-cr-a-z-y be the deal-ob
Who don teach us ee dem-o-cr-a-z-y?
(bo-ptch) Oyinbo** teach-ee us ** (foreigner/ white)
(yuh-ngb) Oyinbo for Europe –oh
Oyinbo teach us many many things-ee
Many of dem things I don sing about-ee
Me I no gin copy Oyinbo style
Let us think say, Oyinbo no pass me
When Shagari finish him elections
Wey dem no tell am, say him make mistake
Say this yo, no be democracy
Oyinbo dem no tell army self
Na for England-ee, I me no fit take over
I come think about this demo-crazy*

Democracy

**[CHORUS] DEMO-CRAZY (*after each line)*

*Crazy demo
Demonstration of craze*

Crazy demonstration
If it no be craze
Why for Afrika?
As time dey go
Things just dey bad
They bad more and more
Poor man dey cry
Rich man dey mess
Demo-crazy
Crazy demo
Demonstration of craze
Crazy demonstration

If good-u teacher teach-ee something
And be student make mistake
Teacher must talk-ee so
But Oyinbo no talk-ee so
I suffer dem, Dey suffer dem
Dem dey say dey teaching get meaning
Different different meaning
Different different kinds of meaning
That is why I say
That is the reason of my song
That is the conclude
The conclud-ee of my song

I say, I sing, I beg everyone to join my song (3x)
**[CHORUS] TEACHER, TEACHER-O NA THE LECTURER BE*
YOUR NAME

TEACHER, TEACHER-O, NA THE LECTURE BE THE SAME
MAKE-EE NO TEACH-EE ME AGAIN OH
AS SOON TEACHING FINISH YES, DA THING-EE IT GON DIE
IT DEY OH

AS SOON TEACHING FINISH YES, DA THING-EE IT GON DIE
ME & YOU NO DEY FOR THE SAME-EE CATEGORY (4X)

**[CHORUS] NOT THE SAME CATEGORY OH*

*Category *(repeat/Lead fills vocally)*

Not the same category oh...

(KEY SOLO, etc)

Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-KE, Ke-re-JI-KE-KE

*[CHORUS]- YAH
 Ke-re-ke- JI- Ke-ke
 CHORUS)- YAH
 -----ke- JI- Ke-ke
 *[CHORUS]- YAH
 Ke-re-ke-KE- JI- Ke-ke
 (repeat 3x)

*[CHORUS] TEACHER, TEACHER-O NA THE LECTURER BE
 YOUR NAME

TEACHER, TEACHER-O, NA THE LECTURE BE THE SAME
 MAKE-EE NO TEACH-EE ME AGAIN OH
 AS SOON TEACHING FINISH YES, DA THING-EE IT GON DIE
 IT DEY OH

AS SOON TEACHING FINISH YES, DA THING-EE IT GON DIE
 ME & YOU NO DEY FOR THE SAME-EE CATEGORY (4X)

*[CHORUS] NOT THE SAME CATEGORY OH

Category *(repeat/Lead fills vocally)

Not the same category oh

“Coffin for Head of State” was provoked by Fela’s ruthless and untimely death from the hands of the military. When in 1978, Fela’s mother, who was a government worker and civil activist, died of injuries inflicted by the military during an attack on Fela’s compound, the Kalakuta Shrine, during which they threw Fela’s mother from the window of the second floor, Fela and his followers of his Movement Of The People Party, carried an effigy of his mother’s coffin to the Dordan barracks, residence of Fela’s two noted enemies, General Olusegun Obasanjo and Lt. CML. Y’Aradua. In protest, Fela and his MOP put the coffin down, and forced the army to take it. General Obasanjo and Lt. Cml. Y’Aradua finally helped to carry the coffin into the barracks.

This how Fela used this lyric to immortalize his dead mother and lambast the military of Nigeria for their ruthless and lawless extravagancies. In blasting out verbal injuries against the military, especially to Obasanjo and Y’Aradua, about their military corrupt practices and the wreckless and gangster-like behaviour of the military that had no regard for the people they claimed to be serving. Like in *Beasts Of No Nation*, he was quick to point out this state recklessness had also caught up with the arbitrary behaviour of the military which had fortified the arbitrary and artificial religious and ethnic boundaries;

as well as the religious hypocrisy where the same people who invoked God were bent in committing atrocities just like Obasanjo and Y'Aradua.

Fela used this lyric as usual to raise public awareness on the wreckless government and religious ministers and religious leaders who had connived with the Government to exploit the people and leave them in their poverty. Fela was pointing out how in his travels all over the country and even all Africa he had witnessed the phenomenon where the wretched and the poor were neglected by the state and the pastors who lived lavishly in luxury. Fela highlights the misery and unhappiness of his people, while the corruption and greed of the colonial-influenced Nigerian Government lived lavishly and squandered shamelessly and with all impunity the people's and the country's wealth and resources.

Fela emerged as that lone prophet of his people in a country where not only the political leaders had gone crazy because of the pecuniarised and monetized post-colonial society of bastardised independence where the people started fighting to assume the positions of the "power vacuum" left by the colonial slave-driven capitalist economy, where the best performer was recognized by the amount of wealth he or she made by stealing either from the treasuries of the tax payers of the country or from the pulpit-boxes of the alms-givers of the Churches.



Photos 162 (a) & (b): Fela The Nail On The "Coffin For Head Of State" Vindicator Of Fela's Mother Fumilayo, Political Activist, Assassinated By The Military Regime

Fela appeared therefore in this advocacy and protest against the contradictions of rapacious gluttony and corruption of state agents and

political leaders to be the odd man out. He was therefore hated and despised by all his contemporaries in power because he undertook to sensitise the masses and act as advocate for the voiceless poor and downtrodden.

This might explain how Carlos Moore (1982) has come to analyse the contributions of Fela by showing that it was full of all the social contradictions and the strong-minded stamina of this original Pan African prophet who decided to tackle the corruptions and aberrations of Neo-Colonialism that was being practiced by Africa's own people against their own people:

‘Fela’s rise in the early 1970s paralleled the downfall of the hopes Africans pinned on their newly won Independence. As a whole, Africans were again living in incarcerated societies; Nigeria, he said, was a “prison of peoples”. Africa had fallen mostly into the hands of uncaring thieves and scoundrels who were unmindful of wrecking society in order to sustain insolent lifestyles. To reclaim Africa’s stolen dignity became Fela’s obsession. As many of these new countries turned into terror-drenched, neo-colonial states, Fela summoned his people to return to their senses and principles of old: self-pride, self-reliance, and decency rooted in traditional cultural norms. To achieve these, he prescribed forsaking the corrupting ways of Western society, its capitalist greed, its Communist despotism, the straitjacket moral conventions of Judeo-Christianity and Islam. He saw imperialism, colonialism and racism as scourges to be universally eradicated, and the structures that sustain them dismantled, before humankind could advance. Fela’s seismic music infused freshness into the reality of rotten politics. In song after song, he summoned revolt, not solely against erstwhile tyrants and exploiters (“Zombie,” “Army Arrangement,” “Coffin for Head of State”) but against self-damaging prejudices and assimilationist alienation (“Yellow Fever,” “Colonial Mentality,” “Teacher, Don’t Teach Me No Nonsense,” “Gentleman,” “Lady”). He chastised the West (“International Thief Thief,” “Underground System”) and the local elites that fronted for multinationals (“Beasts of No Nation,” “Government of Crooks”). Ordinary Africans embraced songs such as “Shakara,” “Sorrow Tears and Blood,” “Upside Down” and “Why Black Man Dey Suffer” for accurately mirroring their frustrations. They welcomed the graphic words of “Expensive Shit” or “Who No Know Go Know” as down-to-earth explanations for their lowly condition. More importantly, Fela’s music was a clarion proclamation that it was possible to reverse their lot (“Water No Get Enemy,” “Africa Center of the World”). Groomed and pampered in youth by a pre-independence middle class but morphed by Black Power and pan-Africanist politics into a revolutionary ghetto hero, Fela voiced relentless condemnation of the so-called New Africa, attracting to himself a deluge of repression. His personal life became a harrowing tale of police beatings, victimization by the court system, near-death encounters with the Nigerian military.”

I endeavour to present most of Fela lyrics to show how a common theme running through his lyrics enforces Fela's advocacy for social justice, human rights and anti-corruption and good governance which were his main preoccupation.

Fela will forever remain as the most viral critic and human rights activist and political sociologist and mass media and communication specialist Africa ever produced in one person at a given time.

COFFIN FOR HEAD OF STATE

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen

Woh! Abbbbbb Ch! Abbbb! Ch! Ch!

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord

**[CHORUS] AMEN, AMEN, AMEN – [AFTER EACH LINE]*

By the Grace of Almighty Lord

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord

By the Grace of Almighty Lord

Inspiritus Christus, Mass Christus, Mass Christus, Mass Christus,

*Allah, Waku-baru, Hamud, Salem Elekum, Allah *(Muslim prayers)*

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord

By the Grace of Almighty Lord

*So I waka waka waka** *(walk)*

**[CHORUS] WAKA WAKA WAKA- [AFTER EACH LINE]*

I go many places

I see my people

Dem dey cry, cry cry

Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen

Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen

Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen

Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen

I say I waka waka waka

I go many places

I see my people

Dem dey cry, cry, cry

Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen
Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen
Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen
Amen-i, Amen-i, Amen

I say I waka-waka-waka-waka, waka-waka-waka

(HORNS response)

I waka any village anywhere in Africa

I waka any village anywhere in Africa

Pastor's house na 'im dey fine pass

My people dem dey stay for poor surroundings

Pastor's dress na 'im dey clean pass

Be it hard for my people for dem to buy soap

Pastor na 'im dem give respect pass

And dem dey do bad-bad-bad-bad, bad-bad-bad-bad, bad-bad-bad things

Through Jesus Christ our Lord

**[CHORUS] AMEN, AMEN, AMEN - [AFTER EACH LINE]*

By the Grace of Almighty Lord

Inspiritus Christus, Mass Christus, Mass Christus, Mass Christus,

Allah, Waku-baru, Hamud, Salem Elekum, Allah

So I waka waka waka

**[CHORUS] WAKA WAKA WAKA- [AFTER EACH LINE]*

I go many places

I go business places

And I see, see, see

All the bad, bad, bad things

Dem dey do, do, do

Call corruption

And dey call "nepotism"

Inside promotions

And inside all business

I say I waka waka waka

I see, see, see

**[CHORUS] WAKA WAKA WAKA*

So I waka-waka-waka-waka, waka-waka-waka

(HORNS Short response)

I waka any business anywhere in Africa

I waka any business anywhere in Africa

North and South dem get dem policies
One Christian and the other one, Muslim
Anywhere the Muslims dem dey reign
Na senior Allaba-ji na 'im be director *(Islamic leader)*
Anywhere the Christians dem dey reign
Na the best friend to Bishop na 'im be director
It is a known fact that for many thousand years
We Africans, we had our own traditions
These money making organizations
Them come put we Africans in total confusion

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord
 *[CHORUS] AMEN, AMEN, AMEN- [AFTER EACH LINE]
By the Grace of Allmighty Lord
Inspiritus Christus, Mass Christus, Mass Christus, Mass Christus,
Allab, Waku-baru, Hamud, Salem Elekum, Allah

So I waka waka waka
 *[CHORUS] WAKA WAKA WAKA – [AFTER EACH LINE]
I go many places
I go government places
I see, see, see
All the bad, bad, bad things
Dem dey do, do, do
Look Obasanjo,
Before a-
Haba Allah
And den dey do yes, yes
And den dey do bad-bad-bad-bad, bad-bad-bad-bad, bad-bad-bad things
Through Mobbmmed our Lord
 *[CHORUS] AMEN, AMEN, AMEN
By the Grace of Allmighty Allah

*[CHORUS] AMEN, AMEN, AMEN

So I waka waka waka
 *[CHORUS] WAKA WAKA WAKA- [AFTER EACH LINE]
I go many places
I go government places
I see, see, see

All the bad, bad, bad things
Den dey do, do, do
Den steal all the money
Dem kill many students
Dem burn many houses
Dem burn my house too
And killed my mama
So I carry the coffin
I Waka waka waka
Movement of the People *(Fela's political movement)*
Dey Waka waka waka
Young African Pioneers
Waka waka waka
We go Obalende,
We go Dodan barracks
Reach dem gate ee-oh
And put the coffin down
Obasanjo dey there,
With him big fat stomach
Y'aradua dey there,
With him neck like ostrich
We put the coffin down.
Dem no wan take am
**[CHORUS] BUT DEM TAKE AM - [AFTER EACH LINE]*
Dem no wan take am
Who go wan take coffin?
Dem must take am
For the bad bad bad things
Wey dem don do
Dem no wan take am
Obasanjo grab am
Y'aradua carry am
Yes, dem no wan take am
Obasanjo carry am
Y'aradua tow am
Dem no wan take am
Dem no wan take am
It der for dem office
Dem no wan take am
It der dey now now now now

It der dey now, now, now, now
It der dey now, now, now, now
It der dey now, now, now, now
It der dey now, now, now, now
It der dey now, now, now, now

** Repeat as desired*

*CONFUSION BREAK BONE *(live circa 1980)*

I sing dis song some time ago
Call am "Confusion"
Then army never burn my house
Oil money flow for Lagos then

*[CHORUS] LARUDU REPEKE *(after each line)*

Repeke Laru, Laru, laru
Repeke Laru,

My people dey say Nigeria done dey
But me as I see am
I no say, Nigeria go-go down
Our country go dey make-ee money
My people of country no see money

*[CHORUS] LARUDU REPEKE *(after each line)*

Repeke Laru, Laru, laru, laru
Repeke Laru, Laru, laru
I see many many things in Nigeria
I see many wrong things in Nigeria
Some time ago I come sing one song
Repeke Laru, Laru, laru
Repeke Laru,
W'hen I say confusion
Everything out of-ee control
W'hen everything out-ee of control-ee
Go be say, it "Bafuka"-oh

[CHORUS] BAFUKA NA QUENCH (Confusion kills) **(after each line)*

Bafuka fi the hospital-u
Bafuka fit be police station
Bafuka fit be mortuary
Bafuka fit be nortuary

*I sing about one street for Lagos
Called "Ojou Eelegba"
I take a copy how Nigeria be
One crossroad in center town*

[CHORUS] LARUDU REPEKE *(after each line)

*Repeke Laru, Laru, laru, laru
Repeke Laru, Laru, laru*

For "Ojou Eelegba"

For "Ojou Eelegba"

For "Ojou Eelegba"

For "Ojou Eelegba"

Moto dey come from-u East*(car)*

Moto dey come from-u West

Moto dey come from-u North

Moto dey come from-u South

And police-ee man no dey for center (not directing traffic- there are no traffic lights in Lagos)*

Na confusion be dat ee-ob

[CHORUS] BAFUKA NA QUENCH* (Confusion kills) **(after each line)

Bafuka fit the police station

Bafuka fit be hospital

Bafuka fit be mortuary

[CHORUS] CONFUSION NA WAH

Den I say confusion na wait ee-ob

Confusion na wait ee-ob

After be go take, Police-ee Army come burn-u my house

[HORN RESPONSES]

After be go take, Police-ee Army come burn-u my house

I started to think, I started to think-ee think

Dey police wey go help people, not dem dey burn burn so

Say army wey go defend cities, not dem dey burn burn so

*A na time around 1975 and '77 *(dates police/army attacked Fela's home)*

Police go seize expensive goods, dem start to go burn burn dem

Army go go market, and meeting cost money, go burn burn dem (2x)

Why dem like to burn the things wey dey cost-ee money?

Government fit sell to people cheap-ee cheap-ee

*Government fit dash people, we no get-ee money
 And di burn burn, na him dey sweet-ee dem pass (them burn & bribe)
 Na him dey sweet-ee dem pass
 Oya oh, dem burn burn*

[CHORUS} OYA *(after each line)

Oya oh....., dem burn burn

*{Repeat stanza 4x}

My problem is no small at all

Nothing dey for me to sing about

*[HORN RESPONSES]

All di things wey I de see I know like, All of dem I see, I sing about

If something good today I go sing, nothing good is ever dey to sing about

If I sing I say food –u nothing

*[CHORUS] NA OLD-U NEWS-EE BE DAT *AFTER EACH **(*That is old news*)

Dey old-u news-ee be dat-oh

If I sing-ee say, water no dey

Old old old news be dat-ee-oh

If I sing-ee say, electric -ee light no dey

Old old news be dat-ee-oh

If I sing-ee say, Inf-i-lati-on

If I sing-ee say, mismanagement

If I sing-ee say, corrup-u-tion

If I sing-ee say, stealing by government

Old old old news be dat-ee-oh

Di problems still dey ba'gba ra 'gba

I say di problems still dey ba'gba ra 'gba

Dey thing weh dey worry me

How dis robbery come get-ee big-ee head

*[REPEAT last 2 lines 3x]

The first –ee one, na leg-ee robbery

*[CHORUS] LEG-EE ROBBO-ERY *[AFTER EACH]

Where money go pick-ee pockets

Dey man go start take leg-ee wrong

The second one na, armed robbery

**[CHORUS] ARM-O ROBBO-ERY *[AFTER EACH]*

Where man-o go-go steal big things

He go take-ee gun defend himself

The third one, na head-ob robbery

**[CHORUS] HEAD-O ROBBO-ERY *[AFTER EACH]*

Where all pata-pata go-go steal *(everything)*

He go take position, steal all free

Free stealing, na him policy

Head-ee robbery, Which head-ee get-ee no dey steal?

Which president we get-ee never steal?

**[HORN RESPONSES]*

Dem come go hold Shagari, dem say President Shagari steal

But Shagari don talk before, na empty treasury him meet for der

**[CHORUS WITH LEAD] CONFUSION BREAK-EE BONE-EE, YEPÀ*

**[CHORUS WITH LEAD] CONFUSION BREAK-EE BONE-EE, YEPÀ,*

**[CHORUS WITH LEAD] DOUBLE WAHALA FOR DEAD-EE BODY*

**[CHORUS WITH LEAD] ABIOLÀ OH DEAD-EE BODY*

**[REPEAT STANZA MANY TIMES/ LEAD IMPROV VOX]*

Confusion which was a follow up of the “Coffin for Head of State” criticises how much bad governance had taken hold of Nigeria whose military leaders were much unschooled in the art of governance. Having been drilled like “Zombies” and taught how to salivate when they hear their master’s voice; and to obey and execute whatever orders they receive without questioning, they found it difficult to exercise the art of good governance. Actually after the military takeover of power after the Military coup d’état of 26th January 1966, Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu (1967) challenged Lt. Col. Yacubu Gowon for his incompetence in governing Nigeria. Immediately after the military coup d’état, it was very evident, after the successive coup d’état that followed that the military were incapable of governing Nigeria. This was because they knew only how to apply blindly the use of force massacring civilians without any precaution in the name of keeping peace. Since they did not know how to manage dialogue, peace and governance, they pushed the Biafran faction into secession and initiated the Nigerian civil war where Nigerian forces did not

only practice ethnic cleansing of the Igbos, but also used the ruthless inhumane weapon of starvation and the unethical induced hunger to win the war.

After the civil war, the military continued with their hard fisted policy against citizens in the name of curbing delinquency and indiscipline. That is how they went after Fela and his activist mother to club them down because they were very vocal in their critique about the uncouth governance of the Nigerian military. The post-civil war period, especially the 1970s and 1980s, was rife with military coup d'états and confusion of the ruling military class. That explains why there were so many military coups and power struggle among the military of Nigeria from the 1970s to the late early 2000s when the last military tyrant, Sani Abacha was overthrown and civilian rule was ushered in through the able body of a retired military ruler, General Olusegun Obasanjo.

It is within this background that one can understand the plight of Fela in a country ruled for a long time by “Zombies” whose only manner of governing was, like in Will Smith’s film on the programmed robots, was to act mercilessly without any emotions, feelings or reasoning.

This was the confusion Fela was referring to in his lyrics “Confusion” where he criticizes the Military Government to kill innocent people, to burn down cities, to burn down individual homes in the name of insecurity.

That is how Fela, after he was followed up and charged for using drugs, and locked up in the Alagbon prison, tricked his jailers after they monitored him to collect his feces for testing, by presenting the feces of another inmate of the prison to the police, who found it as clean as a baby’s (Carlos Moore, 1982). Fela then wrote “Expensive Shit” to insult the incompetence of the Nigerian police when it comes to forensic investigation. Expensive Shit exposed the tom-foolery and incompetence of the entire military regime of Nigeria.

EXPENSIVE SHIT

Eran na goat-ee-o, for Yoruba land

Eran na goat-ee-o, for Yoruba land

Him go bend him yansb him go shit *(ass)*

Him go come-o away from him shit

Him shit go be the last thing wey he go like to see

Because why o

[CHORUS- BECAUSE THE SHIT DEY SMELL] After each line

Because why-o

Obo na monkey for Yoruba land

Him go bend him yansh him go shit

Him go come-o away from him shit

Him shit go be the last thing wey he go like to see

Because why-o

[CHORUS- BECAUSE THE SHIT DEY SMELL] After each line

Because why-o

Obinrin na woman for Yoruba land

Obinrin na woman for Yoruba land

She go bend she yansh she go shit

She go come-o away from she shit

She shit go be the last thing wey she go like to see

Because why-o

[CHORUS- BECAUSE THE SHIT DEY SMELL] After each line

Because why-o

Okunrin na man for Yoruba land

Okunrin na man for Yoruba land

Him go bend him yansh him go shit

Him go come-o away from him shit

Shit go be the last thing wey he go like to see

Because why-o

[CHORUS- BECAUSE THE SHIT DEY SMELL] After each line

Because why-o

Tell me now now

Me I be Fela, I be black power man

Me I be Fela, I be black power man

I go bend my yansh I go shit

I go come-o away from the shit

The shit go be the last thing wey I go like to see

No be so for some fools wey I de know

No be so for some stupid people I know

No be so for some fools wey I de kno

*People wey go like to quench** your soul ** (kill/ destroy)*

People wey go like to quench your soul

*[CHORUS] IN ALAGBON** -O * (after each line) ** Alagbon prison*

Them go use your shit to put you for jail

And don tell my shit too expensive shit

My shit na exhibit, it must not lost-o

And don tell my shit too expensive shit

My shit na exhibit, it must not los- o

In Alagbon-o

In Alagbon-o

In Alagbon-o

In Alagbon -o

FEAR NOT FOR MAN

Doctor Kwame Nkrumah

The Father of Pan-Africanism

Says to all black people

All over the world:

‘The secret of life is to have no fear’.

Now we all have to understand that

I`m a man

I`m a man

Run run run I no go run

Run run I no go run

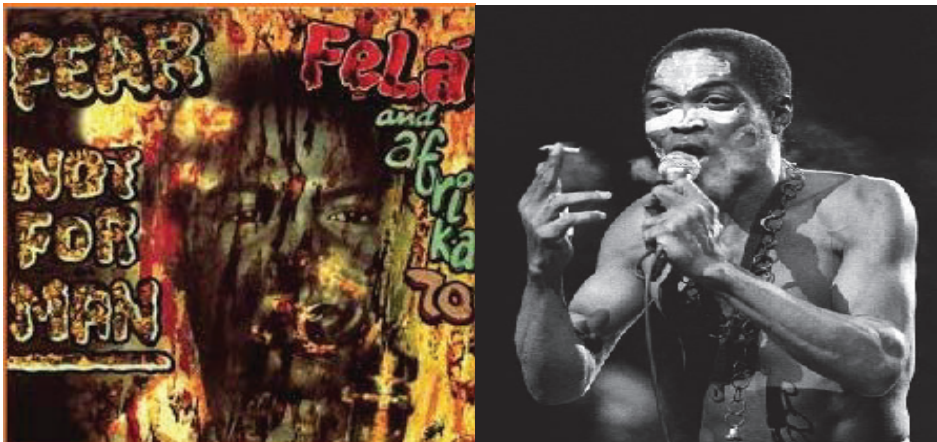
Brothers and sisters

Na GOAT dey run, n MAN dey stand

I`m a man I`m a man

Fela did not spare the International Multi-Nationals who exploited Africa and did not as much as respected the principles of corporate social responsibility for the communities whose resources they exploited to make themselves rich to the detriment of the community. He castigates the colonial Whiteman for introducing the slave-driven capitalist economy which has transformed many Africans into slaves and carriers of shit. When the International Telephone and Telegraph – ITT was introduced in Nigeria, puppets were put in power as representatives of the company. According to Carlos Moore (1982) these puppet leaders were tricked and used by these companies, only to become equally greedy and ruthless. Fela saw all these manoeuvres and criticized them bitterly. As Carlos Moore would have it:

“Europeans came & forced their ways on Africa. Long ago, Africans didn’t carry shit, we shat in a big hole (as evidenced by words for this hole in many African tribal languages-Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Ashanti ...). When the Europeans came to colonalise us, it was part of their culture to carry shit & taught us Africans to do it, too. They have turned us into agbepo, waste carriers (the lowest members of society). Foreign companies confuse & trick Africans by manipulating (English) words in the newspaper. They subvert & control Africa using the same method: they find a stupid, greedy, & dishonest African, pay him a million Naira (Nigerian money), he bribes others to become a chief, but who acts in European interests. Like a rat, creeps here and there, gaining power by befriending journalists, religious leaders, & government officials. Once in power, he begins embezzling, inflation, confusion, oppression... Two examples of this are Obasanjo (Head of the military) and Abiola (CEO of International Telephone & Telegraph). We must fight them. We refuse to carry their shit any longer.



*Photos 162 (q) & (r): Fela The Voice Of The Suppressed People And The Voiceless
The Greatest Fearless Man Who Is A Man*

INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF

**[CHORUS] INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF (x3)*

I.T.T

**[CHORUS] INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF – [AFTER EACH LINE]*

International Thief

Oh

**[CHORUS] INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF (x2) [Bass Guitar enters]*

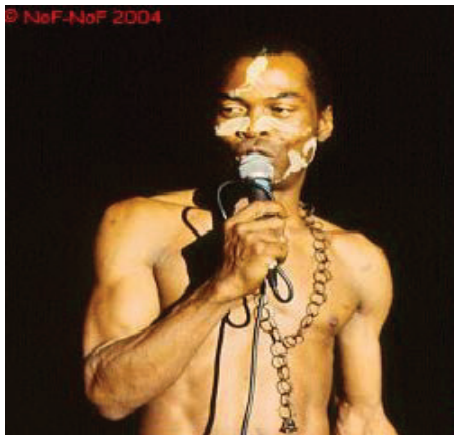
I.T.T.

*[CHORUS] INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF – [AFTER EACH LINE]

International rogue

Oh, eh

*(CHORUS) INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF (x2)



Photos 162 (s) & (t): Fela The Whistle-Blower Against International And Multi-National Thief-Thief Organisations And Corporations In Africa

<<[Drums change]>>

*Wella wella wella wella, wella wella wella wella, wella wella wella wella, wella
wella wella wella-- Ha (x2)*

*Wella**, **(this is true)*

wella wella wella,

Wella wella wella wella, wella

Wella wella wella wella, wella wella

*Wella wella * [Rhythmic- improvise]*

Wella wella wella wella, wella

Wella wella wella wella, wella wella wella wella, wella wella wella wella wella,

wella wella wella---Ha - Yeh- Ch – Ch – Ch – Ch

Mother fuckers, Bastard Mother fuckers

*(CHORUS) YEAH –[AFTER EACH LINE]

*You go yab** dem **(make fun of/ abuse)*

Hurry up der

Say, “yeah”

Wella well, na true I want talk again o

*(CHORUS) WELL WELL – [AFTER EACH LINE]

Na true I want talk again o

If I dey lie o

Make Osiri punish me

Make Ifa dey punish me o

Make Edumare punish me o

Make the land dey punish me o

Make Edumare punish me o

I read 'em for book ee-o

I see so myself ee-o (2x on the 3rd repetition)

Well-ee well-ee o

*(CHORUS/LEAD) WELL WELL-EH-EH-EH-EH-EH-EH-ELL-
WELL WELL

Well-ee well-ee o

*(CHORUS/LEAD) WELL WELL-EH-EH-EH-EH-EH-EH-ELL- WELL

WELL [REPEAT

STANZA 3X]

Long time ago

Long, long time ago

*(CHORUS) LONG TIME AGO – [AFTER EACH LINE]

Long, long, long, long time ago

African man we no dey carry shit

We dey shit in-side big big hole

For Yourba-land in na "Shalanga"

For Igbo-land in na "Onunu-insi"

For Hausa-land in na "Salunga"

For Ga-land in na "Tiafi"

For Ashanti-land in na "Yarni"

For Ethiopia-land in na "Sagara-bet"

For Kikuyu-land in na "Cho-Cho"

For Bemba-land in na "Chimbuzi"

For Tunga-land in na "Echibuzi"

Long, long, long, long time ago

African man we no dey carry shit

We dey shit inside big big hole

Long, long, long, long time ago

Long, long, long, long time ago

Before them come force us away as slaves

*During the time them come force us away as slaves
Na European man, na him dey carry shit
Na for them culture to carry shit
During the time dem come colonize us
Dem come teach us to carry shit
Long, long, long, long time ago
African man web no dey carry shit
Na European man teach us to carry shit*

*Many foreign companies dey Africa carry all our money go
*(CHORUS) SAY AM, SAY AM –[AFTER EACH LINE]
Many foreign companies dey Africa carry all our money go
Dem go write big English for newspaper, Dabaru* we Africans *(ruin/ confuse)
Dem go write big English for newspaper, Dabaru we Africans
I read about one of them inside book like that- Them call him name na I.T.T
I read about one of them inside book like that- Them call him name na I.T.T*

*Them go dey cause confusion
*(CHORUS) CONFUSION
Cause corruption
*(CHORUS) CORRUPTION
Cause oppression
*(CHORUS) OPPRESSION
Cause inflation
(CHORUS) INFLATION

*Dem go dey,
Cause oppression
*(CHORUS) OPPRESSION
Cause confusion
*(CHORUS) CONFUSION
Cause corruption
*(CHORUS) CORRUPTION
Cause inflation
(CHORUS) INFLATION

*Cause oppression
*(CHORUS) OPPRESSION
Cause confusion
(CHORUS) CONFUSION

Cause inflation

*(CHORUS) INFLATION

Cause oppression

*(CHORUS) OPPRESSION

Oppression, Opression, Inflation, Corruption, Opression, Inflation----

**[SAX RESPONSES AFTER EACH LINE]

Dem get one style wey dem dey use

Dem go pick one African-i man

A man with low mentality

Them go give am million naira breads

To become of high position here

Him go bribe some thousand naira bread

To become one useless-i chief

Like rat dey do, dem go,

Dey do from

Corner corner pass-ee, pass-ee

Under, under pass-ee, pass-ee

Inside-ee, Inside-ee pass-ee, pass-ee

In-ee, in-ee, pass-ee, pass-ee

Out-ee, out-ee, pass-ee, pass-ee

Peep-peep, peep-peep, pass-ee pass-ee

In-ee, in-ee, pass-ee, pass-ee

Corner corner, pass-ee, pass-ee

Under, under, pass-ee, pass-ee

Inside-ee, Inside-ee, pass-ee, pass-ee

Over world, pass-ee, pass-ee

Corner corner, pass-ee, pass-ee

Under, under, pass-ee, pass-ee

Inside- inside

Then he gradually, gradually, gradually, gradually (2x)

Them go be:

Friend friend to journalist

Friend to friend to Commissioner

Friend friend to Permanent Secretary

Friend to friend to Minister

Friend to friend to Head of State

Then start start to steal money

Start start them corruption

Start start them inflation
Start start them oppression
Start start them confusion
Start start them oppression
Start start to steal money
Start start to steal money
Like Obasanjo and Abiola

*(CHORUS) INTERNATIONAL THIEF THIEF - [AFTER EACH
LINE

I.T.T

International rogue

International thief
Go fight dem,

Well well

*(CHORUS) WELL WELL - [AFTER EACH LINE]

Wella wella

We don tire

to carry

anymore of

them shit

**[repeat indefinitely, add next stanza occasionally]

KALAKUTA SHOW

Make we talk something

We never talk before and

We dey see am everyday

(Abh...Ohhh....Sh-sh-sh-sh-sh)

*repeat 2x

Look de man be dey waka

*[CHORUS] GAGA GUGU GAGA GUGU

*repeat

Hungry dey run for him face

*[CHORUS] WOKO WOKO WOKO WOKO

*repeat

Him pepeye cap for him head*

**[CHORUS] PEPE PEPE PEPE PEPE*

**repeat*

Him khaki woolen shirt for him body

**[CHORUS] WULU WULU WULU WULU*

**repeat*

Him trouser dey fly above him knee

**[CHORUS] YAYA YAYA YAYA YAYA*

**repeat*

The people wey employ da man

Give him permit to carry the thing

Weh bad

Dem give him permit to carry baton

Dem give him permit to carry tear-gas

Dem give him permit to carry bullet

Him fit carry basket for protection too *(helmet)*

Na so we dey see am every day

No so he dey happen every day

One day

**[CHORUS] SATURDAY*

One day

**[CHORUS] SATURDAY MORNING*

The whole thing change

One day

**[CHORUS] 5 A.M.*

One day

**[CHORUS] NOVEMBER 23*

The whole thing change

One day

**[CHORUS] 1974*

One day- Kalakuta Show

One day

**[CHORUS] SATURDAY*

One day

**[CHORUS] SATURDAY MORNING*

Kalakuta Show

**[CHORUS] 1979*

Kalakuta Show
Dem make sure dem
Use tear-gas, baton & bullet
**repeat*
Dem use them basket

For protection too

**repeat*

Dem do one thing

Dem never do before

**repeat 3x*

Dem-o hire ... axe-o... dem-o bring... cutlass

**[CHORUS] DEM-O HIRE... AXE-O... DEM BU-RING... CUTLASS*

**repeat under verses:*

Kalakuta show-o-o

Kalakuta show (una na na na na na na na na)

Kalakuta Show (2x)

Babu wire dem-o cut

Look fence dem break

Look gate dem fall

Everybody dey run

Look head dem break

Look blood him dey flow

Kalakuta show o-o

Kalakuta show

Na na na na na na na

*Look loya** him dey come ** (lawyer)*

Him be loya him dey come

Look loya dem beat

Look loya him dey run

Look loya him dey run

Kalakuta show o-o

Kalakuta show

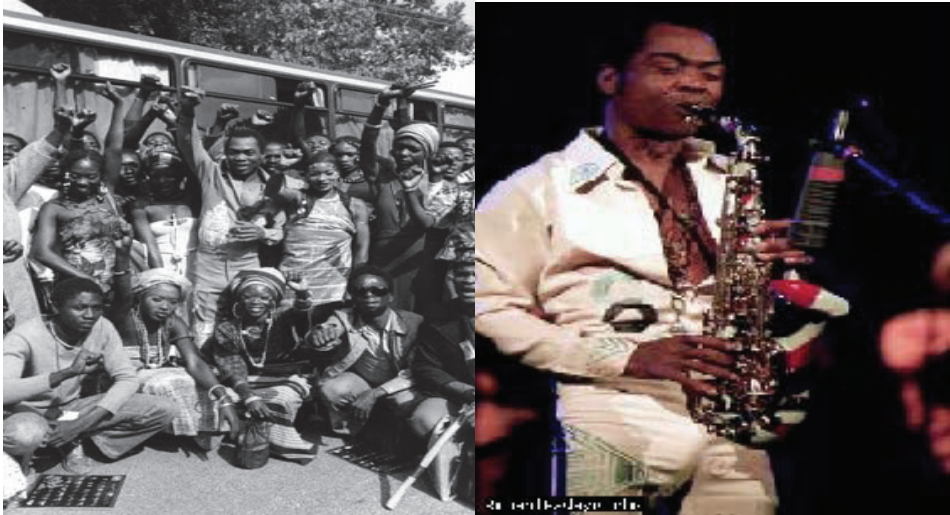
**Etc....*

>Organ solo

>Sax solo

>End with bass/percussion under solo sax

The Kalakuta Show was the lyric in which Fela described one of the most violent attacks on Kalakuta as it was alleged that Fela had abducted a girl who had willingly sought shelter there. After she herself had testified in support of Fela, he was eventually exonerated. But the damage had been done. Fela later admitted (Carlos Moore, 1982) that: “The attack was so fucking terrible that I don’t want to talk about it anymore.”



Photos 162 (u) & (v): Fela The Man Of the People And The Trouble Shooter For Social Change

NO AGREEMENT

*(CHORUS) NO AGREEMENT TODAY, NO AGREEMENT
TOMORROW - 2X

I no go agree make my brother hungry, make I no talk

*(CHORUS) LA LA LA LA ! LA LA ! - [AFTER EACH LINE]

I no go agree make my brother jobless, make I no talk

I no go agree make my brother homeless, make I no talk

My grandpapa talk, your grandpapa talk

My grandmama talk, your grandmama talk

Your papa talk, my papa talk

My mama talk, your mama talk

Those wey no talk them they agree

I no go agree make my brother hungry, make I no talk

*(CHORUS) LA LA LA LA ! LA LA !

No agreement today, no agreement tomorrow

**(CHORUS) NO AGREEMENT TODAY, NO AGREEMENT
TOMORROW – [AFTER EACH LINE*

No agreement now, later, never and ever

GO SLOW

Go slow, go slow *(traffic jam)*

*[CHORUS] GO SLOW, GO SLOW *[after each line]*

Go slow, go slow

Go slow, go slow

Go slow, go slow

Go slow, go slow

Man must be man for him land-ee-o

I say, man must be man for him land-ee-o

You musta agree with me

Man must dey work for him land-ee-o.....

You musta agree with me

Man must dey chop for him land-ee-o

You musta agree with me

When go slow catch you for your house

*[CHORUS] OLE MAKE-I YE-I-YE** *[after each line] **play*

Impossible

Impossibility

Impossibilityism

Impossibilityismalogy

[Nonsense syllables]

Impossibilityismalogicalization

Impossibilityismalogicalization, Baba *[Father]*

When go slow catch you for your house

When go slow catch you for your house

When go slow catch you for your house

You dey make your business every day

Then your head start to ache

Because car crush dey for your head

*Your nose start to run
Because water pour cool for your head
You dey cough-cough every time
Because kelebe de for your throat
You dey shaky-shaky like a paper
Because your yansh cold like ice*

Go slow catch you

*[CHORUS] GO SLOW, GO SLOW *^[after each line]*

Go slow don't come

Go slow, go slow....Go slow, go slowHub

You dey make your business every day

Then you buy your motor car

Or you join your public transport

Then you start to go for work

Then suddenly, suddenly, suddenly

Lorry dey for your front

Tipa dey for your back

Motorcycle dey for your left-ee-o

Taxi-moto dey for your right

Helicopter dey fly fly for your top-o

You self don dey for cell

Go slow catch you

*[CHORUS] GO SLOW, GO SLOW *^[after each line]*

Go slow don't come

Go slow, go slow.....Go slow, go slow.... Hub

Man must be man for him land-ee-o

**^[HORN Responses]*

You musta agree with me

Man must dey chop for him land-ee-o

You musta agree with me

When go slow catch you for your house

*[CHORUS] OLE MAKE-I YE-I-YE** *^[after each line] **play*

Impossible
Impossibility
Impossibilityism
Impossibilityismalogy
Impossibilityismalogicalization
Ole make-I ye-I-ye

OPPOSITE PEOPLE

Them go show-ee-o, them go show
Them go show themselves clear clear
Them go show-ee-o
Them go show-ee-o, them go show
Opposite people
Them go show themselves clear, clear
Them go show

Anywhere them dey
[CHORUS] THEM GO SHOW *[AFTER EACH LINE]
Anywhere them dey
Them go show themselves
Opposite people

Everyone dey dance
Dey dance for enjoyment
*[CHORUS] DEY DANCE
Everyone dey talk
Dey talk for communication
*[CHORUS] DEY TALK
Everyone dey hear
Dey hear for ideology
*[CHORUS] DEY HEAR
Everyone dey think
Dey think for him progress
*[CHORUS] DEY THINK

Now now but look am, him don show himself
Opposite people
I say look am, him don show himself
Opposite people

I say look am, him don show himself
Opposite people
I say look the thing him don show himself

Everyone dey dance, him go push
Everyone dey talk, him go shout
Everyone dey bear, him go sleep
Everyone dey think, him go drink

Everyone dey dance
*[CHORUS] HIM GO PUSH
Everyone dey talk
*[CHORUS] HIM GO SHOUT
Everyone dey bear
*[CHORUS] HIM GO SLEEP
Everyone dey think
*[CHORUS] HIM GO DRINK

See, him don show himself

Him go dey shakara *(show off/ boast)*
Him go dey kata-kata *(commotion)*
Him go dey shakara

[Chorus]
Him go dey shakara!
Him go dey kata-kata!
Him go dey shakara!

Them don show themselves
Opposite people
Them don show themselves

Him go dey shakara
Him go dey kata-kata

Him go dey shakara
Kata-kata put am together
ORIGINAL SUFFERHEAD
Water Light

Food House

*Ye paripa O** *(exclamation of despair)*

*Wetin** do them *(what)*

You mean you don't know

Wetin do them

I go tell you

Wetin do them

You go bear am

Wetin do them

That means to say you no dey

For Nigeria be that

You see yourself

You no dey for Africa at all

You must dey come from London

New York, from Germany, from Italy...

That means to say you no

dey Nigeria be that

You see yourself you no de for

Afrika at all

If you dey for Africa where we dey

you go know

I go know wetin

Plenty, about water, light, food, house

I go know wetin

Plenty plenty water for Africa

Na so-so water in Africa

Water underground, water in the air

Na so-so water in Africa

*Water for man to drink nko** O *(so what)*

**(CHORUS) E-NO DEY*

E-no dey e dey

**(CHORUS) E-NO DEY*

Water for town

**(CHORUS) E-NO DEY*

Government sef e dey?

**(CHORUS) E-NO DEY*

Plenty, plenty light for Afrika
Na so-so energy for Africa
Na the big-big men dey get electrica
If them no get electric dem go
If they don`t get electricity
Get plant O
Ordinary light for man nko O

*(CHORUS) E-NO DEY
E-no dey e dey?

*(CHORUS) E-NO DEY

Plenty, plenty food for Africa
Food under-ground,
Food on the ground
Na so-so plenty food for Africa
Ordinary food for man for chop nko O ** (eat)*

E-no dey
Government sef e dey?
E no dey
Dodo nko?
Ten kobo for one

Akara nko? twenty kobo for one (2x)
Bread nko? fourty kobo for one
E no dey
Government sef e dey?
E no dey

House matter na different matter
Those wey dey for London dem
Those wey dey New York dem
They leave dey like kings

We wey ele for Afrika
We dey leave like servants
United Nations dem come

*Get name for us
Dem go call us under developed nation
We must be underdeveloped
To dey stay ten-ten in one room O
First and second dey*

*Dem go call us Third World
We must dey craze for head
To dey sleep inside dust-bin
Dem go call us none-aligned nations
We must dey craze for head
To dey sleep under bridge O*

Ordinary house for man

*To leave nko O?
*(CHORUS) E NO DEY
Trouble
E yen dey** *(it is there)
Water?
E no dey** *(it is not there)
Wabala** *(affliction/ trouble)
E yen dey
Food
E no dey
Trouble
E yen dey
House
E no dey
Wabala*

*E yen dey
Dem come turn-us to suffer-head* to *(suffer-man)
Original Suffer-head
It' s time for Jefa**-Head O *(lucky man)
Original Jefa-Head O
Dem turn us to Suffer-head O
(CHORUS) ORIGINAL SUFFERHEAD

It' s time for Jefa-Head O

*I want to tell you my brother
One bitter truth
Before we all are to Jefa-head O
We must be ready to fight for am now*

*Me I say sufferhead must go O O
Original Sufferhead
Jefa-Head must come
QUESTION JAM ANSWER
When question drop for mouth,
Question go start to run,
When answer drop for mouth,
Answer run after am,
When answer jam question for road*

*Another thing go shale-o
Another thing go shale-o
Another thing go shale-o*

*When question drop for mouth,
Question go start to run,
When answer drop for mouth,
Answer run after am,*

*When answer jam** question for road **(meet/crash)
Another thing go shale-o*

*Why you mash my leg for ground?
You no see my leg for road?
Why you mash my leg for ground?
You no see my leg for road?*

*Question dem drop for mouth,
Question go start to run,
Question dem drop for mouth,
Question go start to run,*

*Why you put your leg for road?
You no see say I dey come?*

*Why you put your leg for road?
You no see say I dey come?*

*Answer dem drop for mouth,
Answer dem start to run,
Answer dem drop for mouth,
Answer dem start to run,*

*When question drop for mouth,
Question go start to run,
When answer drop for mouth,
Answer run after am,
When answer jam question for road
Another thing go shale-o*

Dem e na na na na
**(CHORUS) *ANOTHER THING GO SHALE-O - [AFTER EACH LINE]*

*Dem e na na na na
I now leave things to your imaginatio
When answer jam question for road
Dem e na na na na*

SAX CALLS--- Another thing go shale-o
*(CHORUS) *RESPONSE*
Question Jam Answer: Explanation

People are selfish. Mr. Question stops (jams) Mr. Answer on the road, a surprising thing will happen
For example:
As you sit, someone steps on your leg,
You inquire- "why did you step on me, didn't you see my leg?"
You expect an apology & sympathy
Instead, he responds, "Why did you put your leg in my way,
Didn't you see me coming?"

It can be concluded that Fela, like all Pan Africanist musicians of Africa and the Diaspora, like Miriam Makeba, James Brown, Michael Jackson, Tupak Shakur and Bob Marley, that I have treated in this book; including those Sony Okunson, Sony Ade, Sam Mangwana, Pierre Akendenge, Alpha Blondy, Hugh

Masekela, Lucky Dube, Angelique Kidjo, Salif Keita, Youssour N'Dour, Richard Bona, the Black Mambazo, Lukwa Kwanza, and many others, had always had as the main theme of their lyrics, Liberty, Peace and African Humanism to the world and Humankind.

They had always emerged as the advocates and the voices of the voiceless, militating for the liberation of Africa in a manner no one politician else had ever done. They like the valiant sportsmen and soldiers of African Identity and Pride like Roger Miller have endeavoured to put Africa up on the pinnacle of the global universe with the violence of non-violence to the hardened autocratic leaders of Africa who have transformed Africa into a marketable commodity of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism.

Fela's lot was not different from that of all these advocates of African Liberation for lasting Peace, Social Justice and Happiness of Africans in Africa and the free world. But it would seem none of these musical artists and legends paid the price that was reserved for Fela by the Nigerian Military that used their brutality to enhance their bad governance and corruption that became rampant in Nigeria.

No one has been able to pay Fela that deserving tribute than Carlos Moore (1982) who painstakingly gives us details about the life and legacy of Fela as a true innovative and renascent Pan Africanist the new generation has ever had. Let me present the full narrative of his observation to my readers to appreciate for themselves:

“A life pockmarked by scandal allowed Fela to project himself as indestructibly macho, an image he relished and cultivated. This was as much a manifestation of patriarchal narcissism as an attempt to blunt the fear the Nigerian military's ferocity had instilled into ordinary citizens. Fela was a Promethean spirit, in a constant face-off with Death. In the solace of intimacy, he was jovial, boisterous and loquacious, but he was mercurial – reflective and wistful at times, irascible and distant at others. His father-brother-lover relationship with his wives was overall affectionate, their love and loyalty for him undeniable. But his angry outbursts at errant household members or defaulting band personnel were intimidating. Anyone who knew him well was aware that he was a nurturing democrat as much as a charismatic autocrat. Intensely loyal to friends and family and a profoundly generous man, he could be quite dogmatic, inconsistent and arbitrary in views and behavior, reigning unfettered as a benevolent King over his Kalakuta commune. Much of what Fela said may be questionable, but most of what he actually did is not. Intuitive, and shot-from-the-hip, Fela's ideology was all his own – disjointed and contradictory, but powerful and original. His sincere commitment to the world's underdogs is indisputable, as was his passionate love for Africa. Although his uninhibited life-style openly challenged the nuclear/monogamous

marriage structure, paving the way for progressive discussions of multiple forms of partnership, Fela's take on sexual orientation and identity echoed archaic notions. He recognized the need to renegotiate the social pact between the genders and stood up for the rights of prostitutes as "sexual workers" deserving respect and legal protection. But he exhibited much confusion about homosexuality; faced with such issues, he retreated to the safe ground of established patriarchal/heterosexual socialization. So, what is it about this quixotic rebel and libertine that fascinates us? Partly it was his transgressive deviation from conformity; partly, his willingness to pay a heavy price for defending freedom. Above all, as an artist, he has left us an imperishable music that is indeed classical. His masterly compositions are a sort of people's dictionary, translating into accessible art the complex ills afflicting society. AfroBeat is about social, political and cultural literacy. It confronts the geography of world complacency, greed and fear and calls for a trans-formative insubordination."

Radical Pan Africanism in Apartheid Rhodesia and Apartheid South Africa

A very interesting situation in the history of Pan Africanism is the Pan Africanism that developed in South Africa after the Second World War till 1990 when Nelson Rolihaha Mandela was released from prison after twenty seven years of imprisonment by the Apartheid regime.

Most readers are very familiar with names like Oliver Thambo, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandel, Steve Biko, Winnie Mandela and Miriam Makeba, who have bathed in the publicity and sunshine of the world media for one reason or the other.

It is a fact that South Africa, more than any colonial country in Africa produced in the history of Pan Africanism, the greatest number, and the most revolutionary of activists. The reason for this phenomenon was not due to the fact that the South African colonization and imperialism was different from that of the other countries of Africa, (Fongot Kinni, 2008) as some have tried to mislead others.

Even though after Apartheid many young South Africans found it to be in vogue by identifying with the United States of America and despising the rest of Black Africa, the author endeavoured to bring them to their senses and to let them remember where they were coming from. That is why during the shameful Pavlov-driven xenophobia which disrupted in South Africa, where South Africans had to hound on, butcher and burn other Black Africans from other African countries, under pretext that they had come to take their jobs which they never contributed to create, the author (Fongot Kinni, 2008) was quick to remind them that:

“Many young South Africans who are advocating for their Americanism, and looking down on the rest of Africa and Africans they identify as skewed up unwanted immigrants, are ignorant of the socio-historical facts that when most of their kin were unwanted in the western countries, Africa gave them the humanely needed refuge, shelter, education and food without even asking them to “wash their hands first” before eating. Africans never complained that their taxpayers’ money and money derived from their natural resources was used to fund “Liberation fighters’ Movements” in Southern Africa for thirty years. They kept the flame of solidarity with Southern Africa burning because they believed they all had a common destiny.”

This Pan African humanitarian philosophy was also promoted by the founders and promoters of Pan Africanism in South Africa, like Walter Sisulu Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela and their followers. Robert Sobukwe, one of the early fire brands of Pan Africanism had this to say about Pan Africanism:

“Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Afrika. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree.”

The atrocities and repressions committed against the people of Africa were the same everywhere, if not even worse in some cases like in the Congo where King Leopold committed genocides and transformed the land into a lion’s den where the indigenous people were at the mercy of his mercenaries who butchered and chopped off limbs and even heads of natives who resisted his repressive and barbaric colonial tantrums in the colonies.



Photos 163 (a) & (b): Walter Ulyate Max Sisulu: 18 May 1912 - 5 May 2003

The British were experts of racism in their colonies and practised the same Apartheid laws and rules as well as strategies that were practiced in South Africa. There were segregated residential areas for Whites only; segregated clubs, playgrounds, schools, hospitals even sections in the same church that were the sole reserves of Whites, as in South Africa. Our indigenous lands were declared Crown Lands as in South Africa, where land was confiscated everywhere like in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nigeria, Cameroon. Ghana and given to White Settler farmers. The only difference was in the numbers but the practice was the same everywhere.

This is the reason why young South Africans must not betray the legacies of the founders of Pan Africanism and the various Liberation Movements that

fought for the emancipation of South Africa and Africa. And as Robert Sobukwe further predicted:

“The wheel of progress revolves relentlessly and all the nations of the world take their turn at the field-glass of human destiny. Africa will not retreat! Africa will not compromise! Africa will not relent! Africa will not equivocate! And she will be heard! Remember Africa!”

These epitaphic eternal ideas of self-determination were engraved in the minds and hearts of Walter Sisulu, when he along with William Nkomo and Lionel Majombozi, mobilized the youths to attend the ANC annual Conference of 1944 at Bloemfontein; and pushed on for the establishment of the ANC Youth wing. When Walter Sisulu, Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Ashley Mda were finally elected to head the executive committee of the newly established ANC Youth League, they all sealed this trust with the determination to free South Africa and Africa from White Apartheid, colonial imperialism and domination.

The colonial legacy of Apartheid aberration in the Youth League, as it turned out, like in all British Victorian Africa, was the absence of women representation. The first ANC Youth League Wing founding Conference of the Transvaal branches in 1944 was hyper androgenous, with only one woman in attendance, Albertina Sisulu, wife of Water Sisulu, out of approximately 200 men present at the founding conference. The ANC Youth League (Gastrow, S.,1992, Joyce, P.,1999) wing also adopted a political philosophy characterised by the militant African nationalism spearheaded by the fire brand Anton Lembede, and by the pragmatic non-violent stance promoted by Walter Sisulu who was also influenced by the ANC collaboration with the Communist Party and the Indian Congress. According to Gastrow, (1992) and P Joyce, (1999) it was through the adoption of the pragmatic and fearless strategic skills that the ANC developed into a mass-based militant national organisation with a daring political clout, as they amply elaborate that:

“During the Second World War, Sisulu campaigned against Black South Africans joining the army. He supported the Youth League in pressing for the reform of the ANC and for the ANC to adopt boycotts and other forms of direct action to address the needs of the disenfranchised. During this period he had his first clash with the police when he was charged after a scuffle on a train with a white ticket collector who had confiscated an African child’s season ticket. During the 1946 African Mineworkers’ Strike, which was opposed by the ANC, Sisulu was approached and agreed to sabotage the railway line between Soweto and New Canada station. However,

the person who had promised to provide him with the bomb did not arrive and this early use of sabotage as a tactic of resistance failed. Sisulu rose very rapidly in the ranks of the ANC and became a member of the Transvaal executive in addition to being secretary of the Youth League. At the ANC national conference in December 1949, Sisulu was instrumental in the ANC's adoption of the Youth League's militant Program of Action. At the same conference he was elected ANC Secretary-General, narrowly defeating Dan Tloome, the candidate of the ANC's left wing. Sisulu's fearless, totally dedicated and formidable strategic and organisational abilities are recognised today as being the main factor in transforming the ANC into a mass-based militant national organisation."

It is a well recorded fact by Gastrow, (1992) and P Joyce, (1999) that between 1950, during the harsh racial laws of Daniel F. Malan, who also proposed the ban of the Communist Party; and before the 1964 trial when Walter Sisulu was sentenced for life with Nelson Mandela and taken to Robben Island prison. Walter Sisulu had achieved much through his activism by establishing a strong opposition against the racist government through his strategic networking and linking the ANC with the various political pressure groups namely: the South African Communist Party – SACP, the Indian Congress and the largely coloured Cape Franchise Action Committee. His strategic pro-activism like the call for resistance on many fronts which resulted to his final arrest and imprisonment can be enumerated in the various pro-active sensitisations and organisation of the masses to a more formidable front that did not give any breathing space to the Apartheid regime. This contributed to the tumultuous situation of serial repressions that characterised the 1950s and the 1960s as well as the 1970s and the 1980s assassinations and lynching of ANC, PAC and ANCYL pro-advocates and pro-activists. A rundown of these events can be highlighted in following events from the 1950s to the 1970s as follows:

"A national work stoppage on 26 June 1950 to protests against the new repressive apartheid laws, was organised by Walter Sisulu and Yusuf Cachalia who had been appointed joint secretaries of ANC.

Passive resisters of the many banning orders under the Suppression of Communism Act Underground work of resistance against the banning of Walter and Mandela from attending any gatherings or addressing meetings.

Playing a central role in the advocating and the planning the 1952 Defiance Campaign which led to the arrest and trial of Sisulu, Mandela, Moroka and others under the Suppression of Communism Act for their leadership role in the Defiance Campaign.

Organising the defiance activism of the ANC dynamic and progressive leaders which led to the arrest in December 1952, of Sisulu, Mandela, Moroka and others who were tried under the Suppression of Communism Act for their leadership role in the Defiance Campaign; where all 20 accused were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour, suspended for two years."

The organisation of activism secretly continuing ANC work, and the organising committee meetings in secret to organise the Freedom Charter campaign and The Congress of the People in 1956.

Continuing his membership of the underground Communist Party which is again recognised as one of the most important factors cementing the relationship between the ANC and SACP.

Formulating the resistance to the 1960 state of emergency following the Sharpsville massacre, where Sisulu and many of his co-defendants in the Treason Trial were detained for several months, following the banning of the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and Sisulu being placed under house arrest.

The secret creation in June 1961 with four people, with Joe Slovo, Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki of the radical armed revolutionary wing of the ANC known as "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (MK - Spear of the Nation), the ANC's armed wing which constituted the MK's high command. Where he served as political commissar of MK with his friend Mandela as its Commander in Chief.

Formidable resistance to the preparatory examination of the Treason Trial began on 19 December in the Johannesburg Drill Hall; where Sisulu remained defendant in the subsequent hearings, which ended on the 29 March 1961 when he, and the remaining 30 accused, were finally acquitted.

The secret Radio announcement on 26 June 1963 when Sisulu made a short broadcast from a secret ANC radio station and the raiding on 11 July by the police of the farm and his arrest with Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and others.

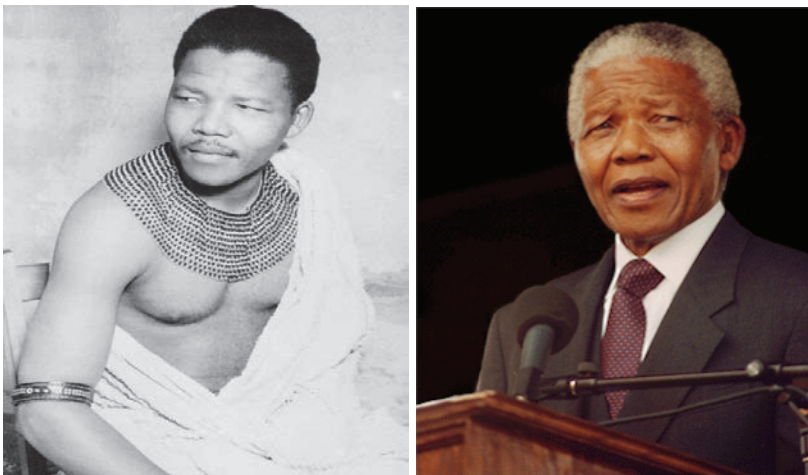
After the verdict of the nine months suspended sentence, Sisulu was re-elected as ANC Secretary General in the same month, and he travelled to China, Soviet Union, Israel, Romania and the United Kingdom in 1953. It was this tour of the socialist countries which convinced Sisulu to join the outlawed and the newly reconstituted South African Communist Party – SACP, where his membership in the underground Communists was again recognised as one of the most important factors cementing the relationship between the ANC and the SACP.

Meanwhile, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo who had started their political activism at the first All Black Fort Hare University College in 1940 had become more mature in their Black Awareness activism. Their endeavours to continue and finish their education and obtain the law degrees had prepared them to be the true advocates of their repressed people. Alistair Boddy-Evans (2004) gives us a very detailed picture of these formidable determination and pro-activism of these two who were to write their names on the epitaphs of the ANC Liberation Movement for years to come:

“Mandela started working as a clerk in a law firm, studying in the evening through a correspondence course with the University of South Africa (now UNISA) to complete his first degree. He was awarded his Bachelor’s degree in 1941, and in 1942 he was articled to another firm of attorneys and started upon a law degree at the University of Witwatersrand. Here he worked with a study partner, Seretse Khama, who would later become the first president of an independent Botswana... He also began his political career in earnest, joining the African National Congress, ANC. Finding the existing leadership of the ANC to be “a dying order of pseudo-liberalism and conservatism, of appeasement and compromise,” Mandela, along with Tambo, Sisulu, and a few others formed the African National Congress Youth League, ANCYL. In 1947 Mandela was elected as secretary of the ANCYL, and became a member of the Transvaal ANC executive. By 1948 Nelson Mandela had failed to pass the exams required for his LLB law degree, and he decided instead to settle for the ‘qualifying’ exam which would allow him to practice as an attorney. When Daniel F. Malan’s Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP, Re-united National Party) won the 1948 election, Mandela, Tambo, and Sisulu acted. The existing ANC president was pushed out of office and someone more amenable to the ideals of the ANCYL was brought in as a replacement. Walter Sisulu proposed a ‘programme of action’, which was subsequently adopted by the ANC. Mandela was made president of the Youth League in 1951. Nelson Mandela opened his law office in 1952, and a few months later teamed up with Tambo to create the first Black legal practice in South Africa. It was difficult for both Mandela and Tambo to find time for both their legal practice and their political aspirations. That year Mandela became president of the Transvaal ANC, but was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act – he was prohibited from holding office within the ANC, banned from attending ANY meetings, and restricted to the district around Johannesburg.”

In a bid to secure the future of the ANC after so much brutal repressions from the Apartheid government, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo initiated the M-plan (M for Mandela). This plan entailed that the ANC would be broken down into cells so that it could continue to operate, if necessary, underground.

Under the banning order, Mandela was restricted from attending meetings, but he foiled the ban and drove down to Kliptown in June 1955 to be part of the Congress of the People; and by keeping to the shadows and the periphery of the crowd, Mandela watched as the Freedom Charter was adopted by all the groups involved. The Year 1955 also marked the turning point in the philosophy of the ANC when more radical thinking youths joined the Congress. This was also going to lay the foundations of the rift which was to occur within the ANC. Mandela's relentless and increasing activism in the anti-Apartheid struggle, however, caused problems for his marriage and in December that year Evelyn Mase, Walter Sisulu's cousin, whom he had married in 1944, left him, citing irreconcilable differences.



Photos 164 (a) & (b): Nelson Roliblabla Mandela 18 July 1918, Mvezo, Transkei

When the Freedom Charter was adopted by the Congress of the People, the Apartheid government on the 5th of December 1956 launched its repressive attack on the people and arrested 156 people including Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the ANC, and Nelson Mandela. Actually the 156 activists included the entire executive of the African National Congress - ANC, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, collectively known as the "Congress Alliance". They were all charged (Alistair Boddy-Evans, 2004) with "high treason and a countrywide conspiracy to use violence to overthrow the present government and replace it with a communist state."

This charge was as crucial as it was disastrous for the various activist groups; because the punishment for high treason was death; and one could not be sure of the outcome as the Apartheid government controlled the judiciary and often made its influence to bear on the judiciary to a greater extent. That

is why the Treason Trial had to drag on, until Mandela and his 29 remaining co-accused were finally acquitted only in the month March 1961. It was during the Treason Trial that Nelson Mandela met Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela whom he married to become his second wife.



Photo 164 (c): Mandela's wedding with Winnie Madikizela Mandela

By 1959 the younger, more radical members of the ANC initiated a break-away faction which was named the Pan African Congress – PAC, under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. This ANC and PAC became rivals in the Townships, especially among the youths because of the opposing strategies they employed in the liberation cause. For example the moderate non-violent philosophy propagated by the ANC towards the policies of the Apartheid government, was very much opposed to the radical violence-for-violence tactics embraced by the PAC activists which attracted the youths and the radicals.

According to Alistair Body-Evans (2004), this rivalry came to a head when the PAC rushed ahead of the ANC plans to hold mass protests against the restrictive “Pass Laws”. Through the galvanised forces of PAC, the people and the youths turned out in protest on 21st March 1960 and the Apartheid government reposted with the utmost brutal violence which left 180 Black Africans injured and 69 killed as South African Police opened fire on armless people of Sharpville who had massively turned out to demonstrate for their rights and freedom.

The Sharpville massacre did not satisfy the onslaught of the South African Police on the ANC and PAC by the Apartheid government. Alistaire Boddy-Evans (2004) amply documents that:

“During the 1960 state of emergency following the Sharpsville massacre, Sisulu and many of his co-defendants in the Treason Trial were detained for several months. Following the banning of the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Sisulu was placed under house arrest. In June 1961 he was one of four people, with Joe Slovo, Nelson Mandela and Govin Mbeki who secretly met and discussed the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK - Spear of the Nation), the ANC’s armed wing. This group constituted the MK’s high command. He served as political commissar of MK with his friend Mandela as its Commander in Chief. In 1962 Sisulu was continuously harassed by police and arrested six times, though charged only once. Finally, in March 1963, he was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned ANC and for organising the May 1961 stay-at-home protest. He was released on bail pending an appeal and placed under 24-hour house arrest. On 20 April 1963 he skipped his bail conditions and went underground at the SACP’s secret headquarters at Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia.”

The Sharpsville massacre instigated Nelson Mandela and the radical youth wing of PAC decided that peaceful demonstrations were of no use, since the Apartheid government could only understand violence-for-violence as the sole solution. Like Malcolm X Mandela and the PAC activists believed that the White Apartheid repressors could only understand violence-for-violence, which was essentially their cup of tea and breakfast, for the Black people of South Africa. That is how the ANC and PAC responded to the Apartheid government in 1961 by setting up military wings, as testified by Alistair Boddy-Evans (2004), elaborating that:

“Both the ANC and PAC responded in 1961 by setting up military wings. Nelson Mandela, in what was a radical departure from ANC policy, was instrumental in creating the ANC group: Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, MK), and Mandela became the MK’s first commander. Both the ANC and PAC were banned by the South African government under the Unlawful Organisations Act in 1961. The MK, and the PAC’s Poqo, responded by commencing with campaigns of sabotage.”

The Umkonto We Sizwe went further to publish its most famous humanitarian and non-racist manifesto with the following captions:

“Umkhonto we Sizwe (Military wing of the African National Congress): We are at War!...

Our men are armed and trained freedom fighters not terrorists. We are fighting for democracy—majority rule—the right of the Africans to rule Africa. We are fighting for a South Africa in which there will be peace and harmony and equal rights for all people.

We are not racialists, as the white oppressors are. The African National Congress has a message of freedom for all who live in our country."

The Headquarters of Umkonto We Sizwe was located in Rivonia, a suburb of Johannesburg at Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia (26°2'36"S 28°3'15"E). This farm which was privately owned by Arthur Goldreich was bought with South African Communist Party funds, because "Non-White" individuals, especially Blacks were not permitted to own any property under the Group Areas Act.

After the formation of the military wing of the ANC and PAC, Mandela was smuggled out of South Africa to Addis Ababa, in 1962, to attend and address the Conference of African National Leaders and the Pan African Freedom Movement. From Addis Ababa he flew to Algeria where he underwent a guerrilla training, before flying to London to catch up with Oliver Tambo and also touch base with the British Parliamentary opposition members. When Mandela returned to South Africa he was arrested and sentenced to five years for "incitement and illegally leaving the country". Walter Sisulu made a clandestine broadcast from the secret ANC Radio Station on July 26th 1963; and on July 11th 1963 the Police raided the Liliesleaf farm in Rivonia where Sisulu and the activists were hiding and from where the announcement was made and arrested Walter Sisulu along with Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and many others. Walter Sisulu and the remaining leadership of the MK was arrested along with the rest of the "Rivonia group," detained and held in custody and solitary confinement for 88 days, and were later charged of treason in October 1963.

The Rivonia Trialists including Nelson Mandela and his colleagues were tried with those arrested at Liliesleaf and charged with over 221 counts of acts designed to "foment violent revolution," "sabotage, preparing for guerrilla warfare in SA, and for preparing an armed invasion of SA," (Alistaire Boddy-Evans, 2004) and finally sentenced on 12th June 1964 to life imprisonment for planning acts of treason and sabotage. Only Wilton Mkwayi, chief of MK at the time managed to escape during the trial. At the Rivonia Trial Mandela was one of five, out of the ten defendants, to be given life sentences and sent to Robben Island. Mandela, who was given the floor during the four hour trial made his last statement to the court, which was to become the landmark of the ANC struggle for freedom, insisting that:

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to

achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die...At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice. In the Manifesto of Umkhonto published on 16 December 1961, which is exhibit AD, we said: 'The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices – submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom.' Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or take over the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer with violence.'

With these words, Mandela was able to seal and sum up the principles and determination that would guide his aspirations and those of his companions who laid down their lives for the liberation of South Africa and the entire Africa.

It was in Mandela's honour and his incarcerated fellows for what they stood for, to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of their people, that I composed this protest song and poem which we used as students in Europe to rally consciences and the good will of people of Good Faith to advocate for the dismantling of Apartheid in South Africa and for the release of Mandela. This poem tells it all in the song titled:

Apartheid Home

They were telling me feel at home
They were telling me feel at home...
Wrig for us a virile dance of blues
Wrig for us a virile dance of blues...
A ballad of your people
A ballad of your people
Of your Apartheided people...
Ho-ho..., ho-ho-ho...ho...
Ho...ho-ho...ho...
Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...
But I need a hunting drum
A talking-drum and dance-drum
A xylophone and jingle rattles
To vigorously shake and jig out
The dearth clichés of strong
Encrusted Ancestral rhythms of
Passing spaces and time...
Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...
Ho...ho-ho...ho...
Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...
Go on and improvise....
Improvise and forge them...
They would shout...
Clap on your hands and your feet
And dance us some Blues
Display for us a life scene
Of the virile exotic past of Blues...
Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...
Ho...ho-ho...ho...
Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...
But they have cut down our forests for their Cocoa,
Coffee, Rubber, Banana, Tea and Sugar Cane Plantations
They chain-saw and export our timber, mine our minerals,
Drill our crude oil to build up their energies and industries
They poach out our precious animals, birds and insects
For their Zoos, Bio-Medical Laboratories and phantasies
Their Ancestors stole our Works of Art stocked in
Museums behind iron bars and guarded mansions
In return they give us only Guns, Lethal Forks and
Daggers to bound on our people like Game and Dung...

*Go on and improvise....
Improvise and forge them...
They would shout...
Clap on your hands and your feet
And dance us some Blues
Display for us a life scene
Of the virile exotic past of Blues...
Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...
Ho...ho-ho...ho...
Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...*

*They sold my people into Barbaric Slavery
Because they believed we were Sub-Humans
The Semitic Jews and Arabs and the Indo-Europeans
Branded our people as a cursed and condemned Race
Fit for their Genocide Programmes leashed on our people branded
As Good-For-Nothings fit only for their Servitudes
And their Ideological Humiliations for Millenniums while
Our Documented History of Six Thousand Years
Has now been transformed into a Tabula Rasa
Of distortions and Racist Non-Entities...
Today my people are still forced to export
Themselves to those Racist Lands where they are
Treated as underdogs and worthless than
Shit... Yet they are still in need of our Body
Parts, our Muscles, our Bones, our Sperms, our
Blood to transplant and transfuse into
Their Decadent Humanity and
Greedy Destructive Civilisation that
Has continued to impoverish our People...
Go on and improvise....
Improvise and forge them...
They would shout...
Clap on your hands and your feet
And dance us some Blues
Display for us a life scene
Of the virile exotic past of Blues...
Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...
Ho...ho-ho...ho...
Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...*

*When I sing and talk of Liberty...
They call me a Terrorist...*

*When I sing and talk for Equality...
They call me a Blackman...
When I talk of Brotherhood of Humankind...
They call me an Illusioned...*

Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...

Ho...ho-ho...ho...

Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...

*Where then can I sing my fate
They hold me suspect wherever I go
Torture and mangle my body and deprive me
Of my God-Given Natural and Human Rights...
They won't leave me alone*

Even though I have refused to fight back

And continue to turn the other cheek

Always singing for dialoguing and Peace...

Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...

Ho...ho-ho...ho...

Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...

*But I won't give up my fight for the Mental Rehabilitation of Humanity
And the God-Given rights of All Humanity and Peoples without
Distinction of the Rich or the Poor, the Angels and the Devils
Of these Artificial Confrontational Paradigms between God's
Chosen Children and Satan's Condemned Children who are
Transforming God's World and God's Cities into vile
Battle-fields of Misery, Hunger, Ignorance and Poverty...*

Now I lay down my life to stand up for the Truth

About the Divine Dignity of Human Life and Destination

About the Godness and Goodness in Every Created Being

About the Divine Royalty and Honour in All Created Beings

About the Divine Brilliance and Splendour in Every Human Race

For whom I pledge the rest of my life, wealth and endeavour

To Defend and Protect the Rights of All Disinherited Peoples!!!

Ho-ho... ho-ho-ho...ho...

Ho...ho-ho...ho...

Ho-ho-ho...ho-ho-ho...ho...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 11th September 1986.

Nelson Mandela had to choose the path he did of armed revolution according to the Marxist ideology not as an end but as surgical tool in the hands of a surgeon who had to wrestle with a an anti-democratic cancerous tumour that was Apartheid. The ANC was never a racist organization according to Mandela because he wanted a democratic South Africa for all the races in South Africa irrespective of colour or origin. He chose to ally with the South African Communist Party because they were the only Party with a humanitarian policy unlike the Western Liberal Democrats who were supporting Apartheid and the inhuman treatment of those people they called savage and inferior. Mandela explains his reasons for allying with the Communist in his book “Long Walk to Freedom” saying:

“It is perhaps difficult for white South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accepted communists as their friends. But to us the reason is obvious. Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression are a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with and work with us. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism.” The fact is that the communists were extremely consistent in their support of the national liberation goals of the Congress movement, and proved themselves in struggle to be capable, courageous fighters and strategists. Indeed, the SACP “has the distinction of being the first organisation in the history of Africa to call unambiguously for black majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage. This was at a time when even the ANC stopped short of this demand.”

When I visited South Africa in 1996, 1997 and 1998, at the invitation of UNISA and the Alliance Française to organize workshops and peace-building conferences through the Creative Arts throughout the entire Post-Apartheid South African cities and Homelands which took me to various Universities, Museums, Cultural Centres, I was able to see and hear for my appreciation the ravages caused by over two hundred years of occupation and Apartheid to Black People of South Africa. I could easily fully grasp what push the ANC and Mandela to take the hard line stand they took regarding the dismantling of Apartheid in South Africa. When I visited the Robben Island Prison now turned into a Post-Apartheid Museum after visiting Stellenbosch and Cape town and experiencing the lingering Apartheid in the stratified residential spaces that still haunts South Africa with its excluded Poor Black People living

in the Guguletu Squatting lots, I could not decide whether the closed walled prisons or the open-walled prisons of the poor squatters of South Africa excluded women and children scavenging in dust bins and begging at street-traffic lights-posts were better. That is the reason why I composed these poems in honour of the legacy of Mandela, titled:

Reconciling Hearts

*Standing lost
As in the middle of
Nowhere...
I can hear...
The sea waves beating
And roaring in my heart
Waves of pain surging into
My feet
Digging
Deep to
Hide the
Shame...*

*The humiliation of
Human
Ignorance and
Sadistic brutality...*

*As I can screen-view
In my mind
The atrocities
Apartheid
Had subjected
Mandela,
Walter Sisulu,
Oliver Tambo...
And
Their other
Companions
Condemned,
Forgotten
To die*

*In silence
In quarantined
Quarry-caves
In search for...*

*Leppered stones
To build up the apartbeiding
Mansions
Of human
Hatred and
Doom...
NOW I am crying
In
My
Mind
Blood tears...*

...
...
...

*Dripping
In
My
Heart...
As I cry...
Much louder
With my eyes...
My
Frozen
Tears
Scooped
By
The
Antartican wind...
Here am I standing...
Face to Face
With the wretched
Realities
My childhood gleanings
Had built in my mind
From*

Myriam Makeba's
 Click-Songs of Freedom,
 Just like
 Johnny Clerk's
 Asi Bonanga Mandela china
 la fe kuna, la feli likuna...
 la fe kuna, la wafe likuna...
 And
 Jazzy Hugh Masakela's
 Free, free, free
 Nelson Mandela
 Walking
 Hand in hand
 With
 Winnie Mandela
 On the streets of
 SOWETO!
 How
 I
 CAN
 ONLY
 SING
 In relieving sighs...
 The new songs,
 SONGS of
 Reconciliation
 SONGS
 Of MY
 Mentally
 Bruised
 PEOPLE...
 Needing healing balms...
 For their
 TRAUMATISED
 EXISTENCE
 Which will need another
 CENTURY
 HEALING
 FOR
 Recreating a more

BALANCED PEOPLE

Recreating a more

BRAVING PEOPLE

Recreating a more

INTEGRATING PEOPLE

Recreating a more

RECONCILING PEOPLE

Of Great South Africa!

OF GREAT AFRICA !

Fongot Kin-Yen Kinni: 14th. May, 1998, Robben Island.

CAPETOWNING MELODIES

Robben Island

ROBBEN ISLAND

ISLAND OF BLISS

ISLAND OF PEACE

For those who would contemplate

GOD

At the Primordial Creation

Of emptiness and nightness

Over the deep water

Spaces of infiniteness...

Harken in prayer

To the liberating light of time

And take pride in your

New destiny

In remoulding the

Collective memory...

Of a past we all assume

In true humility for

Our human

Short-comings

And nothingness...

So that...

Never again...

On this Sacred

Mother Earth...

Shall humans...

Treat fellow humans...

As SLAVES ABUSED

Of their HUMAN RIGHTS

*Of their HUMAN DIGNITY
Of their HUMAN FREEDOMS.*

(Fongot Kin-Yen Kinni: 14th. May, 1998, Robben Island)

My visit to Mandela's last prison room in Robben Island was so overwhelming that the newly painted walls of his cell seemed to peel off into my flabbergasted face as I stood there for a while motionless and lost in my cybernetic mind trying to recapture the last filings of the enigmatic life of this great revolutionary. That is how this poem exuded from my frozen heart and mind to face what I titled:

Faces of the Water Moon Colours

THE WALLS,
tthbee wwaallllss,
tthbbhee wwwaaalllllss
I can still smell fresh paintings,
fresh paints, fresh paintings
Faces popping out of virtual canvas,
Virtually hanging, hanging, hanging
Yes I can see faces, faces,
Yes! faces
Of Mandela,
'Ndela-faces,
Man'-faces
Smiling, smiling, smiling ...
Stretched out from his aura sturdy figures
Still silently lying there on
That wooden couch,
Still resolute to die
To die
For his
Convictions...
To die
For his
People...
This lion prisoner of conscience...
I hear people screaming, cheering...
The brave wary harmless

Lion has broken bounds...
The shrewd
Cubical dungeon
Keeper Declerk
Has played the trick and
Let
The
Latchbet
Loose.....
South Africa will no longer
Sleep
With
One
Eye
Opened
South Africa will no longer
Build
Berlin
Walls
South Africans will now...
Paint their new portraits
With rainsun colours
Of the Water Moon
With watercolours from the
MADIBA Fountain
South Africans will
Now lead Africa
To their human gardens
Of understanding
With walless hearts
With walless minds!

(Fongot Kin-Yen Kinni: 14th. May, 1998, Robben Island)

IN MEMORY OF NELSON MANDELA'S LAST PRISON CELL AT
 ROBBER ISLAND.

The Sharpville Massacre was a turning point in Oliver Tambo's life and his activism in the ANC. Like Mandela he believed that Armed revolution and violence-for-violence was the sole answer to the Apartheid ruthless and inhumane regime. But unlike Mandela, Oliver Tambo managed to escape all the pitfalls which exposed Mandela and Sisulu to be targeted, arrested, tried

and condemned. Wherefore, one would ask what was this the hand of God that saved Oliver Tambo so much than Mandela and the others?

Even before Oliver Tambo decided to declare to be the torchbearer of the ANC “Mission in Exile” in order to whip up international support for the South African Liberation Movement, it was obvious that this “Mission in Exile” was not only timely, but that it was overdue. But even if one has to ask why and how did it turn out so articulately that Oliver Tambo was the one chosen to lead this “Mission,” it cannot be disputed that he was the right and optimal person cut out for the difficult job. Oliver Tambo’s pleasant and persuasive character which singularised him out of his peers for his gift of the persuasive tongue and alacrity of the mind, from his youth, prepared him better than all of his peers to stand out as that diplomacy-driven icon who was able to bring friend and foe to dine on the same table and exchange their opinions frankly without hurting and killing each other.

That is why one would think that his embracing the violent and armed revolution of the ANC was also tempered more by his tact to handle such a delicate issue more from a rational well thought out surgical perspective of removing the malignant tumour the Apartheid regime represented for the wellbeing of South Africa, than just an act of retaliation or reaction in a vengeful manner.



Photos 165 (a) (b): Oliver Reginald Tambo: 1917-1993

Even though Oliver Tambo and his peers who could not attend the Congress of the People – COP in 1955, were hounded by the banning orders of the Apartheid regime, he was relentless in his activism which organised and managed the platform of the National Action Council which headed the mobilisation for the COP. Even though he was among the 156 accused in the marathon Treason Trial of 1956, he did not refrain in his activism in the ANC

and became in 1958 the Deputy President, and in the following year, 1959, he was served, along with many of his colleagues, with a five year banning order.

His acceptance of the designation of the ANC to travel abroad to set up the ANC's international mission and mobilise international opinion in opposition to the Apartheid system, was because he believed in his preventive-diplomatic ambassadorial competence and role.



Photos 165 (c): Oliver Reginald Tambo The Brain-Tank Of ABC International Network And Social Capital

His mild eloquence and clear articulation of the ANC's objectives, gained him the receptive ear of the audience in the Scandinavian countries. Tambo's foremost advocacy for women's rights within the ANC movement also gained him more sympathetic hearing and followers. Callinicos L. (2004), and Jordan, P.Z. (2007) are very clear in their presentation of Oliver Tambo as the gender sensitive advocate who did all in his power to see that women's rights were also respected by the ANC right from the time of his active role in the ANC in South Africa. In their ample elaboration they have this to say about Oliver Tambo:

"In 1959, Tambo headed the ANC's Constitutional Commission. The Tambo Commission recommended that more constitutional recognition be given to the ANC'S Women's League (ANCWL) and the ANCYL, and endorsed non-racialism and the Freedom Charter, amongst other issues. The constitutional revision of the ANC came to be known as the Tambo Constitution. All the while he had to carry the burden of political work and the work of the law firm alone, since Mandela was still on trial."

His public diplomatic endeavours paid off as attested in ANC Today, Umrabulo by Umwembi (ANC 2011), when it is documented that:

“Working in conjunction with Dr Yusuf Dadoo he was instrumental in the establishment of the South African United Front, which brought together the external missions of the ANC, the PAC, the SA Indian Congress and the South West African National Union (SWANU). As a result of a very successful lobbying campaign the South African United Front was able to secure the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961. After this initial success the SAUF broke up in July 1961. Assisted by African government, Tambo was able to establish ANC mission in Egypt, Ghana, Morocco and in London. From these small beginnings, under his stewardship the ANC acquired missions in 27 countries by 1990. These include all the permanent members of the UN Security Council, with the exception of China, two missions in Asia and one in Australasia.”...Tambo was again an important factor in securing the co-operation of numerous African governments in providing training and camp facilities for the ANC. In 1965 Tanzania and Zambia gave the ANC camp facilities to house trained Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) combatants. In 1967, after the death of ANC President General Chief Albert J. Luthuli, Tambo became Acting president until his appointment to the Presidency was approved by the Morogoro Conference in 1969. During the 1970s Oliver Tambo’s international prestige rose immensely as he traversed the world, addressing the United Nations and other international gatherings on the issue of apartheid. He became the key figure in the ANC’s Revolutionary Council (RC) which had been set up at the Morogoro Conference to oversee the reconstruction of the ANC’s internal machinery and to improve its underground capacity.”

Oliver Tambo was tireless in sensitizing international opinion and whipping up support from the international audience wherever and whenever possible. Tambo articulated in a very successful manner the humanism in the ANC and its objective to liberate South Africa and build a racist-free country for this rainbow country. This humanism was well emphasised in the speech Oliver Tambo delivered at the second Pan-African Youth Seminar in Dar Es Salaam, in 1961 when his discourse dwelt on the “Racism problems in South Africa,” which I will quote elaborately, where he reiterated his belief in humanism:

“South Africa had a complicated and varied racial problem. First of all, we have become conscious in South Africa of the existence of what we call Afrikaners, English-speaking people, Africans, Asians, Coloured people. That is a very large number to have to deal with. And the policy of that country has been such that these groupings have

been created, maintained, kept alive and developed, strengthened and fortified one against another. And the efforts to entrench these groups and separations are still going on today. But that is not all. The effort has also been directed at building up a mutual hostility between them. And of course, that was not enough. The Africans too have been assailed with the principles of the same policy. They have also been sorted out into minor groupings, according to tribe, so that it would not be possible for them to speak of themselves as Africans. And one of the instruments being used for this purpose is what is called Bantu education, rammed down the throat of the people by force of arms, by imprisonment, by all forms of victimisation. It is a wholesale onslaught on the people who live in the same area to ensure that they live not only conscious of their difference, these accidental differences, but are also hostile to one another, and the laws which have been passed are intended to maintain this structure. And any breaking of these laws to reduce to the barest minimum by the organisation of armed forces. I think for African youth it is fair to say that unless we all meet with an accident, South Africa is going to be an excruciating problem for the entire continent. A cruel problem, because human beings have tended to accept these divisions. Africans and Asians and Coloureds have been victims of this government policy, and have come to accept the racial designations. That itself is an acceptance of the doctrine that has been preached. We are not however something or the other. And indeed, in the government of the country, we are not anything, in the passing of laws, in the adoption of national policies, we are not anything. These are appropriate appellations as seen from the point of view of those who are something. What we have got to try to teach our peoples is to reject these concepts, but we will have to substitute something in their place. But when we have achieved our immediate objective, such as Tanganyika has an immediate objective of independence on the 9th of December, when we reach that stage for which we are struggling, then that which binds us together will be removed and a new set of problems will arise and one of them may well be this. We may well remember that we still are Asians and Africans, and as between these two, not to mention others. There may be considerations of economy, privileges, the entrenchment of those privileges, perhaps prejudice which has never been driven out of the hearts of people, and the whole range of manifestations of the problem of racialism as we know it will be present. Although perhaps we have a simple problem at the moment, the simple one of simply becoming free, complicated only by the need to find various methods of dealing with the situation we find, on attaining independence we still have not solved our problems, perhaps even not the racial problems which at the moment are a part of independence."

Apart from dealing with the racial problem of Apartheid South Africa, Oliver Tambo also insisted in his speech on the need for African Unity, which he saw as the way forward to set up a continental power-base to face the colonial and imperialistic powers that had enslaved and exploited Africa for

over five centuries. He then went further to elaborate his theory on African unity saying:

“And where does unity begin and where does it end? I think true and lasting unity, as opposed to the unity we may seek at a given time for the achievement of a certain purpose, is one which is conceived on the basis of the essential oneness of mankind, based on what is basically a common human problem. That would be hitching our idea to the stars and I think we are likely to travel at least a little farther than if we are confined to, for example, tribal units. The World Assembly of Youth Seminar gathered here, predominantly Africans, is a gathering of people who, even assuming they could solve the African problems, will still be members of the international world and committed to seeking a solution to international problems. And I believe that the idea of unity as a solution should not in fact disappear when it reaches the borders of the African continent. We should think in terms of world youth. We had better. Because if we don’t and allow the progressive gravitation towards armed conflict, which is so manifest in the relations between East and West, we shall not save ourselves by saying we are neither East nor West. Our guarantee is to ensure the unity of mankind and this is not exclusive of the idea of the unity of a tribe, of a clan, of a nation, of a continent. I think unity is going to be discussed very mercilessly during the course of this conference. I need not dwell any further on it. I only wish to say that I am glad to be able to contribute incidentally to the basic theme, a vitally important theme for Africa.”

Actually, Oliver Tambo was for the ANC and the South African Liberation Movement, the beacon light which guided the ship of liberation to the peaceful haven of this rainbow land where, even though he could not be actively part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, sealed an indelible legacy with his blood and conviction of the equality and liberty of all races as the epitaph on his grave proclaims in his own words, as he said that:

“It is our responsibility to break down barriers of division and create a country where there will be neither Whites nor Blacks, just South Africans, free and united in diversity.”

Oliver Tambo, like his friend Nelson Mandela, advocated relentlessly for this humanistic non-racial spirit of Pan-Africanism. He like Nelson Mandela <http://washintonpost.com/wp-srv/> (editor[at]pambazuka[dot]org) also confirmed this humanism in a subtle manner when he admitted that:

“...”There was a time when anti-communism reared its head in the ANC and there were often moves for the removal of communists from ANC ranks, but ... to all

intents and purposes we are running a common struggle together.” Pointing out that the leading members of the Party were also leading members of the ANC, Tambo said: “From my experience, you could not have asked for more loyalty.” In another interview, in response to the question “is the ANC under the undue influence of white communists?”, Tambo responded: “I don’t know where these white communists are. When I ask who they mean, they reply: Joe Slovo. When I ask who else, they are silent. It is extraordinary how white communists are credited with so much power and influence and supremacy and superiority. Why are we not being influenced by black communists? And why can’t the influence go the other way? Individual members of the Communist Party are like any member of the ANC ... Our movement has never hidden the fact that there is a relationship between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party on those questions of policy which both organisations share in common. In particular both organisations believe that in the present stage of the revolutionary process in South Africa, the primary aim is the national liberation of the most exploited and most oppressed section of the South African people - the Africans.” Naturally, the ANC-SACP alliance also helped to cement Soviet, Eastern European and Cuban support for the liberation struggle, which proved to be invaluable...” We call upon those in the white community who stand ready to live a life of real equality and nonracialism to make common cause with our struggle for genuine liberation ... In sharp contrast to the racists who have sought to divide our country and people into racial and ethnic compartments, we have upheld the ideal of one country, one people and one democratic and nonracial destiny for all who live in it, black and white.”...

If South Africa and Africa ever produced clairvoyant undaunted sons and daughters who stood for the advancement of the human solidarity to free humanity from slavery, injustice, racism and poverty, it was Oliver Tambo. He like Mandela and all those who laid down their lives for upholding the cause of humanity and freedom, will forever remain engraved in the inquisitive minds of the youths of Africa and the world thirsty for liberating knowledge and service to humanity.

Another South African firebrand of Pan Africanism whose story can never be too long and untiring enough to be told is Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe (1924 – 1978) whose activism started in Fort Hare University in 1948, when he joined the ANCYL. He spearheaded the publication of the virulent daily publication named “Beware” which advocated a radical position of non-collaboration with the Native Representative Council and the Native Advisory Board, which he said had compromised the position of the ANC.

His activism later placed him to head the armed revolutionary PAC wing of UMKHonto we Sizwe, Poqo, in the 1960s, whose aim was to overthrow the South African government and to replace it with an African socialist state.

According to Theron B. (2010) the Poqo's objective was to destabilize the Apartheid regime in all possible means including armed revolution and killing. Like Malcolm X, Poqo's theory was that a dead Whiteman is a good one, and the activists of the Poqo wing organized all forms of sabotage and destruction. As accounted by Theron B. (2010) and the Pan African Youth of Azania' journal (www.payco.org.za [accessed: 28 March 2012]) it is admitted that Poqo was arguably the largest underground grouping of the 1960's which was involved in killings. It is affirmed that:

"Their main targets were Langa and Paarl policemen and their alleged informers as well as Transkei chiefs (read as collaborators with the apartheid regime) and their followers. The structure and functioning of the organisation was based on the Communist cell, where members do not know the identity of their fellow members. Any person who disclosed Poqo information was sentenced to death and about ten members of the organisation were executed for betrayal. Following Poqo's aim of destabilising the country and inspiring an uprising, organisation targeted Paarl on 22 November 1962. The crowd of 250 men, who were armed with axes, pangas and other home-made weapons, marched from Mbekweni location to the town and attacked the police station, homes and shops. They also killed two Whites: Frans Richard (22) and Rencia Vermeulen (18)."

When Sobukwe declared that:

"The wheel of progress revolves relentlessly and all the nations of the world take their turn at the field-glass of human destiny. Africa will not retreat! Africa will not compromise! Africa will not relent! Africa will not equivocate! And she will be heard! Remember Africa!"

He was articulating the self-determination principle of "Poqo" in Xhosa African Philosophy of the underlying principle of "Purity," "Uniqueness", in every living being which, like "Maat" in ancient Meroetic-Nubian-Pharaohnic Egypt signified perfection and uprightness of spirit. It also represent the spirit of self-determination in every being which Sobukwe was invoking to make his point clear, as a non-negotiable right in every human being, every people, every nation.

The revolutionary position of Sobukwe was manifest in his State of the Nation Address on 2nd August 1959, on the "National Heroes Day," when he reiterated:

“Mr. Speaker Sir, Sons and Daughters of Afrika. Just over three months ago, on the 6th April, we met in the Communal Hall in Orlando, Johannesburg, to launch the ship of freedom? the Pan-Africanist Congress. On that historic day the African people declared total war against white domination, not only in South Africa but throughout the continent. On that day there entered into the maelstrom of South African politics an organisation dedicated to the cause of African emancipation and independence; an organisation committed to the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of an Africanist Socialist Democracy. Oppressed versus Oppressor: It is just over three months that the Pan Africanist Congress has been born, but within that short space of time she has successfully pinpointed the basic assumptions in our struggle, namely that: 1. The illiterate and semi-literate masses of the African people are the key to, the core and cornerstone of the struggle for democracy in this country. 2. African nationalism is the only liberatory creed that can weld these masses who are members of heterogeneous tribes into a solid, disciplined and united fighting force; provide them with loyalty higher than that of the tribe and give formal expression to their desire to be a nation. 3. The struggle in South Africa is part of the greater struggle throughout the continent for the restoration to the African people of the effective control of their land. The ultimate goal of our struggle, therefore, is the formation of a United States of Afrika. These pronouncements have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the Sons and Daughters of the land, and awakened the imagination of the youth of our land while giving hope to the aged who for years have lived in the trough of despair. Indeed, the aged can now truly say: “Lord now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy will: For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.” The issues are clear-cut. The Pan-Africanist Congress has done away with equivocation and clever talk. The decks are cleared, and in the arena of South African politics there are today only two adversaries: the oppressor and the oppressed; the master and the slave. We are on the eve of a continental showdown between the forces of evil and the forces of righteousness; the champions of oppression and the champions of freedom. Realising this, the oppressor is panic-stricken and is making feverish preparations for a last-ditch stand in defence of white supremacy. On the other hand, the forces of freedom are gathering strength from day to day, disciplining, nerving and steeling themselves for the imminent struggle...The African people, therefore, are awake! They are waiting, waiting eagerly and expectantly, waiting for the call, the call to battle, to battle for the reconquest of the continent of Afrika which for over 300 years has been the prostitute of the philanderers and rakes of western capitalism. I ZWE LETHU I AFRIKA (Africa must come back)? that is the cry ringing throughout the continent. Afrika for the Africans. (A democratic rule of an African majority.) IZWE LETHU I AFRIKA! Those are the words that spell the doom of white supremacy in Afrika.”

Sobukwe's address marked a new dawn of the Pan African Movement of the ANC. It was the dawn of the new dynamic virile blood of the Youth Wing of the ANC who could not withstand the politics of containment which the Apartheid regime was administering in the White minority dominated South Africa. In adopting the armed struggle rhetoric, Sobukwe was swift to remind South Africans that the armed struggle for the liberation of Africa was already being applied in other parts of Africa, where necessary, like in Kenya of the Mau Mau and in Algeria with the Algerian National Liberation Front - FNLA.



Photos 166 (a) & (b): Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe: 5 December 1924-27 February 1978

Like Malcolm X, he did not perceive armed struggle as an end in itself, but just like a surgical means to the White Supremacist cancerous tumour that was eating deep into the South African political and economic system. His focus was not only the liberation of all Africa but the cementing of African Unity and African Socialism and Humanism by using all strategies at his disposal to attain this goal. This he made clear in The State of the Nation address when he made it clear that:

“Throughout the continent of Afrika the struggle is being relentlessly waged against the historical anachronisms of imperialism, colonialism and white supremacy. Precious African blood is flowing in Algeria, where the Sons and Daughters of Afrika, under the courageous leadership of Ferhat Abbas of the government of Free Algeria are paying the supreme sacrifice for the recovery of the destroyed shrines. Greater and greater efforts are being made by the independent countries of Afrika to mould, shape and assert the African personality, and to lay the foundations for a United States of Afrika. Just recently the heads of the States of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia met in conference to discuss methods of furthering the cause of Pan Africanism. In Tanganyika, Nyerere is fighting for the revision of the multi-racial constitution imposed on the African people by imperialist Britain, and is pressing for the practical application of a non-racial

democratic principle of "one man one vote". In Uganda, as our Bulletin stated, "British imperialism is locked in mortal combat with African nationalism." In Central Afrika tension is going high, and there is clear evidence that in the struggle between Kamuzu Banda and Roy Welensky, Banda will emerge triumphant. In fact, the signs are that not only Nyasaland but also Northern Rhodesia as well, will secede from the unholy federation of Welensky and Lennox-Boyd...Throughout Afrika, then, the forces of white supremacy are in retreat before the irresistible march of African nationalism. This is the era of African emancipation. Afrika holds the stage today. For the first time, positive action is being taken by the world against the inhuman policies of South Africa's white settler foreign minority governments. And the countries that have taken the lead in this worldwide boycott of South African goods are the countries of Afrika and those governed by people of African descent. And in South Africa, what is the position? Well you all know, that there has been talk from certain quarters of "hitting the nationalists in the stomach." We would have used the word "belly," but responsible, moderate leaders, you see, do not use such ugly words. There was such talk then, and lists were prepared. But immediately one so-called "nationalist concern" made certain sectional trade union concessions, it was no longer a nationalist controlled firm, and its products were no longer nationalist products."

The scathing attacks on White supremacy and the armed revolutionary programme of PAC was so precise and focused that this gave the White oppressors of South Africa, the mind-searching and hard times regarding how to deal with the armed struggle of the revolutionary wing of the PACYL. Sobukwe was feared as well as dreaded by the Apartheid government because his violence was laced with a lot of evidence and mental liberating vibes which he knew how to blend in his liberation discourse and the sensitization mission he undertook to educate the Black people of South Africa with regard to their plight. I would allow myself to quote very elaborately from The State of the Nation address which Sobukwe so brilliantly presented to the South African people:

"What of the Pan Africanist Congress? We are met here today to commemorate our national Heroes' Day. We are, today, going down the corridor of time and renewing acquaintance with the heroes of Afrika's past? Those men and women who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great Sons and Daughters of Afrika who died in order that we may be free in the land of our birth. We are met here, today, to rededicate our lives to the cause of Afrika, to establish contact, beyond the grave, with the great African Heroes and to assure them that their struggle was not in vain. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of our beloved land, to drink from the fountain of African achievement, to remember the men and women who begot

us, to remind ourselves of where we come from and to restate our goals. We are here to draw inspiration from the heroes of Thaba Bosiu, Isandlwana, Sandile's kop, Keiskama Hoek, Blood River and numerous other battlefields where our forefathers fell before the bullets of the foreign invader. We are here to draw inspiration from the Sons and Daughters of Afrika who gave their all to the cause and were physically broken in the struggle. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of Afrika, to take a trowel in our right hand and a shield and sword in our left, to commence the tremendous task of rebuilding the walls of Afrika. We are gathered here, today, to reiterate our resolve to declare total war against the demi-god of white supremacy. We are here to serve an ultimatum on the forces of oppression. We are here to say Afrika must be free. We are here to make an appeal to African intellectuals and businessmen, African urban and rural proletariat, to join forces in a determined, ruthless, relentless and total war against white supremacy. We say to waverers and fence-sitters, choose now, tomorrow may be too late. Choose now, because very soon we shall be saying, with biblical simplicity, that He who is not with us is against us."

Sobukwe outlined the programme of PAC as principally based on the mental liberation of South Africans who had been made to believe that the White supremacy was insurmountable. That is why he insisted that for South Africans to be liberated, they had to free themselves from the colonial mental slavery they had been subjected to and even educated to accept the status quo of White supremacy.

Comparing Sobukwe's theory of refusal of White supremacy with regard to Booker T. Washington's submissiveness, or W.E.B. Du Bois theory of integration of Blacks into White society and economic system, we realise that he was more of Ras Makonnen's theory where he encouraged Black people to develop their self-confidence and self-emancipation and self-government and self-reliance as opposed to the good-government of Apartheid preferred by the ANC's leaders.

Sobukwe, like Marcus Garvey, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, was urging that Black South Africans must first build and assert their personality against their White Christian oppressors, as self-determined men and women with inalienable rights, that refused humiliation and inferiorisation from anyone, White or Black. He believed that the African Culture, the African Identity and the African Personality were heritages that the Black man and woman could not compromise for a lousy and good-governance camouflage and integration determined by the White racist culture of supremacy. According to Sobukwe, the motto "Africa for Africans" meant the Africa of self-determination, by Africans, for Africans and those who wanted to become African. According to Sobukwe, if South Africans had to go for anything it was nothing short of the

INDIGENISATION whereby the native South Africans would reclaim the birth rights as created and mandated by God, to build the African Personality of the self-determination of Black People to determine their destiny and to rule themselves according to their will to power.

This meant that Black Rule must prevail and the White Minority Power had to toe the line for Africanisation and Indigenisation. This was also the school of thought to which Robert Mugabe, a contemporary of Sobukwe also adhered to. And it would seem history has proven this Philosophy of Indigenisation right as Robert Mugabe has come to realize it in Zimbabwe.

And the question which remains to be asked today is, after Mandela, will the victory of ANC be short lived? Will the bones of Sobukwe rise again in South Africa to prove him right? Can South Africa continue to build a Rainbow Nation where the only vibrant economic colour is White? Since the dominant Black Colour prevails and show how in a poverty-driven economy reminiscent of the slave-driven exploitative capitalist economy, there can never be born and woven a true material rainbow nation?

That was the ideology of African Humanism which was, and is still difficult to be achieved by the ANC today, which has settled for an accommodation and integration to a White dominated economic culture and society of the haves against the have-nots of Mandela's, Mbeki's, Desmond Tutu's and Jacob Zuma's South Africa. A South Africa where the Peace and Reconciliation Commission – PRC has settled in for the “democracy of injustice and abject poverty of the masses of the Black people of South Africa” who are at the mercy of the Uppity White Society with their few “tokenized” Integrated and Corrupted Blacks like Zuma, who has risen from grass to grace and can dare to spend half a billion Dollars for the renovation of his home, when millions of Black South Africans, are still “Homeless” like the Black Mambazo sing, and go to bed hungry every night.

How can a country be proud to call itself a Rainbow Nation where miserable Black South Africans who will never see the Rainbow in the so-called Rainbow Nation?

A country where Miserable South Africans living in an endless ghetto of Poverty “Soweto” of the 1976 uprisings that have yielded no good half a century later to the Sowetans?

A country where miserably poor South African Children still scavenge to feed from the dust bins?

A country where Mandela will forever be turning in his grace because his legacy to have died for his people's liberation has ended up just in a hijacked “Peace and Reconciliation Commission” tailored to uphold the White

Supremacists Economic Domination against the overwhelming majority of Poor South Africans?

The realities of Post-Apartheid South Africa today makes the idea and the objective which Mandela consecrated his life for to run hollow as the Black Native South Africans have been given an empty egg shell and to develop the poverty of the Neo-Apartheid. This hypothesis is confirmed by the analysis and recent information given by New African (2014) commenting on John Pilger's book of 2006 titled "Freedom Next Time" where the author on insisting that:

"Apartheid did not die"... "tells how despite the release of Mandela from prison and the ushering in of democracy in 1994, which ended political and racial apartheid in South Africa, economic apartheid took on a new face. In the townships people have little change since the end of apartheid era."

The author goes on to elaborate on certain pertinent facts about this neo-apartheid syndrome that has embraced the entire South Africa. This stems from the pressure that was made to bear on the elitist moderate ANC stalwarts including Mandela led by the Thabo Mbeki-driven "historic negotiations" with the hardliners of Apartheid who had vowed never to give in to any Black claims of equal distribution of the wealth of South Africa. And to assure an easy ride for the Apartheid hard-core including the Groot Krokodil – the Great Crocodile, as Pete Botho was called, serially eliminated by assassination all the revolutionary hard-core ANC activists by the death squad of Vlakplass, the headquarters of the South African Gestapo; and by rigging of the 1994 elections to see that no member of the uncompromising PAC could be elected into the South African Parliament. It is very revealing as it is interesting to read the declarations of John Pilger as he goes on to reveal that:

"With democratic elections in 1994, racial apartheid was ended, and economic apartheid had a new face... Once in power, the party's official policy to end the impoverishment of most South Africans, the Reconstruction and Development Programme – RDP, was abandoned... During the 1980s the Botho regime had offered Black businessmen generous loans, allowing them to set up companies outside the Bantustans. A new black bourgeoisies emerged quickly, along with a rampant cronyism. As disparities between white and black narrowed, they widened between black and black. The familiar refrain that the new wealth would "trickle down" and "create jobs" was lost in dingy merger deals and "restructuring" that cost jobs. For foreign companies, a black face on the board often ensured that nothing had changed. In the early 1970s ANC declared: 'It is a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace

more than formal political democracy. To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interest in tact...does not represent even a shadow of liberation.’ But in 2001, seven years after the ANC had come to power with Nelson Mandela as the first Black President of a democratic South Africa, George Soros told the Davos World Economic Forum: ‘South Africa is in the hands of international capital.’ While average white household income has risen by 15%, according to government statistics, average black household income has fallen by 19%, a descent from one level of poverty to another. In 2004 the Landless People Movement accused of reneging on its ‘liberation pledge’ to redistribute 30% of the country’s agricultural land from 60,000 white farmers to the rural and urban poor. Little more than 2% of the land had been transferred in the decade since liberation...In its early years...In its early years, the ANC government was subjected to an ‘ideological barrage’, as the writer Hein Marraais describes it, with ‘incessant’ pressure from the US to accept a message of a ‘plethora’ of research projects launched by the IMF and World Bank. A seduction of the ANC and its allies was well under way. Was it simply a matter of the ANC having been in exile for so long it was willing to accept power at any price? Although there were those who had flirted with radical change, it was mission Christianity, not Marxism, that left the most indelible mark on the ANC elite in exile and prison. Even the revered Freedom Charter, a ‘rights of man’ document, was an expression of hopeful liberation rather than a blueprint to transform a repressed society.”

It is from these glaring revelations that one understands that the ANC and Mandela Liberation was a mere hoax that stole the real liberation from the people of South Africa. It is under these disturbing revelations that one is made to ask with John Pilger the same questions he has been asking namely:

So what was the deal struck between ANC leadership and the (Afrikaner) Broederbond which stood behind the apartheid regime?

What had Mandela and Thabo Mbeki and the other exiles in Zambia offered? What role had the Americans and international capital played?

The revelations made by John Pilger are so embarrassing for us to think that after all was said and done by the Mandela Sphinx of resistance to Apartheid and liberation of his people, he had to end up a turn coat that obliged to sell his birth right and the rights of his entire people for a bowl of Apartheid porridge. And this goes on to confirm what I had feared after analysing in my own personal experience of Post-Apartheid South Africa. As explained by New African (2014) John Pilger went on to elaborate how:

“A deal was put together in high secrecy between November 1982 and May 1990, when ANC officials led by Thabo Mbeki (who had attended the Lusaka meeting as Oliver Tambo’s political secretary), met 20 prominent members of the Afrikaner elite

at a stately house, Mells Park House, near Bath, in England...So secret were the convivial meetings that none but a select few in the ANC knew about them. Mbeki feared that his plan for a deal – he preferred ‘historic compromise’ – would be rejected as sell-out by those of his comrades facing the full fury of the apartheid regime in the townships. It was understandable as the prime movers behind these meetings were those who had underpinned and profited from apartheid – as British mining giant, Consolidated Goldfields(which picked up the bill for MellsPark House, where it was clear that the most important to be decided around the fireplace was the economic system that would accompany ‘democracy’. The apartheid regimes’s aim was to split the ANC between the ‘moderates’ they could do business with (Mandela and Tambo, together with Mbeki) and the majority who made up the UDF and were fighting in the streets. Mandela political contact with the regime was Niel Bernard, an apartheid true believer who ran the National Intelligence Service.”

That makes one to understand why very few Black South Africans, especially radicals just like Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Onkopotse Abram Tiro, and even pacifist Black Consciousness philosophers Lucky Dube, will never be allowed by the White supremacist society, to celebrate their 94nd Birth Day the way the Apartheid Showcased Mandela has.

The Afrikaner Broedebond was very calculative to make all the gains in their favour when they saw that they could not hold any longer against world opinion and the armed struggle in South Africa which was inevitably going to prevail against them in the long run. They had to go in for Nelson Mandela as the lesser evil and danger who had become the best bet because he had been reduced to a shadow of himself, this ferocious boxer who through years in prison had been reduced to a castrated emasculated giant of the ANC.

As Terry Bell (2001, 2003) well explains the circumstances under which the negotiations for the end of apartheid were not the best and were not thought out through thoroughly and rationally to assure the objectives that the ANC and PAC as well as the CPSA had fought for. The negotiating table was more or less designed to be, according to Terry Bell, that of dining and reinforcing the pact with the Devil. This was so because the ANC was forced to negotiate with the “Party of Apartheid” which had only changed its name to the “New National Party” without as much caring to change or modify its hard-liner’s attitude to make concessions for the ANC and to Black South Africans.

That is the reason why Terry Bell tries in his narrative tries to make the reader understand that it was not all that easy to broker a fair deal with the Afrikaner Broedebond at the time the ANC started its negotiations which he describes as the “bloodiest decade of Apartheid, the 1980s,” considering the

“circumstances that leading up to the compromise of the negotiated settlement and the creation of the TRC.” Terry Bell highlights this position of weakness from which the ANC was forced to negotiate with the Afrikaner Broederbond on the loser’s end as he goes on to show that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission - TRC was more of a charade and a window-dressing to please the consciences of the Apartheid Regime, than a serious institution of redress for wrongs and all the atrocities committed against the Black people of South Africa. Wherefore the Afrikaner Broederbond did everything in its power to undermine the TRC as Bell explains that there was “an attempt by hidden hands from the past to derail the TRC by crudely fabricating evidence to implicate Dumisa Ntsebeze in a massacre.” Bell goes on to show how this was a classic example of how the Afrikaner Broederbond did everything in their power “...of not fully exposing the past and rooting out those criminals who will remain in positions of power.” All these tactics were well studied and applied by the Afrikaner Broederbond so that the Neo-Apartheid Regime should be installed in South Africa as John Pilger (2006, New African 2014) affirms. Terry Bell explains in detail that:

“The Broederbond, this secret society to which every president, prime minister, senior parliamentarian, military and police officer belonged, together with most senior church and education leaders, was the primary think tank of the system and the major influence on policy. It was never investigated by the TRC. Nor were any of its officials called to account.”

Terry Bell, in his book, shows how the Afrikaner Broederbond has made it its prerogative to efface all the horrible history of Apartheid. This history must be effaced because the ritualizing of its memory will keep reminding the native South Africans and the Afrikaner Broederbond of their crime against humanity as he qualifies the atrocities of the Apartheid regime against the Black people of South Africa. Wherefore to avoid any eventual building of the collective memory that would lead to reprisals and demand for compensation and explanation, this past history must be effaced. Terry Bell explains:

“There is a new strong move to close the door on the past, to pretend that all is not just forgiven, but forgotten, to bury many aspects of our recent history. In April 2003. After years of struggling to obtain TRC documents illegally seized and held by the National Intelligence Agency – the NIA finally relented and agreed to release the documents. But the agency did so at the same time that the justice ministry gazette a renewable regulation exempting the NIA from having to declare what documents it holds. This declaration is a requirement for all public and private bodies under South

Africa's Promotion of Access to Information Act – PAIA. What the regulation means is that any government department wishing to keep secret any records, only has to transfer those records to the NLA where a "classification and declassification committee" may rule the "sensitive" or "secret". All of this contributes toward the attempt to draw a bland screen of moral equivalence over South Africa's recent history."

Terry Bell goes further to explain how through this drawing of a bland screen over the atrocities of the past, the Afrikaner Broederbond was able to conceal many key players of the Apartheid regime like Horace William Doncaster, who became post-apartheid Military Intelligence. Horace was none other than the chief of the apartheid military's secret Directorate of Covert Collection – DCC unit, "...which organized murders and mayhem throughout southern Africa." Horace has never been brought to book and question. Neither has he ever been obliged to explain or apologise for the role he played in all these murders, nor has he been obliged to appear before the TRC. Wherefore Terry Bell explains that his book "seeks to probe where – for whatever reason – the TRC failed or feared to read. It is therefore obliged to look quite closely at the way in which the negotiated settlement in South Africa came about; looking especially as to who was involved and how they acted. His objective is to give to "his readers some understanding of current political developments in South Africa and of the possible motivation of some of the leading players." He therefore concludes on a bleak and discouraging note when he reiterates on the fact that South Africa has transformed itself into a state of Neo-Apartheid that still favours the Afrikaner Broederbond. Wherefore he asks that "with so much unfinished business still outstanding, one is entitled to ask how long South Africa's political miracle will last."

The realities of post-Apartheid South Africa today obliges us to recall what Sobukwe was telling his people 45 years ago, when he reiterated that:

"We have stated in the past, in all our documents, that whatever campaign is launched by any liberatory movement worth the name, must at all times be related to the ultimate objectives and must assist in building the fighting capacity of the masses. Now for over three hundred years, the white, foreign, ruling minority has used its power to inculcate in the African a feeling of inferiority. This group has educated the African to accept the status quo of white supremacy and Black inferiority as normal. It is our task to exorcise this slave mentality, and to impart to the African masses that sense of self-reliance which will make them prefer self-government to the good government preferred by the A.N.C.'s leader. It must clearly be understood that we are not begging the foreign minorities to treat our people courteously. We are calling on our people to assert their personality. We are not hoping for a change of heart on the part of the Christian

oppressor. We are reminding our people that they are men and women, with children of their own and homes of their own, and that just as much as they resent being called “kwedini” or “mfana” or “mosheman” by us? which is what “boy” means? they must equally resent such terms of address by the foreigner. We are reminding our people that acceptance of any indignity, any insult, any humiliation is acceptance of inferiority. They must first think of themselves as men and women before they can demand to be treated as such. The campaign will free the mind of the African and once the mind is free, the body will soon be free. Once white supremacy has become mentally untenable to our people, it will become physically untenable too, and will go. I am absolutely certain that once the STATUS CAMPAIGN is launched, the masses will themselves come forward with suggestions for the extension of the area of assault? and once that happens, the twilight of white supremacy and the dawn of African independence in this part of the continent, will have set in.”

Sobukwe’s “The State of the Nation Address” of 1959 is still very pertinent and alive today, not only to South Africans, but also, to any clairvoyant humanitarian spirited Africans and Human beings. If the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was worth its salt, then the Blacks of South Africa, just like the Blacks of Africa and the Diaspora, who were subjected to the ravaging of the Genocidal-Slavery for over four hundred years that laid waste Africa and the re-exploitation of Africa by the colonial Masters and Settlers, would have been given due compensation for all that they, since their forebears, had lost through this monster capitalist economic governance machinery established in Africa by the White Supremacist and inhumanitarian culture of cannibalistic economic growth and opulence.

The truth remains that since the Peace and Reconciliation Commission, which brought an end to the Apartheid regime, and the shower of the humanitarian magnanimity of the Black people, South Africa has been transformed and undergone a new Herrenvolkenisation both socially and environmentally, to a point where if Sobukwe were to arise to live again, he would die a hundred times again to see that the atrocities of Sharpville are still perpetrated on the Lonmin Makarina Platinum miners (2012) today.

That is reason why no amount of showcasing Mandela at the monumental statue of Pretoria, or the confiscated legacy that has been erected to stand in the cold of Trafalgar Square of London of Great Britain which promoted the Apartheid Regimes in South Africa, or the final Monumental Ritual at Qunu where Mandela joined his ancestors, will stop Mandela not to turn several times in revolt in his grave, until the objective he stood for to liberate and rehabilitate his disinherited people is fully accomplished in the same manner as

Sobukwe, Onkgopotse Abram Tiro and Steve Biko had originally planned, assassinated and died for.

It was in this memory that I composed this poem and song in honour of Mandela's transition titled:

Long Walk To Prison

*The Super-Power Vultures were anxiously waiting to feast on
Your programmed Apartheidised-Integrated Carcass kept on hold
In the mainstream microwave to stay warm and palatably fresh
After your comatic departure from the ordained Messianic Crest
Your people were to attain and reclaim their land and god-given right
To celebrate the ancestral sacrifice the blood of Chaka's might and plight
Poured in the shrine urns of liberation of his enslaved and disinherited people
Of Shona, Venda, Zulu, Ndembele, Sotho, Swazi, San lands from heartless occupying
Crocodiles...*

*The Groot Krokodil -wailings were lauder than the depth of the grief of the original
Qunu relatives
Especially as the Professional Mourners are used to their computerized
mockery playbacks
And the fast-food style of representations and diplomatic who's who's Jazzy-Cracks
To see that Mandela's legacies did not betray Capitalism's Mission-Statesmanship
For the Blood Kimberly Diamonds, Blood Gold and Blood Lonmin Makarina
Platinum
That in cold blood murdered 44 unarmed miners striking for raising wages minimums
To liveable livelihood standards the disinherited poor of the landless and homeless
South Africans have been condemned to wait and languish in protracted helplessness...*

*The Neo-Apartheid Slave-Driven caterpillar rolls on unperturbed who is crushed in
The wake as new squatting 'Guguletus' spring up replacing Townships in the posing
High-Security neighbourhoods where Rodweilers and German Shepherds are the new
law-makers
As Terre-Blanche lions feast on some
Truth-and-Reconciliation-Commission Trespassers
Who are still denied their rights to the
Equity of Land-Redistribution and Compensation
Who are still denied their rights to Freedom of
Development of Rehabilitation and Indigenisation
And Mandela bones blush and turn bleu in the grave at*

*Qunu regretting the cramps
 Of the new Prison and his frozen effigy at
 Trafalgar Square tells you Robben Island
 Is not far as he calls for a new house-warming ritual to
 Re-install the indigenisation hearth
 As Robert Sobukwe warns 'better late than never' to
 Reconcile with Steve Biko's master plan.*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Buea, 15th December, 2014.

Actually the African personality building which Sobukwe stood for is still not achieved as Africa and post-colonial Africa and post-Apartheid South Africa have remained a continent and a country still “herrenvolkenised by their herrenvolk environment,” where White supremacy culture, slave-driven exploitative capitalist economy and mode of good life for a chosen few, based on exploiting the poor and the weak, reigns.

The author has not yet recovered from the shock he had when he first visited Post-Apartheid South Africa and toured the entire country sponsored by the humanitarian institute of Alliance Française and UNISA to deliver conferences on Art and Peace building. He was shocked by the desolation of the Townships by Pretoria and the Homelands, most of which, like the Venda Homeland, the Kwandebele, the inclement and arid regions of South Africa and the squatting slums (Guguletu) of Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and outskirt of Stellenbosch were in very deplorable states. He could not believe that expansive stretches of plantation land like the beautiful expansive vineyards in Stellenbosch and Northern Territory of Venda land belonged just to one family made up of a man, his wife and two children with hordes of black farm workers at their beck and call. It reminded him of some of the senile feudal systems of the Middle Ages he experienced in Northern and Southern Italy when I studied there in the 1960s and 1970s; and some parts of decadent royal France where he experienced in the late 1970s and early 1980s the desolation of some heavily exploited peasants.

It was in honour of these forgotten and dejected have-nots of the Townships of Neo-Apartheid South Africa, that he composed this Poem titled:

South African “Tami” Woman

*Eyes were piercing through panelled canvas
 The sun was rising behind the Transvaal*

*Tracing the skyline of the sleeping Townships
In the newsy clouds remaking human beliefs;*

*I saw you coming out in the various shades
The Artist could display about your tastes;
You were neither fully green, nor blue, nor yellow
As the eternal mind-light shrouded you in a glow;*

*Only spiritual beings could grasp the mystery
You budded out of Tami's brush like a rose of history,
Telling all the people who saw you about the scrapings,
About the "Ife" scarifications on your figure-padding;*

*He chiselled out your face
To bring out the ritual tattoos
Holding firm into the grooves
Of your raped amber body in wood;*

*The abused nipples of your hair exploded
Like shooting stars through the tormented night;
While the battered corn was growing extended
Grains, under the agonising moonlit sky of critical time.*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Pretoria, 16/05/1997

Sobukwe was very fiery when he made his point 45 years ago when he warned Africans not to trade their identity and personality for the soft campaign of the oppressor colonialist and imperialist and go in to negotiate for half measures:

"Certain quarters have accused us of being concerned more with our status, with being addressed as "Sirs" and "Mesdames" than with the economic plight of the African people. Our reply is that such accusations can come only from those who think of the African as an economic animal? a thing to be fed? and not as a human being. It is only those who have been herrenvolkenised by their herrenvolk environment, people who have no idea whatsoever of the African personality, who can expect us to be lick-spittles in order to get more crumbs from the oppressor. Others again, have said that we have chosen a soft campaign, without any risks, because we fear to challenge apartheid totally. Let it be clear that we are not fighting just apartheid. We are fighting the whole concept of white supremacy. And we are fully aware of the nature and size of our task.

And we will not shirk it. Right from the beginning of the campaign, the leaders will be in front. They will picket the concerns that are to be boycotted. And they will do so under our slogan of "no bail, no defence, no fine." And that slogan will not be changed until we land on the shores of freedom and independence."

Sobukwe could be accused of inverse racism by those who did not and do not still quite understand the depth of his humanism and the humanism in Pan Africanism. Sobukwe had never considered the White Settler or the Indian slave cropper brought into South Africa, as a foreigner whose place was elsewhere out of Africa. He, just like Lucky Dube, was calling all the "Indianaman, the Whiteman, the Colouredman, the Asian man, and all the Rasta man"...to come together and fight for their rights "as ONE MAN, ONE WOMAN".

This poetic dream was expressed in "Clarion Call" he made at the end of "The state of the Nation Address" which sealed the Humanism of Pan Africanism, when he cried out in what he called the Clarion Call:

Clarion call:

*We therefore call first of all on the members of
the Pan-Africanist Congress who are the hard core,
the advance guard that must lead the struggle and
on the African people in general.
All of them, without exception, must wait for the call.
They will be kept informed of every step we take.
And when the call comes,
we expect them to respond
like a disciplined people.
There is plenty of suffering ahead.
There is plenty of suffering ahead, [sic]
The oppressor will not take this lying down.
But we are ready.
We will not go back.
Come what may.
This campaign will be maintained,
unfolded and expanded until Masiza's
question is answered:
"Koda kube nini Nkosi Zonke izizwe
zisinyasha pantsi kweenyawo?"
(Until when, oh Lord,*

*will all nations trample us under foot)?
until we can answer "no more".*

*We will go on,
Sons and Daughters of Afrika,
until in every shanty,
in every bunk in the compounds,
in every hut in the deserted villages,
in every valley and on every hill top,
the cry of African freedom and
independence is heard.*

*We will continue until
we walk the streets of our land
as free men and free women,
our heads held high.
We will go on until the day dawns
when every person who is in Afrika
will be African and
a man's colour will be as irrelevant
as is the shape of his ears.*

*We will go on,
steadfastly,
relentlessly and determinedly
until the cry of "Afrika for the Africans,
the Africans for humanity and
humanity for God" becomes a reality;
until government of the Africans
by the Africans
for the Africans
is a fait accompli.*

We will not look back.

*We will not deviate,
and as the heat of oppression mounts
we shall become purer and purer,
learning new lessons,
and leaving all the dross of racialism
and similar evils behind to emerge
as a people mentally
and physically disciplined,
appreciative of the fact that:*

There is only one man in the world,

*And his name is All men.
 There is only one woman in the world,
 And her name is All women.
 Sons and Daughters of Afrika,
 we are today on the threshold of a historic era.
 We are about to witness momentous events.
 We are blazing a new trail,
 and we invite you to be,
 with us creators of history.
 Join us in the march of freedom.
 March with us to independence.
 To independence now.
 Tomorrow the United States of Afrika.
 IZWE LETHU!!” (Robert Sobukwe, 2nd August 1959)*

No poetic eloquence has ever sealed the humanitarian objective of Pan Africanism so beautifully and so precisely and elegantly. One can feel this beauty in Sobukwe’s verve-vein and blood flowing in his body as he recites this poetic dream of Africa, from Africa, for Humanity. It is this humanism that Sobukwe coined in his own saying which became the motto he lived by and proposed to all Africans and all humanity, as coincidentally, Africa happens to be the cradle of humanity and also their Haven wherever they may be molested and need solace and comfort. Thus Sobukwe (1924-1978) invites everyone to come and enjoy the Pan African Humanism, saying:

“Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Afrika. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree”

Sobukwe and Lucky Dube reincarnated each other in their philosophy and vision for Africa and its humanism. These two South Africans criss-crossed each other in their endeavour to build a more humanitarian Rainbow South Africa.

But the truth remains that their plea fell on deaf ears as both Humanists were assassinated by the propagators of the Apartheid Regime in South Africa. It is in their honour that I composed this poem and rap song titled:

Dirge For The Rasta-Man

You raised the hopes of your

*Divided people in the divided land
Where colour accidents were taken for
Real building blocks for barring walls
Between peoples of a common African origin
And a commonly forged destiny
From the Olduvai Valley the cradle of
Dynamic Humanity to the uttermost parts...*

*Of this dynamic earth of mobilities
Mutations and transmutations
Like the rainbow pythoned peoples of
The bubble-gum chewing-swallowing generations
Refusing to admit similarities bonding humans
In the eternal gestational rebirthings
And propagating the minute differences that
Camouflage our essential Humanism...*



*Photos 167 (a) (b): Lucky Dube The New Pan African Humanism Prophet Of
Reconciliation And Integration And The Rainbow Universe Builder*

*Lucky Dube fate could not spare you
The time and space to heal up
The gaping wounds left by the atrocities
Of the apartheid brain trust...
In your Truth and Reconciliation Songs
You called on the rainbow people...
The Afrikaana-Man and Woman
The Indiana-Woman and Man
The Asiana-Women and Men
The Europeana-Men and Women
The Bantu Women and Men...
Of South Africa to join together and work
In unity as one strong loving community...*

*You invoked the Ubuntu Spiritual Ancestors
And called on your people and Africa to ploy
And build more schools and destroy
The mental and physical prisons
To bridge up the gaping gaps of injustices...
Which have created the rampaging poverty
Which have created the squatting homeless the
Black Mambazo minstrels are re-echoing
From your mighty assuaging voice of
Spiritual power, spiritually reassuring...*

*You won millions of Nobel Peace Prizes
From the terrorised people of our
World where your non-violent weapon-songs
Beamed in wounded hearts the rays of
Hope and determination to bridge the
Mind-gaps of empty pride in ignorance
Which has been perpetrated by false
Prophetic scientists and racist scammers
And deglobalizers of the humanistic world...*

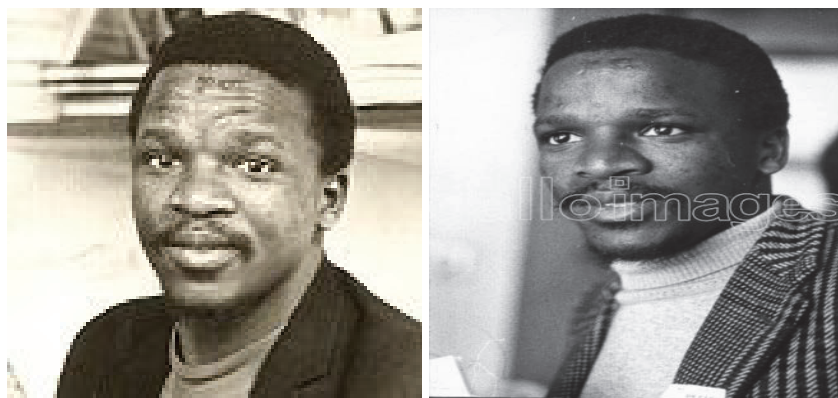
*Lucky Dube fate could not spare you
The time and space to heal up*

*The gaping wounds left by the atrocities
 Of the apartheid brain trust...
 In your Truth and Reconciliation Songs
 You called on the rainbow people...
 The Africaana-Man and Woman
 The Indiana-Woman and Man
 The Asiana-Women and Men
 The Europeana-Men and Women
 The Bantu Women and Men...
 Of South Africa to join together and work
 In unity as one strong loving community...
 Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, 19th August 2008.*

Another unsung song of Pan Africanism is that of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro (1945- 1974). He was one of the most dogged and vibrant ANCYL activist, who was assassinated (Sam Ditshego, 2012) in Kgale, Gaborone, in 1974, by the Apartheid South African Z-Squad.

Onkgopotse Abram Tiro, who had a motto that “It is better to die for an idea that will live than to live for an idea that will die”; started his activism, like all Black African intellectuals, who were initiated into the ANC activism, at the University of the North where he enrolled as a student of Humanities.

His criticism of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, at the graduation ceremony of the University in 1972 precipitated his sack from the University because of what later became known as the “Turfloop Testimony”.



Photos 168 (a) & (b): Onkgopotse Abram Tiro: 1945 - 1 February 1974, Botswana

It would seem from documentations and testimonies (H. Mashabela, 1989) and Joe Mdhlela (1999), confirm that Onkgopotse Tiro was one of the most profound down-to-earth youthful pragmatic activists Africa has ever

produced. It is considered that he was one of the founding brains behind the creation of South African Students' Association in 1969. Harry Mashabela (1987) confirms that:

"In 1973, Tiro became involved in the activities of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), a movement set up and developed primarily by Black students after 1968 to encourage Black people to liberate themselves psychologically from the effects of institutionalised racism and white liberalism. It is not clear what Tiro's involvement in the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) was in 1969. In fact, evidence suggests that the initiative for the formation of SASO came from Natal University's Black Campus, where Steve Biko was clearly in the forefront. However, it is at Turfloop that the first major outbreak of dissent occurred in 1972. Tiro not only precipitated this outbreak but was also at the centre of it. And in 1973 he became SASO's chief organiser... There is no doubting the link between Tiro's expulsion and the emergence of the South African Students Movement (SASM) in April 1972. Indications are that while Biko proved to be resourceful in organizing students in institutions of higher learning, he did not have any interactions with those in high schools. It was left to Tiro and other adherents of BCM to mobilize students at high schools. And as Tiro's presence at Morris Isaacson became apparent, the authorities were alarmed."

After he was sent away from the University for his revolutionary activism he decided to go teach in the High Schools, where he began to sensitise the Secondary and High School students about the Black Consciousness Movement philosophy of Steve Biko. He sensitised them to be very critical of the Bantu Education Policy which taught them a White brainwashed form of Bantu History and Civilisation which contributed to their mental colonisation. Some details emerging from Harry Mashabela's "A people on the boil" (1987) amply describes the role Onkgopotse Abram Tiro played in what was to become one of the largest and most outspokenly pragmatic demonstration of intellectual awareness by Black students assuming and internalising the Black Consciousness Movement philosophy propounded by Steve Biko.

Harry Mashabela (1987) testifies how following his expulsion from Turfloop, he took advantage of the offer of a post as a history teacher by Lekgau Mathabathe, the Headmaster at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto, to build a new platform and strategic base of sensitizing High School students on the Black Consciousness philosophy. It is here that he introduced and drilled his pupils to BCM's philosophy and started a campaign to encourage students to question not only the validity and content of the history

books prescribed by the Department of Bantu Education; but also the validity of the theory of White supremacy.

This is how through the energetic untiring efforts Onkgopotse Tiro, the Morris Isaacson High School became known as the “cradle of resistance” and went on to produce the likes of Tsietsi Mashinini, one of the student leaders who spearheaded the 1976 Soweto uprisings. Onkgopotse Tiro was therefore instrumental, not only in establishing South African Students Movement – SASM; but also in instilling and building the foundations of Black Consciousness among its youths. Through the relentless efforts of Onkgopotse Tiro, SASM and SASO became affiliated to the Black Consciousness Movement - BCM and strengthened their objective to influence the direction of Southern African student politics. This is how in 1972 Tiro gained his position of merit when he was elected the Honorary President of the movement at a congress in Lesotho.

At this juncture of his fame and intellectual and strategic prowess, it was not long before the government, worried about the speed at which the Black Consciousness Philosophy was gaining grounds in the High Schools all over the country, started putting pressure on school principals to dismiss those teachers they had offered employment to who formerly were students expelled from Black Universities. That was how after six months at Morris Isaacson, OnkgopotseTiro was expelled.

Harry Mahabela (1987) confirms that after Onkgopotse Tiro lost his teaching post, the apartheid government used its powers to silence or restrict SASO’s leadership. Those affected, who became famously known as the SASO Nine, included Steve Biko, (who had become SASO’s leader at its inception), Bokwe Mafuna, Barney Pityana, Saths Cooper, Strini Moodley, Harry Nengwekhulu, Drake Koka and Jerry Modisane.

Onkgopotse Abram Tiro was not only a Black consciousness philosopher, he was also a Pan African economist who also believed that “...the primary source of income for Black people is land, and we had to restore land to the dispossessed”. And his fight for the Black people of South Africa to regain access to their confiscated lands could not be over looked, given the intellectual articulation with which he explained his groundings. No matter Onkgopotse rejection of the skewed Bantu Educational Act; where Bantu people were taught to believe by White immigrants, that they the White settlers found the land unoccupied; and the blatant lie that they the White people came first to Southern Africa and that is why they who constitute only 11% of the population, have claimed over 80% of the entire land of South Africa, the Apartheid and post-Apartheid South African White minority still claim today as their rights, without any qualms of conscience, the lands which

they seized from the Bantu people; the White supremacist history still prevailed in the schools. This is the reason why in a posted comment (2012) in face book to commemorate the 38th anniversary of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro's assassination anniversary, an admirer has this to say about the so-called Peace and Reconciliation Commission, which refused JUSTICE to the South African People and to Onkgopotse Abram Tiro:

"...yah this is a bit depressing because of the painful memories of what happened and to know that some of the perpetrators are living among us comfortably with the truth...the main challenge is making the peace, but you cannot have peace without justice, and you cannot have justice without the truth, and you cannot have truth without honesty! I remember Tiro, we know the story and some of the things that have been whispered even about what happened to the BCM in exile, as another political organisation that was outside the country! Let us not go there here, but someday the whole sordid sorry truth needs to be told in full. My big fear is that magna are going to recolonise us because in the process of fighting with and lying to one another, they will once more run away with the bone! Who are we going to cry for then? The story of Tiro reminds all of us once more that when the death squads of apartheid killed, they did not target one political organisation in exile, they killed anybody they saw as a threat to White supremacy."

But Onkgopotse Abram Tiro was not the one who would give up as he had always reminded his followers that "...It is better to die for an idea that will live than to live for an idea that will die". And While in he knew that he was a target of the ruthless Apartheid regime's man-hunting and killing squad, he never relented in his activism for Black Consciousness Philosophy. Being targeted by the Apartheid Regime and Z-Squad did not deter him from continuing fearlessly with his activism for the liberation of his deprived and oppressed people as testified by Harry Mashabela and others who affirm that:

"Travelling to all parts of Southern Africa, including Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, Tiro won more support for the Black Consciousness philosophy. However, towards the end of 1973 he found out that the police were planning to arrest him and he fled to Botswana, where he played a leading role in the activities of SASM, SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC). While living a simple life at the Roman Catholic Mission at Khale, a village about 20km from Gaborone, he was instrumental in forging links with militant revolutionary groups such as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1973."

The dedicated patriot he was, Onkgopotse Tiro continued with his activism even though he suspected that he was going to be assassinated by the South African apartheid killing squad, as testified by a close friend (2012) on his 38th anniversary who narrates:

“Sadly I believe I was the last person to see Tiro alive, except of course, the person who gave him the letter bomb. I was told he was killed 30 minutes after we separated. Tiro and I had discussed the danger of assassination by letter or parcel bomb.”

Onkgopotse Abram Tiro will go down in Pan African history as one of that rare germ of youthful blossom that brought more hope and life to the dispossessed and oppressed of the world as this eulogy by Harry Mashabela (1987) enjoins:

“Throughout his life he showed a commitment to working for the well-being of the underprivileged. He believed that “the primary source of income for blacks is land, and we need to restore land to the dispossessed”. Perhaps the fact that he had spent his childhood in the rural village of Dinokana had sharpened his appreciation of the importance of land.”

Onkgopotse Abram Tiro’s legacy would forever remain evergreen in the memory of young Pan Africanists as that strategist activist who inspired the Soweto rising and the young students who stood up for their rights despite the bayonets and tanks of the murdering Apartheidists of South Africa. It was in his evergreen memory and the brave young students of Soweto who gave their lives that their people should live that I composed these great poems and songs which were presented over BBC and the Netherlands Radio African Service in the 1980s titled:

Soweto’s Verdict

*The Cape of Good Hope has been beheaded...
By the order of the “Gods” of Africa
The Black Oracle Onkgopotse Abram Tiro has prophesied...
Of the avenging sentence of New Chaka...
Immortalised by the barbaric killings
Executed by the ghostly faces...
Of the Ghostly Apartheid Regime...
To build up the Spiritual Army of Africa...
The once docile waters are roaring with milky blood...*

As the trunk of the dying Godlaith-Afrikaaner
In his short-lived struggle to resist Natural Justice
Turns to Soweto for new transplanting parts...
In Brains, Livers, Kidneys, Eyes, Hearts and Limbs...
But it is too late for the Barnard-Magic...
The Spirits of the Living-Dead are reclaiming
Their grafted members and disintegrated parts...
The Black "Gods of Africa and Azania are reclaiming
Their Usurped Land and Natural Wealth
Which belonged to NO
HUMAN BEING!!

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 27th October 1977.

PEOPLE OF AZANIA'S FREEDOM

	<i>O Soweto, Soweto, Soweto...</i>	
		<i>When shall we be free</i>
<i>free</i>		<i>When shall our children be</i>
		<i>When shall our women be</i>
<i>free</i>		<i>When shall our people be</i>
<i>free...</i>		
	<i>O how can WE be in bondage</i>	
	<i>O how can we BE called slaves</i>	
	<i>O how can we be mocked and scorned</i>	
	<i>In our own Motherland...?</i>	
<i>O Africa...</i>	<i>Your people are suffering they are starving everyday...</i>	
<i>O Africa...</i>	<i>Your people are sick they are perishing with HIV/AIDS...</i>	
<i>O Africa...</i>	<i>Your people are imprisoned they are tortured...</i>	
<i>O Africa...</i>		
<i>Oho-o-o... oho-o-o...</i>		
<i>O Africa...</i>		
<i>Our Motherland...</i>		
<i>Tam-tam...</i>		
<i>Tam-tam's playing</i>		

*Hear the music...
Tam-tam's playing
Over the forest...
Tam-tam's playing
Over the rivers...
Tam-tam's playing
Over the mountains...
Tam-tam's playing...*

Calling our children...

Tam-tam 'splaying

Calling our women...

Tam-tam's playing

Calling our people...

Tam-tam's playing...

O-O Soweto, wake up now

O-O Soweto, wake up now

O-O Soweto, wake up now

O-O Chaka, come now and save us

Come now and save us...

Come now and save us...

O-O Soweto, wake up now

O-O Soweto, wake up now...

People of Azania wake up and fight now

Fight for your people

Fight for your children

Fight for country

Fight for your nation...

People of Azania wake up

and fight

Against Apartheid...

People of Azania wake up

and fight

Against Discrimination...

People of Azania wake up

and fight

Against Humiliation...

For the Freedom of the

wake up and fight

PEOPLE OF AZANIA! ...

When Donald Woods, a South African Journalist, describes his friendship with Steve Biko (1977; 3rd ref.ed.1991) and their relationship as portrayed in the film “Cry Freedom” (1987), he was not only paying tribute to valiant nationalist activist; he was also exposing the brutality and human rights abuses that the Apartheid regime of South Africa meted on all those who, like Steve Biko, stood up against Apartheidist lie of White supremacy and Black inferiority.

Even though the Police officers involved, after they had manhandled Steve Biko and had him severely beaten while in custody and left him with brain damage, were cleared by the sham Apartheid judiciary of their wrongdoing; twenty years later, in 1997, five of the former police officers, at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, confessed to having committed other atrocities on Black people and to having killed Steve Bantu Biko in cold blood.

But Steve Bantu Biko’s activism was motivated to liberate South Africa of the inhumane shameful Apartheid ideology and practice, as he once said in his own quotes that: “We are looking forward to a non-racial, just and egalitarian society in which colour, creed and race shall form no point of reference.”

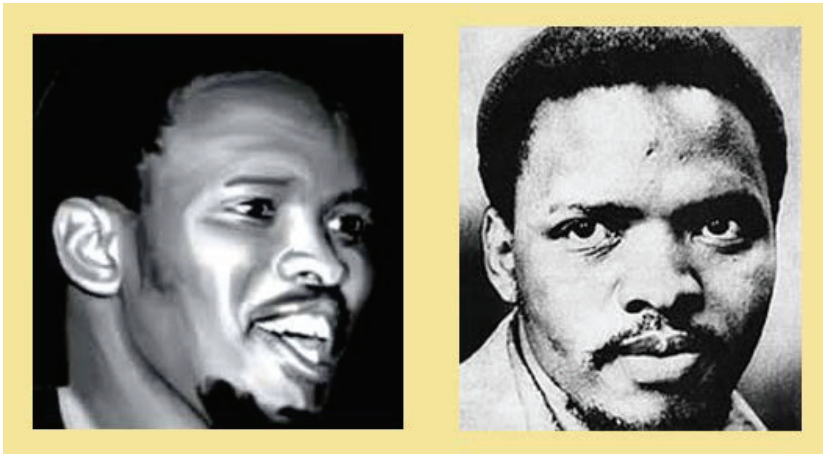
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Bantu Biko had quit Medical school to devote his life to solve the physical and psychological predicament to which his people, the Black people of South Africa, were daily subjected. He had believed that mental and moral healing was more relevant to the Black people of South Africa than the physical healing he was pursuing. As confirmed by Nkosinathi Biko of the Biko Foundation (bikon@sbf.org.za, 2012):

“It was while he was in Natal that Biko began truly questioning the apartheid system and the conditions that his people were forced to endure. Biko became more involved in the daily struggle that faced Blacks, and he decided to quit medical school. In 1968, Steve Biko became the cofounder and first president of the all-Black South African Students’ Organization (SASO)

The primary aim of the organization was to raise black consciousness in South Africa through lectures and community activities. Biko concluded that the apartheid system had a psychological effect on the Black population, which had caused Blacks to internalize and believe Whites' racist stereotypes. According to Biko, Blacks had been convinced that they were inferior to Whites, which resulted in the hopelessness that was prevalent in the Black community. Biko preached Black solidarity to "break the chains of oppression"..."



Photos 169 (a) & (b): Bantu Steve Biko: 18 December 1946 - 12 September 1977

It was this final objective intent of breaking the chains of oppression that Bantu Steve Biko undertook to initiate the Black Consciousness Movement to sensitise the Black people of South Africa to take charge of their emancipation process. That is how Biko (Biko Foundation, 2007) declared that:

"In an effort to maintain our solidarity and relevance to the situation we must resist all attempts at the fragmentation of our resistance. Black people must recognize the various institutions of apartheid for what they are – gags intended to get black people fighting separately for certain 'freedoms' and 'gains' which were prescribed for them a long time ago."

His dogged belief in Black emancipation through anti-Apartheid activism was intensified between the 1960s and early 1970s. This is what made the Apartheid government to target all the new youthful innovative revolutionaries of the Black Consciousness Movement – BMC, to hunt them down, shoot and kill them like animals, without any qualms of conscience or consideration.

After the assassination in December 1972, of Mthuli Shezi one of Tiro's close associates, at the Germiston Railway Station; and then in 1974 of

Onkgopotse Tiro, the strategist with the very organic and precise ruse in getting into the body and mind of his audience, and one of the most feared of the BCM's activists; the Apartheid regime stemmed up its repressive machinery throughout the country and reinforced the anti-Terrorism Act which gave the Police full powers to arrest and even torture of anti-Apartheid activists considered instrumental in spreading dissent in South Africa.

Actually the target was all Bantu Steve Biko's followers who were staunch activists of the Black Consciousness Movement - BCM which had spread its new youthful innovative revolutionary ideology in the townships, the High Schools and the urban Black population. The BCM was not only feared by the Apartheid regime, but also by the mainstream conservative ANC, who was even accused by the activists of the BMC of actually collaborating with the Apartheid regime. The ANC feared the BMC because it had introduced a new strategy of grassroots revolution, which was supplanting the leadership of the ANC who had always championed the liberation cause of the Black people. Harry Mashabela (1987) and others affirm that Mapetla Mohapi who was another activist and close associate of Tiro, and Bantu Steve Biko fell victims to Police brutality perpetrated against BMC activists. Testimonies from Biko Foundation (2007) and Harry Mashabela (1987) elaborate on the harassment Biko became subjected to from the Apartheid killing Z-Squad and other Secret Agencies of the Apartheid killing Squads in these terms:

"Biko's political activities eventually drew the attention of the South African government resulting in him being banned in 1973. The banning restricted Biko from talking to more than one person a time in an attempt to suppress the rising political movement. The banning did not stop Biko's commitment to activism. For the next four years, he continued to spread his message at gatherings and with his underground publication called 'Frank Talk'. During this period Biko was often harassed, arrested, and detained by the South African Police...On August 18, 1977, Biko was seized by the police and detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. This draconian law had resulted in the loss of freedom of over 40,000 Blacks in South Africa since 1950. The law permitted the police to hold Biko in jail indefinitely, however the end of his term was due to his violent death, not freedom. Biko was held in prison for twenty-four days where he was interrogated, starved, and brutally beaten. It wasn't until Biko was lying unconscious, that the doctors suggested that he be transported to Pretoria for medical treatment, 740 miles away. On September 12, 1977, Biko became the forty-first person in South Africa to die while being held in the custody of the South African Police."

Bantu Steve Biko left a lasting legacy in his philosophy of Black Consciousness which also carried in it the vital germ of humanism of Pan

Africanism and self-determination of the dispossessed and abused people of the Black race. He will always be remembered like the one who stood up like Malcolm X and refused to turn the other cheek to the Whiteman when slapped in the face. But his violence for violence as the only language which the Apartheid regime understood very well was intended to be a surgical treatment for the cancerous tumour of Apartheid, repression, exploitation and racial discrimination of Black people in their own motherland by White migrant settlers who refused to embrace the African hospitality and humanism; and set up instead their selfish exploitative liberal man-eaters capitalism of poverty generation.

This legacy of Bantu Steve Biko will live forever to inspire the upcoming youths of Africa forever, as testified by Harry Mashabela (1987) and the Biko Foundation (2007) who elaborate on his life and dedication for Africa and Pan Africanist Humanism in the following manner:

“Steve Bantu Biko(18 December 1946 - 12 September 1977) was a noted anti-apartheid activist in South Africa in the 1960s and early 1970s. A student leader, he later founded the Black Consciousness Movement which would empower and mobilize much of the urban black population. Since his death in police custody, he has been called a martyr of the anti-apartheid movement. While living, his writings and activism attempted to empower blacks, and he was famous for his slogan “black is beautiful,” which he described as meaning: “man, you are okay as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being”. The ANC was very hostile to Biko and to Black Consciousness through the 70s to the mid 90s but has now included Biko in the pantheon of struggle heroes, going so far to use his image for campaign posters in South Africa’s first non-racial elections, in 1994.”

And it remains to be testified that if Bantu Steve Biko died seemingly, in the word of Sydney Kenridge, (Xolela Mangcu, 2012) “a miserable and lonely death on a mat on a stone floor in a prison cell,” that his death was one of the most glorious, with the unsung songs of all the heroic activists of the Black Consciousness Movement – BMCs, whose dedicated lives became the epitaphs on which the history of vibrant life of Pan Africanism and its humanism will forever be written and sung in these new verse (Fongot Kinni, 1984) which reads:

AFRICAN CONSCIOUSNESS PROPHET

*“Dauntless Steve Biko
Lend me your voice to sing out your praise*

*With your blood I will paint your portrait
 Which I shall sculpture from the stump of your skull...
 O yea... Steve Biko
 O yea... Steve Biko
 You are the torchbearer of our ideology
 The Totem of our new vindication
 You shall stand at the market place
 The Covenant Obelisk of our aspiration...
 O yea... Steve Biko
 O yea... Steve Biko
 On your grave I will grow corn of fertility and life
 Hungry women on eating its grain will become vigorous
 And fight on by their men; thirsty men on drinking its beer
 Will become fearless like indomitable leopards and lions...
 O yea... Steve Biko
 O yea... Steve Biko
 Then your children shall learn to count
 On the strengths of their creative minds
 Which will build on the legacies you have
 Built for posterity to revive for their Freedom...
 O yea... Steve Biko
 O yea... Steve Biko
 Steve Biko
 O Steve Biko...
 Steve Biko O Steve Biko...
 Lend me your voice
 To sing out your praise...
 Lend me your voice
 To sing out your Praise... !*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 24th November 1984.

Even though the Minister of Justice and the Police, Jeremy Kruger, in addressing a National Party Congress, declared that the death of Bantu Steve Biko was by hunger strike, and proclaimed blatantly: "I am not saddened by Biko's death and I am not mad. His death leaves me cold;" goes on to demonstrate the Apartheid racist repressive government disgust for Black people and the African cause and his proclaimed hate for the for the Black humankind which reverberated around the world.

But the indisputable truth remains, as the Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Professor Njabulo Ndebele (Xolela Mangcu, 2012)

proclaimed during the 23rd anniversary of the assassination of Bantu Steve Biko, describing this inhumane and callous Apartheid event as:

“...a continuum of indescribable insensitivity that begins as soon as Steve Biko and Peter Jones are arrested at a roadblock near Grahams town on 18 August 1977. It starts with lowly police officers who make the arrest in the relative secrecy of a remote setting and ends with a remarkable public flourish, when a minister of government declares that Biko’s death leaves him cold. This situation lets us deep into the ethical and moral condition of Afrikaanerdom, which not only shaped apartheid, but also was itself deeply shaped by it.”

When the South Africa Theatre, opening in Pretoria in April 2012, proclaims Winnie Mandela’s indelible legacy to South Africa, come what may be the contradictions in her life, it goes on to reiterate in the opera campaign material which states that:

“She gave voice to a time. She gave voice to a place. She gave voice to a people. Love her or hate her ... but come and hear her,” (and calling her) “...the woman who personified South Africa’s struggle for freedom...”

It is actually testifying to a life and contributions of Winnie Mandela by the Coordinator (SeventhOceanTeam@gmail.com, 2012) of the Freelance Design “Seventh Ocean Team” who proclaims this rare African political activist “Mammy-Water,” “Diva,” while painting her true human vivid picture for us:

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“Shy and unsociable, Winnie even in those years found remarkable organizational skills: able to rally the team, get his, to discipline others. By the time Winnie dating her

future husband the name of Nelson Mandela symbolized the aspirations of black people in South Africa, he was extremely popular, was known as the popular favourite, a national hero... After the wedding was a long lonely evenings and sometimes nights, when his wife did not know where Nelson. In their family were not supposed to ask such questions. It is clear that her husband worked for the benefit of the people, hiding from the police. Winnie herself, having engaged in political work, was soon dismissed. After the trial of his party Mandela went underground for a long time. The first weeks and months after the disappearance of Nelson have been a living hell for Winnie. It was only a shadow of her husband, and his sudden loss of a woman deprived of any support. However, Winnie was not the weak. Soon she learned to drive a car, regained contact with former friends and take part in active political activities..."

Meeting with Nelson occurred from time to time. Sometimes Winnie appeared an unknown person, who without a word takes her to an unknown destination. The risk that is taken when people fall in love and the fear that that love may be away by provocateurs or just murderers, as in the case of anti-Apartheid activists, has always been eminent. But for the sake of meeting with her husband Winnie was resolved to take the risk in the unknown journey. Luckily, they ended wonderfully. A long agonizing love, the tantalizing illusion of home comfort under the roof of another house and the parting ...Two tiny daughters everywhere accompanied by his "wife-Barnett"...In the early 1960 Mandela was nevertheless arrested. The court sentenced him to life imprisonment. Of course, the hope is the last person leaves, but Mandela understood only too well that as it may be he will spend in prison for a long time, perhaps so long that the relationship with his wife interrupted. Winnie, a young, beautiful, famous woman, left alone, and nobody would be able to control it.

First, she tried to keep an aura of martyrs and faithful friends. Winnie understood perfectly well that without these attributes, the "holy" does not achieve popularity. And her social status and inner strength allows a woman to continue the work of her husband. Together with women's committees, Winnie was engaged in charitable activities, political statements and dramatically responded to any harassment of the authorities.

The most difficult period of her life was solitary confinement, which lasted 17 months. She recalled that the most harrowing was hoe she was tormented by the enforced idleness and night interrogations. One day, suffering from loneliness, Winnie caught two ants, and played with them for as long as the insects did not escape...The subsequent twenty-seven years, Winnie carefully visited her husband in prison on Robben Island. Goodbye every time occurred through bulletproof glass, and the conversation was carried on an intercom.

Only the eldest daughter was allowed to embrace her father since she became the wife of the king of the neighbouring state and had diplomatic immunity. But when the “martyrdom” was over, Nelson was safely released to freedom, was elected president of the country and . . . with a terrible scandal broke up with former loyal friend and wife. Truly, “copper pipe” reveal the essence of human relations. The drama was played out. A new play - a farce.”



Photos 170 (a) & (b): Nkosikazi Nobandle Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela Mandela 1934

Winnie Mandela’s story, as portrayed in this crude narrative is the incarnation of all the brutalities and atrocities, as well as the psychological trauma, that the entire people of Apartheid South Africa suffered from the serial human rights abuses and repressions that they were subjected to for centuries before their liberation.

The controversies about Winnie Mandela’s life style seem to be inhumane and out of place, especially when she is judged out of context, forgetting the pressure on her on a daily basis. Psychiatrists would tell you how they would wonder how Winnie Mandela did not go mad after going through all this psychological trauma which was far destructive than what Nelson Mandela went through in a sheltered and safe prison.

And Nelson Mandela seems to have forgotten that African philosophical saying among the Chamba-Tadkon, the Beti, the Yamba of Cameroon, the Bambara of Mali, the Wolof of Senegal, the Tutsi of Rwanda, and other ethnicities of Africa, who warn that a man in marrying a woman should know that “...a woman is like a path way, a road, where many people have walked through before him and will still walk after him.”

Wherefore if marriage is to be seen only from the Semitic-Arabic-Islamic and Judeo-Christian perspective of “fidelity” which implies the housewivisation, sequestration, haremisation and confiscation of the woman’s liberty and personality by the husband who sees nothing good and appreciative in her but “sex,” and the sexualisation of the woman; then the colo-mentalised men have missed the point.

Nelson Mandela did not allow and give time for Winnie Mandela to recover from the trauma of living for almost 30 years a “ghost marriage,” as the Igbo African philosophical theory and practice confirms, as Winnie Mandela undertook to be married to a “Spirit,” the “Mandela Spirit,” which she embraced faithfully in her Spirit but not in his “Flesh.” That is why Winnie could be ignorantly accused of infidelity as copiously testified by the Coordinator of (SeventhOceanTeam@gmail.com, 2012) the Seventh Ocean Team Design who testifies that :

“The entire country had read the press (which) caught her passionate letters to her lover, which were written almost simultaneously with decorous letters to her husband, a political prisoner... Today, Winnie the accused of all mortal sins: from libel and fraud to extortion and murder. Series of scandals surrounding Winnie Mandela, no end of gossip so much that in the end the president had to fire her from the ministerial post. Besides successfully stepped Balzac Age Winnie in 1992, was caught in an affair with his young lawyer.”

The truth remains that Winnie Mandela was long married and faithful to Nelson Mandela’s Spirit and to Mandela’s Ghost; she was the masquerade dancer Masquerade of Nelson Mandela’s Mask. Mandela could not at the same time be the Mask and the Masquerade Commander, the Masquerade Initiator, the Masquerade Activator. Actually, it would seem inconsistent to reality that after 27 years of material separation from Mandela, it would have been easy for Winnie to suddenly convert her spiritual Ghost marriage life style with Mandela into a material real estate life style.

If one considers seriously the narration of the South African History Online (2012) about Winnie Mandela’s turbulent and solitary “Ghost Marriage” life with Nelson Mandela one would give Winnie Mandela the benefit of the doubt of her material marriage to Mandela:

“Throughout most of her married life, however, Winnie Mandela had to endure a forced separation from her husband. He was detained and imprisoned on more than one occasion and spent twenty-six years of his life on Robben Island. Although she had visitation rights during that period, she was unable to have physical contact with him.”

And when Gracia Marchel, his bosom friend Samora Marchel's widow declares to CNN (12/12/2012) that "...It pains to see Nelson Mandela ageing," she is really re-echoing Winnie Mandela's caveat to Nelson Mandela not to flex his Macho-muscles, which are inconsequential to the trust that binds them, against her.

If Nelson Mandela and his hypocritical advisers and henchmen had thought that Winnie Mandela would have sacrificed all these 27 years for him to the detriment of enhancing her womanhood and emotional needs, then they were just a bunch of selfish ungrateful bigots. Mandela seems to forget that just the enticing beauty and sometimes projecting ideographic body-language plays that Winnie emitted at the jailers of his prison gave them the excitement to keep him alive to satisfy their lust; else he might have been forced to die like most of his inmates at the Robben Island leprosy quarantined Hospital which became the high security prison for the hard core ANC activists that fought against the Apartheid regime. What a happy ending that Nelson Mandela through his machismo quest for a virgin and faithful wife only had to fall short and settle in for the widow of his long-time friend, late and former president of Mozambique, Samora Machel. And the truth remains that no other woman in this world incarnates and carries the legacy of Nelson Mandela and ANC, the way Winnie Mandela has and will always remain forever.

It is this incarnation by Winnie Mandela of the cause of the radical wing of ANC that the neo-Apartheid regime and the neo-Capitalist-ANC of the Jacob Zuma corrupted click greatly fear, especially when they think that Winnie Mandela would be the real successor of Nelson Mandela. But time will tell. After Nelson Mandela finally passes away the squabble for the empty seat will never end till it will be fully occupied by none other than Winnie Madikizela Mandela.

The ANC's connivance with the neo-Apartheid Regime which has transformed itself into integrating the elitist Black-Apartheid Corrupt ANC Warlords like Jacob Zuma are struggling in vain to side-line Winnie Mandela. After the Neo-Apartheid puppet Nelson Mandela would pass away, the real Truth and Reconciliation Committee will convene; this time not with the neo-Apartheid Elitist South Africans of the likes of Desmond Tutu; but by a more Revolutionary Equity-Driven South Africans.

And the question people are asking is whether the application of Mugabeism with his pragmatic applied philosophical project of "Indigenisation" not become more palatable if the neo-Apartheid regime does not settle for equitable land reform policy and distribution as well as the

equitable distribution of the economic wealth of the So-called Rainbow Nation where the Rainbow is visible only to a privileged few?.

Another hypocritical accusation against Winnie Mandela is the death of Stompie whose mother Winnie Mandela met at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and expressed her grief and sympathy for great irreparable loss. The Apartheid government killed as many as over 1000 ANC, PAC and BCM activists either through letter bombs, lynching and through torture in prison. It is also known that the ANC especially killed, in their various underground camps, those they considered traitors of the cause of the liberation. To concentrate only on Winnie Mandela's Stompie case without being able to discuss the case Onkgopotse Abram Tiro's assassination, or to mention him in the ANC and Mandela's Long Walk To Freedom (Sam Ditshego, 2012) exposes not just this hypocrisy but the double standards in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Sam Dishego is talking about these double standards in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, where it would seem some accusations were traded beforehand between ANC and the Apartheid government, when he accuses that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was an imperialistic and cover-up deal entered into by the ANC government and the Apartheid regime to settle in for the containment corrupt regime that the ANC Government has been reduced to:

"Winter, a former spy for the South African government, reveals in his book that Tiro was killed by the Z-Squad. That circus which was called the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) failed to investigate Tiro's death. The TRC was a product of the imperialist-brokered secret negotiations between the Apartheid government led by the National Party and the ANC. After it has come to power through a rigged election in 1994 (see FW de Klerk's book The Last Trek: A New Beginning), the ANC-led government has helped cover up Tiro's assassination by bungling investigations into Tiro's death. That's why Nelson Mandela couldn't mention the assassination of Tiro in his book Long Walk to Freedom published in 1994 but mentions the assassination of a white woman Ruth First who was also killed by a letter bomb years after Tiro's death. In his January 8 statement this year, ANC President Jacob Zuma also mentioned Ruth First but didn't mention Tiro. I don't remember hearing or reading former President Thabo Mbeki mentioning the assassination of Tiro. During their secret negotiations the ANC and National Party government agreed not to reveal the names of former Apartheid government spies from both the ANC and the white minority government. Why would the ANC protect former Apartheid spies if it didn't have an axe to grind? By avoiding to mention Tiro's killing through a letter bomb, coupled with the shoddy work of the TRC regarding investigations into Tiro's death, gives one the impression that the ANC had a hand in the demise of Tiro directly

or indirectly. Otherwise why would its leaders behave the way they do? In his book Preparing for Power: Oliver Tambo Speaks, published in 1987, the late Tambo laments the fact that the Black Consciousness Movement was going to supplant the ANC. The ANC and the SACP in exile were hostile towards the BCM. The reason these organisations were negative towards BCM was that BCM had stolen the limelight from the ANC and Tiro himself did in less than a year what the ANC couldn't do in thirty years."

If one takes into consideration this double standards in dealing with assassination culprits during the Apartheid regime, does one not see that Winnie Mandela's case was brought up to tarnish the aura she had made for herself in South Africa and worldwide as the true incarnation of the Liberation Fight for South Africans, during the years of the ANC struggle; and the fear nursed by the ANC leadership that she would have stood up as the very legitimate torchbearer of Nelson Mandela's legacy after Mandela's passing away?

Was it not to side-line this virulent Woman Fighter of Apartheid, that the post-Apartheidists who feared that Winnie Mandela would be more uncompromising as Mandela and the ANC government have been, in asking for full retribution and compensation for the damages and injustices and human rights abuses caused to the Black people of South Africa?

This hypothesis seems plausible, especially if we bear in mind that Winnie Mandela was an active member of the much hated, dreaded and feared Black Consciousness Movement – BCM founded by Bantu Steve Biko. According to the South African History Online (2012):

“From 1962, Winnie was subjected to a virtually uninterrupted series of legal orders, which prevented her from living, working and socializing. She was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act for her part in the struggle and was restricted to the Orlando Township in Soweto. She started to work clandestinely for the ANC, which included participating in underground meetings and the printing and circulation of pamphlets. She decided to send her daughters to boarding school in Swaziland, in the hope that the girls could escape harassment and continue their education. In 1969, she was detained under the Terrorism Act and was placed in solitary confinement for seventeen months. In 1970, she was placed under house arrest. She repeatedly flaunted this order and was charged on a number of occasions. During the 1976 youth uprisings, she established the Black Women's Federation and the Black Parents' Association. Both these organisations allied themselves to the Black Consciousness Movement, an

ideology which rejected all 'White' values and embraced a positive 'Black' world view. For this role Winnie was detained, in 1977, under the Internal Security Act and banished to Brandfort in the Orange Free State. There she helped set up a crèche and a clinic with Dr. Abu Baker Asvat."

Is it not true that Winnie Mandela does not believe in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission until all the culprits are brought to book in all equity, without double dealing, double talking and double standards as to the gravity of the crimes against humanity, perpetrated by the South African Apartheid regimes for over a hundred years?

Is it not true that the Rainbow Nation of South Africa and the African Renaissance that the ANC government from Mandela to Zuma is trying to project, will only take root when full equitable social and economic justice would have prevailed, as Bantu Steve Biko predicted?

And is it not true that nobody can cast the first stone on Winnie Madikizela Mandela, because no hands are clean in South Africa?

And if the world sponsors and the world media with their hypocrisy can only deal with clean handed people, why are they dealing with Apartheid and ANC South Africa and not Winnie Madikizela Mandela?

It was to celebrate the efforts of this dauntless woman fighter that I composed this poem and song titled:

Homage To African Heroes

Winnie Mandela, the New African Revolutionary Diva...

Lumumba, Nasser, Nkrumah and Sankara...

You were chosen to teach and lead your people to freedom

Like the morning star your light has been shining

On the mountains of faith in the Peace-Building Jazz for Africa

Now a new consciousness has been growing

Despite the oppressions of people who have been

Struggling for their lives and those of generations

That shall be born onto Africa the great land of heroes...

Those who have fallen have planted fig trees of love

And endurance which shall grow up with the children

In the sunshine of free Africa where men of good will

Are now building up new rights and those of generations

That shall be born unto Africa the great land of heroes...

*A new wind is blowing
A new sun is shining
A new change is coming
A new hope is growing...*

*In all the lands of Africa
In all the lands of Africa*

*Peace in Africa – eh...In Africa – oh Oh Africa!
Peace in Africa – eh...In Africa – oh Oh Africa!*

*Peace in the Congo, Peace in Rwanda, Peace in Burundi and in Uganda...
Peace in Cote d'Ivoire, Peace in Senegal, Peace in Sarawi and in Morocco...
Peace in Algeria, in Tunisia, in Libya and in Egypt...
Peace in Sudan, in Ethiopia, in Eritrea and in Somalia...
Peace in Kenya, in Tanzania, in Mozambique and in Madagascar...
Peace in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, in Botswana and in Lesotho...
Peace in Swaziland, in Cameroon, in Nigeria and in Benin...
Peace in Niger, in Mali in Ghana and in Burkina Faso...
Peace in Liberia, in Sierra Leone, in Guinea and in Mauritania...
Peace in All the African Islands of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans...
Peace in all the Lands of Africa
Peace in all the Islands of Africa...
Peace in Africa – eh...
Peace in Africa – eh...
PEACE IN THE WORLD!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 11th September, 1979

Actually, the author (Fongot Kinni, 2008) celebrated the remarkable contributions of this shooting star of Africa, who sensitized Africa and the world through her non-violent politically-driven music and affirmed that:

“Young South Africans today are never told the truth that when some of their liberators, political and opinion leaders like Myriam Makeba, that African Diva who was smart to transform her voice and music into a mighty Liberation weapon, which later inspired the Vietnam War protest singers in Europe and America; who was finally declared “persona non grata” because she was not only contented to criticise the Apartheid regime of South Africa, but also dared to speak out against the racism and

Apartheid meted on the Black people of America; Africa gave her refuge for over twenty years before she could return to South Africa. When America and Americanised Europe refused to give her refuge during those tough years, she and her daughter Bongki of blessed memory, and her grand children could find a caring father, grow up and develop their artistic creativity, thanks to the fact that they had found favour in other African other African countries..."



Photos 170 (c) & (d): Miriam Zenzile Makeba: 4 March 1932 – 9 November 2008

As early as the 1950s and 1960s Miriam Makeba exploded in the world scene with her powerful music that told the world the inhumane atrocities of Apartheid. It was a powerful decision she made to choose to become first prophetess of the liberation of Africa or to remain a cosy saloon singer. Miriam Makeba, the great Diva testified (1969) testifies that even though the charge and the choice she had to make was very painful and demanding she had still to make it for her country and dispossessed people. She declares:

"It was very painful for me not to go back home," she said. "Mostly it was painful that I couldn't come home to bury my mother. But, you know, in life you make choices. You say, OK, are you going to sit here, Miriam Makeba, and say 'I'm a star' and forget about home? Or do you decide to say 'I'm a South African and this is what is happening to our people' and so on? And I made that decision. And from then on, I was branded that artist who sings politics."

This decision paid off and Miriam was there sensitizing millions of Black and White and Asian people about the need for liberation and the creation of Black awareness, and the promotion of Black culture. It can be said that Miriam Makeba inspired many Black people, like James Brown, to come to the awareness that is, not only Black is Beautiful, but that Black is Strong, Intelligent and Creative.

Miriam Makeba was the first to break the Colour Barrier, the Language Barrier and the Cultural Barrier, on the world stage. Singing in Xhosa, her native language, trading her African short and well kempt hair, her culture on the world stage was a great daring feat. But Miriam made it big and strong; without guns, without bombs, but with strong words, heart throbbing songs, with lasting soul and mind-lifting constructions.



Photos 170 (e) & (f): Miriam Zenzile Makeba: 4 March 1932 – 9 November 2008

I remember as a young child growing up in the late 1950s, I woke up thrilled and charmed by the voice and song of Miriam Makeba over the radio. Her Xhosa “Click Song” of the early 1960s charmingly inspired and enthralled me right through when I became much mature in the 1970s and 1980s when I became a militant singer of Freedom and Protest songs for the liberation of Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Nicaragua.

Actually, in mimicking the sound bites and sound vibes in the “Click Song” and celebrating Miriam Makeba, I (Fongot Kinni, 1986) also composed and sang this song which was published in New York by the Haitian film company which used it for its castings titled:

Don't Cry My People

*Don't cry my people
Don't cry my children
Don't cry my widows
Don't cry my orphans...*

*You will be free
You will be free...*

*See the rain is falling
See the sun is shining*

*See the flowers are growing
On the graves of your martyrs
On the graves of your heroes
Who were killed in Sharpeville
Who were shot in Soweto...*

You will be free

*You will be free...
They will come back some day
They will come in glory...
They will come back dancing
They will come in Freedom...*

*So fight for you Freedom
Fight now for your Freedom*

Like the people of guinea Bissau...
Freedom

Who have been fighting for their

Like the people of Namibia...

Who are now fighting for their

Freedom
Like the people of Angola...

Who have fought for their Freedom

Like the people of Mozambique...
Freedom

Who have been fighting for their

Like the people of Zimbabwe...

Who have bravely fought for their

Freedom
Like the people of Soweto...

Who have been fighting for their

Freedom
Like all the people of Azania...

Who are now fighting for their

Freedom

*So fight now for your FREEDOM
Fight Now For Your FREEDOM!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 19th August 1986"

After Miriam Makeba's decision to engage in pro-activism on the world media for the liberation of South Africa she was banned from her motherland

and branded a rebel. But she never gave up. Instead she assumed the responsibility and embraced the challenges to become the first anti-Apartheid activist to courageously and blatantly denounce on the world stage wherever she went in the world, and whenever she was given the platform and least opportunity, the inhumanity and atrocities in the racism and repression the Black people of South Africa and people of African descent who were serially subjected to slavery and deprivation in their homes and in the Diaspora. This is the reason why Miriam Makeba is celebrated by the South African History Online (2012) who bears her this homage:

“Miriam Zenzile Makeba embodied the pan-Africanist spirit of the 1960s when she burst onto the international stage and unwittingly became the voice and symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. On tour in the U.S., Makeba had her passport revoked and was banned from returning home after she was featured in a documentary that criticized apartheid. Makeba was just 27 at the time and wouldn’t see South Africa again for more than 30 years, she told NPR in an interview in 2006...Makeba abruptly left the U.S. after her then-husband, the radical civil rights campaigner Stokeley Carmichael — later known as Kwame Ture — fell afoul of the authorities and opted for exile in Guinea in West Africa. A committed pan-Africanist who thought continental and sang continental, Makeba once said she longed for South Africa but felt welcome and at home anywhere on the continent. She accompanied Paul Simon on the legendary Graceland tour in 1987 and finally returned home to Johannesburg in the 1990s, after Nelson Mandela was released from prison...Well into her 70s and by then a great-grandmother, Makeba continued to perform onstage and record new albums. She was a proud United Nations goodwill ambassador and also set up a school for destitute young girls in South Africa.”

Miriam Makeba was also a strategist developmentalist, who believed in the Ras Makonnen theory of doing it yourself with your own means and efforts. I can speak for Miriam Makeba because I had the rare opportunity to meet her and talk to her twice in her life time. The first encounter was in Paris in 1978, where I was a student at the Sorbonne, when she performed with her daughter Bongi, who was also a singing rising star. That was some years before Bongi had her fatal car accident in Togo which took her life, leaving Miriam Makeba to raise her two children. The second was in 1997, in Pretoria when I was on a lecturing tour of South Africa invited by UNISA and the Alliance Française of South Africa.

I met Miriam Makeba after the great performance she gave at the Pretoria theatre with her grand children who are also musicians. When I asked Miriam Makeba what was the secret of the driving force behind her activist

engagement she told me that her objective had always been to sing the songs of the unheard poor and suppressed people and give voice to the voiceless. But she said her final objective had always been to let the poor and oppressed realise that it was not good enough sitting and complaining. That the secret lies in the courage to stand up and say no to repression by doing all one can to survive before help would come from somewhere.

And one thing she told me which remained ringing in my brain is that the help that others can give us in life would only make a positive impact if we muster a welling force from inside ourselves, to outdo the injustices we are subjected to, because no amount of crying will tickle the unjust oppressor. And her secret she told me was that she had lived frugally all her life as a world star, always putting aside something for the poor and disadvantaged children of Africa and the world. She believed in creativity, in talent and in daring undaunting service to the people. This can explain why 28th August, 2004 Miriam Makeba initiated the setting up of the ZM Makeba Trust (Miriam Makeba official Website, 2004) with the following objective:

“The Trust shall be devoted to maximize the benefits accruable to the beneficiaries and its principal objects shall be the safeguarding of all the intellectual property assets of Z M Makeba”

The Trustees of Miriam Makeba pay her this tribute by affirming that:

“Miriam Makeba had spent (then) 52 years plus building her intellectual property assets which she then assigned to the ZM Makeba Trust. Miriam Makeba, was, amongst many things, a woman of great vision who saw far into the future, and with her uncanny and acute sense of history, she determined that her legacy was to be of benefit to her family, and by consolidating intellectual property, she determined that her legacy would also be of benefit to her community, her culture, her country and indeed all the world ...and should never be abused.”

Miriam Makeba lived and died her activism on the world stage, in the legendary Naples, Italy, known in ancient history as the land of the pre-medieval Black Diaspora. No worthier homage and celebration could have been paid to Miriam Makeba than the testimony of Nelson Mandela who provided this eternalised commentary on her behalf:

“In his letter of tribute, Mandela said: “The sudden passing of our beloved Miriam has saddened us and our nation. For many decades, starting in the years before we went to prison, Ma Miriam featured prominently in our lives, and we enjoyed her moving

performances at home. Despite her tremendous sacrifice and the pain she felt to leave behind her beloved family and her country when she went into exile, she continued to make us proud, as she used her worldwide fame to focus attention on the abomination of apartheid. ... Her music inspired a powerful sense of hope in all of us."

The legacy Miriam Makeba left us is that she was a world open hearted person who did not like to be stereotyped or put in a cage as she once declared. She was also a historian and a teacher through her music. And I think the way Miriam Makeba shall always be remembered was given by her, fierce resistance to be caged, as testified by her interviewer who made this declaration in her honour:

"She sang in every language under the sun, including her own — Xhosa — unknown to Americans at that time. But Makeba fiercely resisted being pigeonholed as a musician, describing herself simply as a chanteuse, a singer. "And now I'm saying what am I? Jazz? Folk? What am I? When I sit back and think over the life of my career, the first jazz festival I performed in was at the Monterey Jazz Festival in the early '60s. I said, 'Why am I going there?' And I opened the festival, and they had me sing a cappella. "And then they had Odetta. Odetta came after me and did the work songs, which were done by the slaves that were taken from Africa. ... And then Nina Simone came and did the jazz. ... So I was like the first to give the knowledge that jazz came from Africa, that the music evolved into jazz, which then Nina Simone epitomized in that jazz festival. "That is why I always say, please, don't put me, Miriam Makeba, in a cage. I do not want to be labelled. When people ask me, what do you sing? I say, I just sing. I sing music."..."

And she just sang into my mind, like to those other youths who like me made her their Muse and Diva, as she inspired me till I was able to meet her in flesh and blood in Paris with her daughter Bongi. I was opportune to meet her in South Africa after her great performance at Pretoria with her granddaughter and grandson who stole the stage with performance along with her. You can understand the bond between us in the poem I dedicated to her during her transition titled:

Mamma Malaika Africa

*Everybody now calls you Mamma
But can I call you Darling, my Malaika...
Sweetie African Lark of Xhosa lands...
Golden voice Nightingale of Ubuntu...*

*Sweeping across the San-Kalahari Desert
Through the verdant diamond tropics to the
Saharan golden lands of reviving revolutions with
Renaissance liberation healing bullets-songs...*

*You rocked my cradle-world piercing
My tender heart with your "Click Song" repertoire
Magnetising my heart to the lands of Freedom
Lands of fantastic enticing imageries with
Melodies of the Dark City Sisters jive trots...
As the swaying waist-line jigida-beaded beauties
Caressed my innocent lust in their magic performance fits like
The Hipitombi and the Mobotela Queens to
Tether my innocent love at your dancing feet's
Threshold holding me your prisoner forever...*

*I could never ask for more but to keep on
Loving you even in my distant wet-dreams and hopes
As you made Mammymwater night-flights love to me and
I could care less with your exciting flirting with Harry Belafonte
and
Stokely Car Michael as they revalue my eternal love for you...
Even when you declared your love for the Futa Djallon
Mountain Sphinx, my soul still crowned you my Queen of Hearts
For I could not question my Mafor-Moninkim Diva
Without invoking the wraths of Ekepe-Obassinjom...*

*At our first physical encounter after your performance in Per-Isis (Paris)
Bongi cautioned that you were not ready for me yet
Inflating my expectations for that gracious moment
As I eunochised my desire in wait for the Divine Heritage...
Every time your enticing voice enchanted my being
I would wake up clasping your spirit into my innermost
Garden of bliss believing you were there singing inside
My soul leading me away from other courting suitresses...*

*Our Pretoria backstage confidentials led me to Bongi's reincarnations
Of Hugh Masekela's saxophonist and Makeba's Malaika duets
Telling me the moon was full and you were still fertile in seeding-songs
You asked me to compose new songs for your orchestra show...*

*I did not know you would also like to sing them so soon in Heaven
 Now I feel relieved you signed your pact with Josephine Baker at the
 Napolitanean resting place of famous African Conquering Divas like Monica of
 Hannibalian-Augustinian Manichaeen Carthage to carry
 Over your stage performances to the realms of our Ancestors and Creator
 Who have crowned your life's achievements with peace and pride...*

*O Malaika Makeba
 Nakupena Malaika...
 Namini fa neji
 Kijena Muensi O...O...
 Nashuduana malisina we...eh...eh...
 Ninge kuo...O...O...
 Malaika...
 Makeba Malaika...
 Malaika Makeba...
 Malaika Makeba...
 Makeba Malaika...
 Oh Oh Makeba my Sweetie...
 Makeba my Angel...!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Buea, 30th November, 2008.

Chris Hani is kind of one of those Freedom fighters who became a legendary and kind of password in the South African resistance and fight against the Apartheid regime. His early militancy came when the South African government introduced the Black Education Act – BEA when he became aware of the limitations that the South African Apartheid system imposed on his future.

In his short autobiography Alistair Body-Evans <http://africanhistory.about.com/bio/> (Chris Hani, 1991) he writes: “This angered and outraged us and paved the way for my involvement in the struggle.”

That is how in 1956, at the start of the Treason Trial, he joined the African National Congress where his father was already a staunch ANC activist; and in 1957 he joined the ANC Youth League. It might seem, one of his school teachers, Solomon Makana, who became the ANC ambassador to Moscow, had a great influence in his making this decision. Excelling in the study of Classical literature in English, Latin and Greek at the University of Fort Hare Chris Hani, according to Alistair Body-Evans, built his revolutionary mind-set

empathy and identification “with the plight of Roman commoners suffering under the control of the its nobility.”



Photos: 171 (a) & (b): Martin Thembisile (Chris) Hani: 28 June 1942, Cifimvaba – 10 April 1993

Chris Hani's exposure to Marxist Philosophy at the University of Fort Hare also contributed to influence his future radical career in the ANC. In 1959, the Extension of University Education Act creating exclusive tertiary institutions for Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks, and thus restricting Blacks from attending white Universities like Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch, put an end to his attending any White Universities. Hani was very active in the campus protest over the takeover of the University of Fort Hare by the Department of Bantu Education, which was intended as a means of keeping Black South Africans education at the leash of the Apartheid White system.

Following the trail of his uncle who had been very active in the Communist Party of South Africa - CPSA, founded in 1921 and dissolved in response to the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, Hani in 1961, joined the South African Communist Party SACP, after moving to Cape Town. The South African Communist Party had gone underground in 1953. The reason why Chris Hani joined the SACP and not ANC seems to be from the controversy that existed between some ANC members who saw the Communist Party more like a White Trojan Horse for the Black Revolution and those who advocated alliance with them. Chris Hani's explanation <http://washintonpost.com/wp-srv/> for the reasons of his commitment to socialism and SACP seems to support this hypothesis when he confides that:

“Why did I join the SACP? Why was I not just satisfied with the ANC? I belonged to a world, in terms of my background, which suffered I think the worst extremes of apartheid. A poor rural area where the majority of working people spent their time in the compounds, in the hostels, away from their families. A rural area where there were no clinics and probably the nearest hospital was 50kms away - generally a life of poverty with the basic things unavailable. Where our mothers and our sisters would walk 3km and even 6km whenever there was a drought to fetch water. Where the only fuel available was going 5-6 km away to cut wood and bring it back. I had seen the lot of black workers, extreme forms of exploitation. Slave wages, no trade union rights, and for me the appeal of socialism was extremely great. Where it was said that workers create wealth, but in the final analysis they get nothing - they get peanuts in order to survive and continue working for the capitalists. I didn't get involved with the workers' struggle out of theory alone. It was a combination of theory and my own class background. I never faltered in my belief in socialism despite all the problems currently. For me that belief is strong because that is still the life of the majority of the people with whom I share a common background.”

The following year, he joined the “Umkonto We Sizwe,” the “Spear of the Nation,” the militant armed wing of the ANC which was co-founded by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo to fight against the South African Apartheid government. This was after the Umkonto We Siswe – MK as it was popularly known had launched its first guerrilla attacks against the Apartheid government of South African government installations on 16th December 1961; and after it had been classified and banned by both South Africa and the United States of America as a Terrorist Organisation.

Chris Hani's educational and leadership skills gained for him the headship in the Committee of Seven created by the MK. For the first time he was arrested in 1962 under the Suppression of Communism Act. When in 1963 he was tried and exhausted all possible legal appeals against conviction, he was forced to follow his father into exile in Lesotho, the small landlocked country within South Africa.

Nelson Mandela testifies in his Book “Long Walk to Freedom” how Chris Hani fought for the ANC, the <http://washintonpost.com/wp-srv/> Umkonto We Sizwe – MK armed military guerrilla forces to overthrow the Apartheid regime:

“In 1967, Hani led an operation to insert ANC and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) troops into Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), with a view to opening up infiltration roots into South Africa. Militarily the campaign was far from successful - ending as it did in the loss of more than half the cadres and a forced retreat into

Botswana - and yet it raised the spirits of black South Africans at an exceptionally difficult period for the liberation struggle. As Nelson Mandela says in 'Long Walk to Freedom', "it was a milestone in the struggle" to see MK cadres engaged militarily with the enemy for the first time, even killing some soldiers of the racist Rhodesian regime. Hani noted at the time: "This was a virgin victory for us, since we had never fought with modern weapons against the enemy. For us that day was a day of celebration because with our own eyes we had seen the enemy run. We had seen the enemy frozen with fear ... We had also seen and observed each other reacting to the enemy's attack. A feeling of faith in one another and recognition of the courage of the unit developed."..."

While in Lesotho, Chris Hani, by the mid-1970s, was already the head of an MK base in Lesotho. The objective of the Lesotho MK was to infiltrate all the small resistant fighting groups in South Africa that had gone underground due to the stringent laws and harsh treatment meted to anti-Apartheid militants. He went into South Africa for short periods of escapades and organised strategic armed cells units. In his biography, <http://washintonpost.com/wp-srv/> Hani made it clear that:

"Now we were actually building a number of units from Lesotho into South Africa ... We built a network of structures inside the country. We trained people in guerrilla affairs, in politics, in intelligence and everything else ... Those were exciting days for me because I was receiving these cadres coming from the Transvaal, from the Orange Free State, from the Cape and Natal. I was in touch with trade unions. I used to go in and out. Meet comrades at Sterkspruit in Transkei. I used to send some of my colleagues from our collective in Lesotho to Cape Town, to Johannesburg, to Durban for a few days. We had little meetings and discussed strategy... We began to build education groups inside Lesotho. We prepared them in terms of understanding the ANC and our struggle. We would select the best to send back into the country underground. We would say: go and form a cell or two, then come back. We are giving you a week ... all the theory that we had acquired in our training and our limited experience we began to apply creatively in a new situation. And for me that was a turning point in terms of our struggle...This activity quickly became the main theatre of the armed struggle. The operations stepped up in a serious way after 1976, as thousands of young militant South Africans were forced out of the country, or chose to leave, in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising. These young people were ready to fight, and eagerly joined the MK's camps in Tanzania and Zambia. Chris, who by this time had been placed on the ANC's Revolutionary Council (and was Assistant General Secretary of the SACP), was at the forefront of providing military training and political education for these new recruits...All those who worked with Hani noted his humility, his charm, his deep

concern for the troops, and his incorruptibility - refusing to enjoy the privileges that his reputation might have earned him, and eating, sleeping and training with his comrades.”

Chris Hani was a very refined strategist as well as pragmatist who believed in achievement from hard work and resilience. That is why he spent most of his time in exile working hard to sensitise his people who were less privileged to have the kind of education and facilities he had. He believed Apartheid was still lingering on because the Whites lived a quiet and peaceful life without knowing the hardships that the Blacks were going through. For them to be aware of the plight of the Blacks his suggestion was that Whites should not be allowed to know peace until they refrained totally from tormenting black people. And for them to refrain from the hideous crimes against humanity they and their forbears were committing against Black people, they must be given a taste of what Black people were going through; a taste of the same travails that Black people were subjected to. Thus he advocated that:

“It’s a situation of complete ruthlessness, of acts of atrocities against the blacks in our country. Now, in the face of that situation, it is important that the whites should realise that our country is in a state of civil war, because nothing is taking place where they stay. Their suburbs are still pictures of peace and stability and the usual rhythm of life continues. Their lives are not disturbed... Life for white South Africans is good. They go to their cinemas, they go to their barbecues, they go to their five-star hotels. That’s why they are supporting the system. It guarantees a happy life for them, a sweet life. Part of our campaign is to prevent that sweet life.”

Chris Hani’s organising skills and revolutionary mind-set created the upsurge in South Africa, which spurred the liberation forces to break loose and fight in their utmost to undo the powers of the Apartheid system. Hani’s brilliant leadership made him to be given the direction of the MK in 1982 and made the Political Commissioner and its Chief of Staff for four years.

While in exile, Chris Hani, between 1970s and 1980s, through home-grown militants who remained unidentified, infiltrated South Africa, undetected by the Secret Service, and infiltrated the youth’s milieu with his teachings before returning to Lesotho. His strategies and sensitisations fomented uprisings like the 1976 Soweto young Bantu students’ protest that left many dead; and the series of attacks and bombings which followed. These also included uprisings and other bombings like the bombing of the Sasolburg refinery, the Church Street Bombing, detonated in Pretoria causing 19 deaths and 217 injured; the bomb on Durban beach killing three civilians and 69 injured, the 1987 explosion outside Johannesburg court killing 3 and injuring

10, the Newcastle court attack in the same year injuring 24, the bomb explosion at the military command centre in Johannesburg killing one person and injuring 68 personnel, the multitude of bombs in the “Wimpy Bar” in the late 1980s killing and injuring hundreds of victims.

Chris Hani returned home after more than a decade in exile after the ban on the ANC was lifted in 1990 in preparation for the dissolving of the Apartheid government. He “emerged as the leader of its militant wing and was rightly considered one of two or three potential heirs to Mandela” (Paul Taylor, 1993). But he astounded South Africans when he accepted to replace the ailing Joe Slovo as Secretary General of the South African Communist Party. Chris Hani undertook this responsibility challengingly and did not allow sleep or pride to take over. He immediately started working tirelessly travelling over the country and educating his people about the political process that was taking place. He also raised their awareness about socialist consciousness. Everywhere he went he was well received. His popularity was second to none but to Nelson Mandela’s.

The warrior and the military man he had been for two decades and more had transformed him into a peace-loving personality. He was a strategist who believed that it was stronger and lasting to make peace with the White system than make war against them. That could be the reason he was not totally accepted by the more revolutionary wing of the ANC. His plea for connivance and peaceful cohabitation between Whites and Blacks was thrown to the wind. And that could explain why he was assassinated so early before <http://washintonpost.com/wp-srv/> the new dawn of the post-Apartheid era according to this pertinent testimony:

“Although he had been a military man for nearly thirty years, Chris strongly believed in the peace process. He understood only too well that the revolutionary forces were not strong enough to defeat the South African state outright, but that the combination of armed and mass struggle, described by Nelson Mandela as the liberation movement’s hammer and anvil, could together force a negotiated solution which would move the overall freedom struggle many important steps forward. Hani stated: ‘In the current political situation, the decision by our organisation to suspend armed action is correct and is an important contribution in maintaining the momentum of negotiation’. And just a few days before his death, he said : ‘The issue now is not armed struggle but elections. That needs a climate of peace and stability; we cannot afford to have that process delayed and disrupted by violent elements ... Every ANC supporter should be a combatant, but a combatant now for peace.’”

His untimely assassination on April 10th 1993 in front of his home testifies to the fear of the Apartheid hardliners who did not want negotiations, and the ANC hardliners who did not want collaboration with the White population either. On paying him homage and recognition, Paul Taylor analysed the conflicting episodes in these terms:

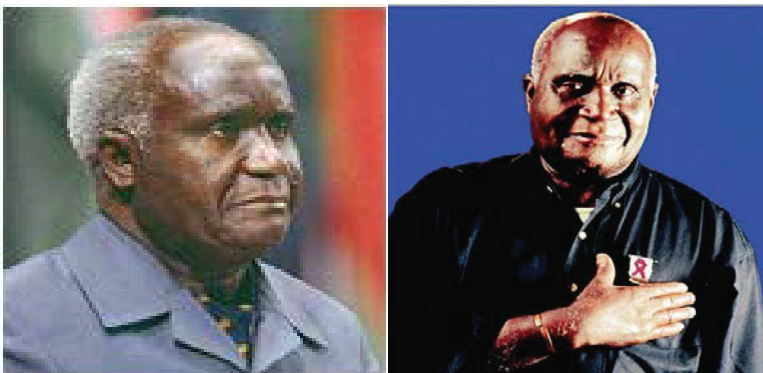
“Chris Hani, leader of South Africa’s Communist Party, former head of the African National Congress’s armed wing, arch villain to white conservatives and folk hero to millions of militant blacks, was assassinated today outside his home. Hani, a fiery orator with a ready laugh and a classical education -- he was fond of quoting Shakespeare, Keats and Shelley -- was a legend among militant black youths from his years in the leadership of the ANC’s armed wing, which mounted isolated acts of terror against the apartheid regime throughout the 1970s and 1980s. A member of the armed wing since the early ‘60s, Hani became its deputy commander in 1982 and was named chief of staff in 1987. When a ban on the ANC was lifted in 1990, Hani emerged as the leader of its militant wing and was considered one of two or three potential heirs to Mandela, now 74. But Hani’s career took a surprising turn in late 1991 when he agreed to replace the ailing Joe Slovo as secretary general of the South African Communist Party. As a black African in an organization otherwise dominated by white Jewish intellectuals, Hani was an important catch for the Communists. But his move effectively removed him from the running for a top leadership spot in the ANC -- and likely from a cabinet post in a post-apartheid government. Like many other top Communists, however, Hani remained active in the ANC. The ruling National Party used the ANC’s alliance with militant Communists to play on whites’ fears about what lies beyond apartheid, but in recent months the Communist leaders have emerged as leading moderates in the anti-apartheid movement. Late last year, Slovo crafted a power-sharing deal that accelerated the stalled democracy talks. Last Tuesday, on the same day that Mandela made a dramatic admission that the ANC has been “just as involved” in political violence as its rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the government, Hani urged ANC members to become “combatants for peace.” Hani also had sharp words for the Pan Africanist Congress’s armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army. In recent weeks, the group’s spokesmen have claimed responsibility for the racially motivated killing of white civilians and have called for an acceleration of the armed struggle. But Hani said, “I don’t accept people calling for war.” Outside Hani’s home this afternoon, where mourners included the ANC’s Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Winnie Mandela, some black youths began to vent their anger. “The man starts to talk peace,” said one, who asked not to be identified, “and this is what he gets.”...”

At his death Nelson Mandela paid him the greatest tribute ever given to any mortal. During his funeral Mandela gave a very touching and moving elegy which immortalised him forever as he said:

“..I would like to address a final word to Chris himself — comrade, friend and confidant. We worked together in the National Executive Committee of the ANC. We had vigorous debates and an intense exchange of ideas. You were completely unafraid. No task was too small for you to perform. Your ready smile and warm friendship was a source of strength and companionship. You lived in my home, and I loved you like the true son you were. In our heart, as in the heart of all our people, you are irreplaceable. We have been struck a blow that wounds so deeply that the scars will remain forever. You laid down your life so that we may know freedom. No greater sacrifice is possible. We lay you to rest with the pledge that the day of freedom you lived and died for will dawn. We all owe you a debt that can only be repaid through the achievement of the liberation of our people, which was the passion of your life. Fighter, revolutionary, soldier for peace, we mourn deeply for you. You will remain in our hearts forever!’ In remembering Chris Hani, we must resolve to be more like him. Amandla!”

After the dismantling of the Apartheid regime, the MK was integrated into the South African National Defence Force by 1994. It integrated forever the spirit of Chris Hani in the whole fabric and strength of the Renascent South Africa.

In Northern Rhodesia, Kenneth Kaunda who joined the African National Congress – ANC in 1949 declared his anti-colonial feelings and started working for the independence of Northern Rhodesia. Appointed the Secretary General of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress – FRANC, under the presidency of Henry Nkumbula, he was able to network his relationship with the rank and file of those who mattered in the organization and the civil society.



Photos 172 (a) & (b): Kenneth David Kaunda: April 28, 1924, Lubwa, near Chinsali

Kenneth Kaunda used his influence and position to restructure the NRANC and when between 1958 -1959 there was a clash in the autocratic leadership approach Harry Nkumbula and the policy regarding the strategy to be used by the NRANC for fostering the liberation struggle, Kenneth Kaunda created what was going to become the powerful Zambia African National Congress – ZANC.

Nkumbula was accused of giving to the liberal capitalist Whites who put pressure on him to accept that Black Majority Rule in Northern Rhodesia should be retarded until the time when the indigenous population was educated enough before extending the franchise and political responsibility. This franchise was to be determined by the existing laws for qualifications for literacy and property acquisition. But this was blatantly racist because the most educated Northern Rhodesians were Whites and owners of landed property according to the Apartheid laws that had been imposed in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

Kenneth Kaunda was a strategist who vehemently rejected the franchise conditions and proposed the Non-Violent resistance rejecting the armed struggle proposed by the NRANC.

This alternative strategy of non-violence could have been influenced by his family upbringing. His father was a Methodist Church Minister and a teacher, and he had embraced his father's profession as a teacher under the Methodist Mission.

As president of the new militant organization, Kenneth Kaunda applied his community management skills to sensitise his people to rise up against British rule and occupation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This was when the colonial white settlers wanted to create the Federation of these three territories with the intention of asking Great Britain for the independence of the three Federated countries, so as to impose White Settler minority rule of Apartheid just like in South Africa. Kenneth Kaunda spearheaded the networking with other African independent state countries who heavily opposed this federation for fear of the White minority rule outcome.

In October 1958 the ZANC was banned. In March 1959 Kenneth Kaunda was arrested and charged with insidious writings and propaganda against the colonial government and the settler community. He was sentenced to nine months imprisonment and sent to Lusaka and later to Salisbury.

This campaign was very successful and produced two major results: firstly, the British government modified the federation policy and finally agreed to discard it; secondly, Kenneth Kaunda and other militant leaders of ZANC

were imprisoned. This action immediately raised Kenneth Kaunda and the ZANC leaders to the status of national heroes in the eyes of the Northern Rhodesian people. This was how from 1960 the action of repression meted by the British government instead galvanized the nationwide support for Kenneth Kaunda and his followers in their bid for total independence of Northern Rhodesia.

Meanwhile, while Kenneth Kaunda was in prison, Mainz Chona, a militant nationalist and other nationalists who was disenchanted with the older ANC formed the United National Independent Party – UNIP in October 1959 as a successor to ZANC. Chona became the first president of UNIP..

When Kenneth Kaunda was finally released from prison on 8th January 1960, he immediately started his militancy and networking for the UNIP with the push for Northern Rhodesia's independence. Kenneth Kaunda was handed over the Presidency of the party by Chona who deemed Kaunda more qualified because of his leadership qualities to head the party. UNIP witnessed and enjoyed a very spectacular growth under Kaunda's refined and strategic social networking qualities. By 1960 the UNIP had over 300,000 active members enrolled in the party.

Kenneth Kaunda also mobilized the African Black population of Northern Rhodesia and used the Zambian African National Congress – ZANC to forwent (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/657149/zimbabwe>) a nationwide Civil Disobedience in July 1961 which he called the “Positive Non-Violent Action,” popularly known as the “Cha-cha-cha campaign” which also included arson of tyres and road blocks obstructing the main roads and communication arteries in the city to protest against the federation policy.

To pre-empt trouble, because the people of Northern Rhodesia were bent with all resilience on attaining independence, the British government in 1960 invited Kenneth Kaunda and several other UNIP leaders to London to a conference to discuss the status and future of the three colonies.

The conference was successful and at the early period of 1961, the Colonial government announced the beginning of talks to end the colonization of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The hesitation on Southern Rhodesia's future prompted the unilateral declaration of independence by the White minority under Ian Smith.

In October 1962 the first major elections were held leading to the final decolonization of Northern Rhodesia. The constitutional provision proposed a disproportionate share of 10 seats for the European settlers and 27 seats for the native Rhodesians in the Legislative Council. Of the remaining 27 seats 15 seats were won by UNIP.

UNIP's victory was heavily attributed to Kenneth Kaunda's leadership skills and qualities, as well as his strategic planning. His very shrewd political tactics allayed the fears of the European settlers that an African regime would disregard their interests. He reassured their security by quelling down the factionalism and animosity against White domination that was prevalent in large sections of the African population.

Kenneth Kaunda's square headedness and leadership skills gained for him the admiration and following that he garnered in his country as a calculated nonviolent leader. This is how Kenneth Kaunda was able to negotiate for more constitutional advances which led to the final granting of independence of Northern Rhodesia in 1964. Kenneth Kaunda became the deservedly first President of independent Northern Rhodesia which chose the new name of Zambia from the River Zambezi the source of the Zambezi Falls (former Victoria Falls).

At independence Zambia had only 109 university graduates. Kenneth Kaunda fought hard to raise the standard of education of his people and instituted free education. Much effort was also put in the promotion of technical education.

Kenneth Kaunda was a seasoned Pan-Africanist who tried to apply Kwame Nkrumah's policy of fighting colonisation and the senile slave-driven liberal capitalism of human exploitation and the creation of poverty. He therefore was the initiating force in creating what he called the *Zambian Humanism Programme - ZHP*. This ZHP was a more applied-anthropological economic management based on a nationalist-socialist ideology of state control of resources incorporating fundamental African values of mutual aid, trust and loyalty to the community and self-reliance for sustainable development. This was similar to the Ghanaian Socialism and "Consciencism" initiated by Nkrumah, and the "Ujamaa" Socialism of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Kenneth Kaunda backed up his African Socialism of *Zambian Humanism* with the publication of several books to support his vision, namely:

Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

Fundamentals of Zambian Humanism, by Timothy Kandeke;

Zambian Humanism, religion and social morality, by Cleve Dillon-Malone S.J. and

Zambian Humanism: some major spiritual and economic challenges, by Justin B. Zulu.

Kaunda on Violence, (US title, The Riddle of Violence), by Kaunda,

One of the main commitments of Kenneth Kaunda was his support for the liberation movement of Southern Rhodesia to topple the minority regime. Kenneth Kaunda rallied and led other countries of southern Africa and the entire Africa to confront the minority government of Southern Rhodesia and to impose economic sanctions against Rhodesia in the 1970s. He also allowed Joshua Nkomo to use Zambia as a base for the liberation fighting guerrillas against Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and the Ian Smith minority government. He also supported Umkonto We Sizwe – MK armed military wing of ANC to ally and operate alongside with Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU, and the MPLA of Angolan government fighting alongside of Cuban troops at the engagement of Cuito Cuanavale attack; and with the MK-SWAPO alliance to fight the South African Apartheid regime.

Kenneth Kaunda also supported guerrilla movements of Angola, South West Africa, South Africa and Mozambique. Actually the former ANC president Oliver Tambo spent a larger part of his exile living and net-working in Zambia for the liberation of South Africa alongside Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU military guerrilla encampments to fight the Ian Smith government of Southern Rhodesia. He also negotiated with Prime Minister of South Africa, B. J. Vorster, at the Zambezi Falls, for the possibilities of an internal settlement in Southern Rhodesia. After the Lancaster House Agreement, Kaunda also attempted to use his nonviolence negotiation skills and networking to seek majority rule in South West Africa to no avail. He also met in Botswana with Peter Willem Botha for another discussion which did not bear much fruit.

But Kenneth Kaunda would go down in history as one of those African Presidents who devoted his time in developing his leadership skills of non-violence and networking skills to fight for the liberation of the other Southern African States that were still under colonial rule.

Even though his *Zambian Humanism Programme* did not bear the fruits he intended, he would go down in history as one of those who made an effort, in spite of all obstacles made to frustrate his efforts by the Western Power base of liberal capitalism, to put into practice the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for economic liberation, fighting poverty and undertaking the sustainable economic, social and cultural environmental development for efficient self-reliance.

In Southern Rhodesia, Robert Mugabe seems to have come into Pan Africanism through the back door, looking at his historical protected background with the Jesuit Catholic Missionaries who adopted him in his early boyhood. Even though Robert Mugabe robbed shoulders in his youthful days,

when he went to study at University of Fort Hare, with nationalist activists like Robert Sobukwe of the radical wing of the ANC and the ANCYL, which gave birth to the Pan African Congress – PAC, he did not become radical in his approach to the liberation of Zimbabwe, even though he bought Sobukwe's development philosophy of indigenisation which he later applied successfully in Zimbabwe.

It could be hypothesized that his elitist Jesuit Catholic upbringing kind of made him more reluctant to embrace radical Marxist Ideologies, even though he fought the liberation war of Zimbabwe. That may explain why Robert Mugabe quickly settled for the first Peace and Reconciliation Forum with the White colonial settlers who had systematically abused the rights of the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia and imposed their repressive domination for almost a century. Robert Mugabe also met at University of Fort Hare, moderate nationalists like Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda and Herbert Chitepo who might have contributed to his ideological outlook and influenced his non-violent philosophy. On his graduation in 1951 with a Bachelor's degree in the Arts, he earned six more Bachelor's degrees through distance learning from the University of South Africa – UNISA, Pretoria, including Bachelor in Administration, Bachelor of Education; Bachelors of Law and Science, Masters of Law and Science from the University of London External Programme.

Mugabe's Pan Africanist ideology and activism started when he moved to Ghana in 1958 where he became inspired by the ideology and activism of Kwame Nkrumah who was the first Prime Minister of Ghana. He had gone to study at the Achimota College where he studied for the local certification from 1958-1960, and where he met his first wife Sally Hayfron, whom he married in 1961; and later was employed in Takoradi at Apowa Secondary School. Mugabe's connection with Ghana proved very fruitful because he used Ghana as a base to train members of the Zimbabwe African National Union – ZANU at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba.



Mugabe became active in politics when he returned from Ghana. As an ideologically changed activist and nationalist he rose to prominence as the Secretary General of the Zimbabwe African National Union – ZANU in the early 1960s. During the outbreak of the uprising of the ZANU activists against the White-minority regime of Ian Smith who declared himself Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia Mugabe championed one of the virulent protest wings of the uprising. This protest led to the arrest and imprisonment of Robert Mugabe under the Ian Smith regime for ten years from 1964 - 1974. At his release, Mugabe left with Edgar Tekere in 1975 for Mozambique where they joined the militants and guerrillas of the Rhodesian Bush War, where he fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

In victory of the Zimbabwe liberation movement, Mugabe had settled for the Lancaster House Agreement with Great Britain and the colonial settlers who were invited to stay and own their ill-gotten lands; on condition that Great Britain would foot the bills for the purchase of the land from rich White Zimbabwean farmers to redistribute to the indigenous people who had been ruthlessly and unjustly rendered landless by the White settlers for almost a century.

According to the International Crisis Group Report (2004), it was Cecil Rhodes who started the racist land grabs which contributed to the post-colonial miseries of Zimbabwe. We are reminded by the International Crisis Group that it was Cecil Rhodes who in 1887 made it clear to the House of Assembly in Cape Town, South Africa, that

“...the native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism in our relations with the barbarians of Southern Africa”...by implication the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia. And Cecil Rhodes never hid his racist feelings against the Africans when he used to declare that: “I prefer land to niggers.”

This is how Robert Mugabe, re-invoked the “Chimurenga” war cry of 1897 against the White settlers. This war-cry which was also used by the liberation fighters in the 1960s and 1970s to reclaim their land from the despotic White minority settlers of Zimbabwe since the 2000s. The main reason, as International Crisis Group (2004) recount is that:

“Despite post-independence and post-apartheid promises of equitable redistribution, the vast majority of land in the countries of the region remains in the hands of white

commercial farmers. In others, ownership patterns are concentrated in small segment of the population, particularly the new political elite. The land issue is pressing for a number of reasons. First and foremost, countries across southern Africa are wrestling with a fundamental question of Justice and fairness: how best to broaden patterns of land use ownership to include black majorities who were pushed to the margins during the colonial period without undermining investor confidence or negating the rule of law. Purchasing land for redistribution can be enormously expensive, sometimes totalling billions of dollars, and the international community has made it repeatedly clear that while it is willing to offer some financial support, this will often be limited by their own domestic political realities. Throughout the southern African region, the land question is commonly viewed through the lenses of historic injustice. This is especially so in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, where white settlers backed by the former colonial powers of Europe, were able to secure great economic privileges when they transferred political power to black majority rule. Hence the land question also invariably includes racial elements...The indigenous population was regularly brutalized as part of the settlement process, which helps spark a violent uprising against white settlers, known as the first CHIMURENGA. People from both the Ndebele and the Shona groups revolted against the British in 1897. The uprising was violent and sustained but ruthlessly put down by the British. “

Robert Mugabe was very clear in recalling history and its prescriptions which had to be taken into account to vindicate his actions in favour of his people rendered landless and poor by the colonial repressive powers, that did not only ignore the human rights of people, but systematically abused their human rights as promulgated by Cecil Rhodes who prescribed the adoption of a system of despotism by the colonial settlers with regard to their relations with those indigenous people he identified as barbarians. For his people from slavery-driven capitalist economy of Zimbabwe.

It was in celebration of this history of the self determination of the Zimbabwean people that I composed this poem and song in honour of Robert Mugabe the new Oracle of Zimbabwe and Africa for his relentless struggle to uplift his people from the indentured Cecil-Rhodesian slavery titled:

Mugabe the Indomitable Sphinx Of Africa

*Robert Mugabe the indomitable Sphinx and Oracle of Zimbabwe and Africa
The incarnation of the self-determination of a disinherited and dispossessed people
The Orator and Advocate of the New Chimurenga has exhumed the singing bones of
Nebanda the assassinated Liberation Prophetess of Zimbabwe whose omen had caught
up*

*With the heartless barbaric colonizers of Zimbabwe who lynched her men, raped her women
And trafficked her children into indentured slavery-driven capitalist economic production
In the name of progress and civilization that reeked of inhumane abuses of human rights
and morals
Yet the colonial Victorian Mission approved this barbarism as the God-Driven
Civilising Promised Land of the
Chosen People to Lord it over the Divinely cursed people of Africa whose fate could
Only to be tied to their exploitation and dehumanization for the benefit of the Ruthless
White Settlers*

*The Cecil-Rhodesian brutality had paid off for the dividends of short term benefits and
remunerations
But Mugabe offered on a platter of Gold the new Reconciling Chimurenga for the
Lancaster House
Agreement that was still-born as the hard hearted criminals refused to repent from their
recalcitrant
Addicted Greed and Criminality that knew no bounds or restraint to curb the
inhumane excesses of
Thievery and brutality meted on helpless welcoming people who had always thought and
hoped that
They could integrate all humanity to a more balanced sharing of the artificially social
and natural
Resources as common heritage of humanity as freely God-Given
and Humanely sustainable for
The Social Responsibility of
Today's squandering Generation for
Future generations; but the Settler marauder transformed into a predatory
destroyer of People's Rights for
Selfish gains cannot see beyond Racism and Exploitative Capitalism where Corporate
Social Responsibility
Is never given its fair chance to rehabilitate for the common cause of sharing...
Long Live the New Chimurenga...
Long live Nehanda the Assassinated Oracle Priestess...
Long Live Mugabe the New Sphinx and the New Oracle of Africa!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Yaounde, 2004.

Robert Mugabe was hated by the Western powers because he reiterated that the super powers were all acting with double standards when it comes to

considering the reparations due to the human rights abuses of the African people.

That is the reason why during his address to the United Nations General Assembly in 2012, Robert Mugabe reminded the august international organization that it was against the very Charter of the UN which postulated the clause of the self determination of every people to trace their destiny, as stipulated by the founding fathers in San Francisco in 1945 after the Second World War.

This is why he reiterated (26th September 2012) that the African people must be treated with justice and fairness, taking into consideration the facts of history:

“My delegation condemns unreservedly, the economic sanctions imposed against my country and people in an unjustified effort to deny them the chance to fully benefit from their natural resource endowment. We wish to remind those who have maintained sanctions against us that there is international consensus, fully supported by the Southern African Development Community, the African Union, the Non-Aligned Movement and the rest of the progressive international community, that these sanctions must immediately and unconditionally be lifted. Mr President, in the interest of justice, fairness and good relations, we call on those countries which have imposed sanctions against us to review their positions. Zimbabweans have suffered for too long under these completely illegal punitive measures.”



Photo 173 (c): President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Fidel Castro of Cuba

Robert Mugabe was of the opinion that the Super Powers of the West are still adopting the policy of Cecil Rhodes policy of disfranchising the rest of the poorer countries and treating them like children without care and respect of their human rights and their sovereignty rights. He condemned this attitude

out rightly in his speech to the 62nd Session of the UN General Assembly (26th September, 2007):

“Mr. President, We are for a United Nations that recognises the equality of sovereign nations and peoples whether big or small. We are averse to a body in which the economically and militarily powerful behave like bullies, trampling on the rights of weak and smaller states as sadly happened in Iraq. In the light of these inauspicious developments, this Organisation must surely examine the essence of its authority and the extent of its power when challenged in this manner. Such challenges to the authority of the UN and its Charter underpin our repeated call for the revitalisation of the United Nations General Assembly, itself the most representative organ of the UN. The General Assembly should be more active in all areas including those of peace and security. The encroachment of some U.N. organs upon the work of the General Assembly is of great concern to us. Thus any process of revitalizing or strengthening of the General Assembly should necessarily avoid eroding the principle of the accountability of all principal and subsidiary organs to the General Assembly.”

Robert Mugabe raises the age old problem of the equality of all member states as stipulated by the Vienna Convention. Some internationalists like Maître Viraly (Marcel Merle, 1974) argued that the “de jure” equality of states does not balance up with the “de facto” realities of the of the inequalities among states, if one were to compare say the United States of America with the State of Bahrain in the Middle East whose sovereignty space revolves just around an oil well. Wherefore it could be said that even though all states are equal some are more equal than others.

But if the bigger and powerful states are allowed to use their might against the smaller and weaker states, then we would evolve into the Hobbesian Leviathan which ruthlessly devoured everything in its wake and imposed its power of the Mighty Despot, as it is the case today.

But this attitude of endorsing “might as right” is contrary to the founding principles of the United Nations Organisation as proposed by its founders in 1945 in San Francisco. It also weakens the General Assembly which is the foundation of the United Nations.

That is the reason why Robert Mugabe disapproved the attack of Libya by the NATO Alliance states spearheaded by France, Great Britain and the United States of America. President Robert Mugabe did not mince his words in his attack of the Western Super Powers who flexed their muscles against Libya without respect of its sovereignty.

And Robert Mugabe will go down in history as one of those rare Pan Africanists who did not fear whose ox is gored in standing for the Human

Rights of his people. He did not fear to tell the world that Human Rights are not only White Rights but also Black Rights. It was not only unbelievable but also disgusting that some hypocritical advocates of Human Rights criticised Mugabe of seizing White farmers' land which was previously seized from Black peasant farmers with lynching and murders without regrets as Cecil Rhodes advocated.

And what is worse, even when Mugabe had handed to the White farmers the Peace and Reconciliation Modus Vivendi on a Plata of Gold, and the Agreements of the Lancaster House, the same White Farmers were adamant in their Cecil Rhodesian Greed and addiction to Land to the point where the sustainable livelihood needs of the dispossessed indigenous people of Zimbabwe was inconsequential. Yet they expected that for land which they seized for free, the natives should pay with their blood, teeth and bones just to have a fair portion of the Lion's Greedy Share they had illegally carved out for themselves with all impunity.

Yes it seems like one of those bogus stories of "Promised Lands" psychopathological syndromes where people wake up to believe and teach that God who Created every people equal, woke up one day to regret that SHE had made a big MISTAKE somewhere for creating Black People. Wherefore God decided that the land which was originally theirs should be taken over by some addicted "Scammers of Promised Lands". Just as the fairy tale tells people that God created and got tired and slept on the seventh day. And that God finally found that poor Adam was lonely because SHE had forgotten to create a Woman-Servant for Adam. So God decided to clone Eve from one of the ribs of Adam after the poor man had been given some sedatives and anaesthesia which contributed for the transplant and the cloning of Adam's rib into a Vegetable-Woman who was not created in God's Image and Likeness, but in the Instincts and Emotional Lust of the Macho MAN ADAM.

And we want to make the world to believe that in the 21st Century of God's Enlightenment and Revelation we should still be dishing out these nauseating scamming mumbo-jumbos to our gullible children and uphold the scamming of senile Advocates who claim to be God's Messengers to the de-Divinised and de-Humanised World, where Might has become Almighty-Right?

Well, as for Robert Mugabe, he seems to, to many nationalist Africans, to have incarnated the Great Oracle and become the Living "Arrow of God" of this New enlightenment of Pan African Humanism which believes that even though we have to believe and build our Promised Lands of Globalisations and Universalisms; notwithstanding, we have also to take cognizance of the Original Contextualised Indigenisations of the World as Created, Painted and

Coloured by God with all the shades of aesthetics of Humanism we can imagine and forever appreciate.

As Mugabe says, Africa the Cradle of Humanity and Civilisation is for all Races and Peoples who want to live there and share equitably the riches and wealthy resources of the land without depriving others rendering them poor, deprived, and exploited by the Western Slave-Driven Capitalist Economy which has perpetrated for too long the Ghost of Cecil Rhodes that initiated the genocide and holocaust of Zimbabweans (Northern Rhodesia), to confiscate their lands for the exclusive benefit of White Settlers from Great Britain.

When in the 1970 and 1980s I joined the Shango Musical Group made up of students from Haiti, Nicaragua, Colombia, Ecuador and Algeria, to militate and advocate for the liberation fighters of Latin America, Africa and Asia, I composed this particular song and poem for Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo and their collaborators who were then fighting for the liberation of their people and Africa, titled:

Make Peace for Tomorrow

*Keep some for tomorrow
I say Keep some for tomorrow
With a little Smile
With a little Love
And some Laughter...*

Ha-ha...ha-ha...ha-ha...!

*So don't go Idle all Day
Nor in Poverty and in Want
For Tomorrow...
It never might meet you...
Make Love for Tomorrow
Make Friends for Tomorrow
Make Peace for Tomorrow
Make a New World for Tomorrow
With a little Smile
And a little Joy...
And some Laughter...
Ha-ha...ha-ha...ha-ha...!
Hi-bi...bi-bi...bi-bi... !*

*Hu-hu...hu-hu...hu-hu... !
 So don't go Idle all Day
 Nor in Poverty and in Want
 For Tomorrow...
 It never might meet you...
 Africa has produced Great Valiant People
 Like Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, Kenneth Kaunda,
 Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Nelson Mandela...
 Who have fought and laid down their Lives
 So that their Enslaved People should be Free...
 From Suez to Algiers, Casablanca to Freetown,
 Bamako to Bum-Yebel, Monrovia to Addis Ababa,
 Praia to Bissau to Asmara, Mount Kenya to Lubumbashi,
 To Luanda, Harare, Maputo, Umtata to Robben Island,
 Antananarivo and Seychelles Islands...where the Ancestral
 Spiritual Armies of Chaka and the exiled Yao Asantewa
 Commune with Queen Morena's and the Amina Zaria's
 And Queen Zinga Mbandi the great woman warriors'
 Cavalry of archers and the Benin Voodoo Amazons'
 Forces of resistance and renaissance, to forge out
 Forever the Lost Cultural Scientific Heritage and
 Vibrant Political Unity of Africa!
 Forngot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 1st March 1985.*

Radical Pan-Africanism and the Emerging Radical Pan Arabism

From North Africa, Abdel Gamal Nasser, the controversial personality and champion of Pan Africanism became an adept supporter of Pan Arabism which was inspired from his experience of Pan Africanism. Actually, the initiator of Pan Arabism was Michel Aflaq of the Ba'ath Socialist Party of Syria and Iraq, who championed in the late 1940s the idea of Arab Liberation from the Ottoman colonization of the ancient Byzantine Civilisation from Turkey.

The Byzantine civilization had developed after liberating itself from the Roman Christian Julius Caesarean to the Constantinopolitanian civilization to promote Mohamedan Islam.

After the fall of Constantinople to Islam, Istanbul, as Constantinople came to be called, became the political capital of Islam in the Middle East. With the bastardisation of ancient Palestine (see Map) and the creation of puppet Arab states of ancient Arabia by Great Britain and the puppet Lebanon by France in the late 1940s, Abdel Gamal Nasser, because of his Pan African nationalist activism, also embraced Michel Aflack's theory of Pan Arabism.

This ideology of Pan Arabism was boosted more from a linguistic political framework than from and ethnic identity setting. Because originally, the Hittites, the Hurians, the Assyrians and the Babylonians, the Persians the ancient Phoenicians and Palestinians who had embraced Islam and Arabism, were not Arabs. They embraced Arabism because of Islam and some of them thereby came to lose their original languages to embrace Arabic but not their ethnic identities.

This can explain the power scuffle for the so-called United Arab Organisation leadership between the true Arabs and the adopted Arabs. This can also explain why the Arab states fear of a Palestinian State which, because of its closer genetic affinity, alliance and identity with the Jews and Israelis; and because, even though their original land has been decimated, the Palestinians, because of their acute taste for militancy and intellectual leadership, would eventually overrun the entire Arab world.

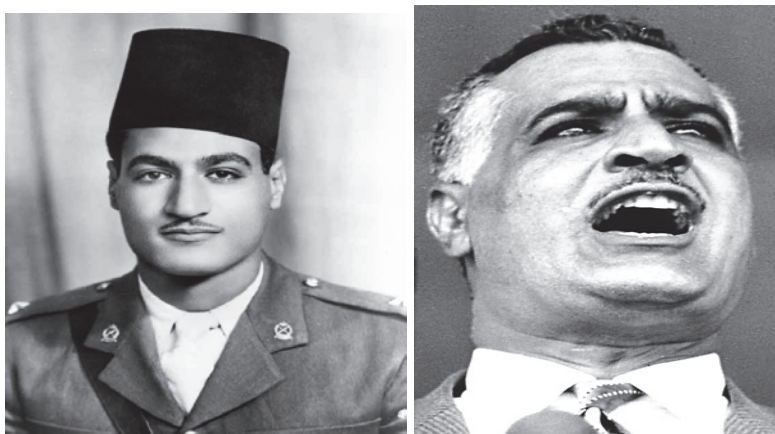
Actually, what is today called the Arab Spring, just like the Liberation Theology of the Western Capitalist world, had already taken grips with the Palestinians in the Diaspora and in Gaza. If the Palestinian State which Yassa Arafat has been projecting and has been allegedly assassinated for by Israel, then the Arab leadership would know of a shift from the passive to the pro-active legitimate lay Arabic State, where Religion is only another liberating

reference and not the all assuming Impostor and manipulator of the poor and disadvantaged masses.

And what is bugging Saudi Arabia today is the fact that it is still living a kind of Medieval and Neo-Byzantine outdated hegemony of the Arabicized type that is out of touch with contemporary democratic reality and the Arab Spring. And it is not ashamed to sponsor rebels of the Arab Spring in Syria when its human rights and good governance records are crammed with dictatorship imposition of Divine Kingship Dictatorship. And the Western Powers and their American mentor do not dare to question this autocratic governance because of their vested interest in blood crude oil.

And Saudi Arabia tries to hijack the Arab leadership through the fallacy of begging the question of using the religious capital of Islam as the basis for its authority in the Arab world.

But this religious basis is highly undermined by the radical Arab Spring which to recall Michel Aflaq's objectives, wants to separate the Islamic State from Religion and create a Lay State, where religion serves the interests of the people and not vice versa. Where religion serves the interests of the poor in alleviating poverty and not by creating poverty and the opulence of the privileged few.



Photos 174 (a) & (b): Abdel Gamal Nasser: January 15, 1918 — September 28, 1970

Abdel Gamal Nasser was projected to the limelight because of his quest to build a liberated Arab state free from the grips of decadent Islam and an Islam that procreates and produces feudalism and poverty.

He was propelled to the limelight when in 1948 he became an activist in the Israeli – Arab war, and participated actively in 1952 in the Egyptian Revolution; and in 1956 he challenged the British imperialism of the Suez

Canal and defeated the Union Jack nation in what seemed like the defeat of the Goliath of the world by a tiny Davidian nation like Egypt.

It was also catastrophic to Great Britain because it was at the beginning of the Cold War and Great Britain was just recovering from the pangs of the Second World War that almost brought Great Britain to her knees. Gamal Nkrumah (2002) throws in more light on this situation when he elaborates that:

“Egypt’s July Revolution was an inspiration to people who lived under colonial rule across the world, especially for Arabs and Africans. For the first time in three millennia, Egypt was ruled by an Egyptian, one who was just as proud of his African heritage as of his Arab identity. Nasser embarked on a radical policy of land reform and redistribution. He confiscated 2,430 square kilometres of farmland from the tiny land-owning elite and gave them to dispossessed peasant families. Nasser’s socialist-inspired policies prompted him to nationalise banks and major industries. But the turning point, perhaps, was his nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956. This was the act that brought him instant admiration across the Third World, and the wrath of former colonial powers, particularly Britain and France. Soon after the evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal zone in June 1956, Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt in what became known in Egypt as the Tripartite Aggression.”

Abdel Gamal Nasser was a true Pan Africanist as well as a true Pan Arabist who believed that the liberation of colonised people of all races was the true cause to fight for with all the might that one possessed in flesh and blood without reserve. Abdel Gamal Nasser was of the opinion that the liberation of Africa from colonization would not have been successful if it was not also punctuated with the liberation of all colonized Arab states.

His clamour for the Pan Arabism philosophy was to faultier the puppet states created by the British and the French to maintain the hegemony of Israel in the region. We all know that the creation of Israel, which became the spoilt child of Western Europe and America, was primarily to compensate the culpability complex of Nazism which was not only German but entirely promoted by the European racism against the Black race, to which the Jews were identified (Fongot Kinni, 2011) as the “polluters” of the European pure and Super-Human Arian Race Ideology.

This is why Gamal Nkrumah insists that Abdel Gamal Nasser was a true and devoted Pan Africanist whose vision and ambition was to see come true the total liberation of the African and Arab people. He furnishes (Gamal Nkrumah, 2002) us with these first hand details in Nasser’s legacy “Through African Eyes”:

“The solidarity between Arab and non-Arab Africans is not a historic accident. It is rooted in a common vision, drawn from a common cause. It all started in the late 50s and early 60s, when Africa’s leaders-to-be were still freedom fighters, and Nasser was their closest ally. For Nasser and his fellow African leaders, African liberation was a historic duty. They lived and died for the cause of national liberation. Few Arab leaders of Nasser’s stature were involved as intimately as he was in the struggle to liberate Africa from colonial rule. It was this dedication to the cause of African liberation that endeared him to like-minded African leaders. What they had in common was a radical agenda of social change, a task they knew would not be easy, a mission that remains, to this day, incomplete. It is difficult for me to write about the icon that Nasser was without mentioning something of the man. His role in rescuing my family from possible perdition in the aftermath of the bloody 24 February 1966 coup that overthrew my father, Kwame Nkrumah, has been documented elsewhere. Nasser’s personal involvement with the fortunes of his fellow African leaders and their families was based on a political outlook characteristic of the time. Personally, I have had an unusual opportunity to watch Nasser’s Pan- African contribution at close quarters and observe the close friendship he had with those who spearheaded the anti-colonial struggle in Africa.”

Abdel Gamal Nasser’s demonstration of solidarity with his Black African peers was not just political; it was also material, spiritual and human. When Patrice Lumumba of Congo was assassinated by the connivance of the CIA and the UN, Abdel Gamal Nasser received his helpless widow and children who received all the security their dead father could not give them in Egypt. That was the same with Kwame Nkrumah’s family when Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 by a coup d’état. Abdel Gamal Nasser’s letter to Nkrumah after his overthrowing by the military is pertinent of Nasser’s commitment to Pan Africanism as documented by Gamal Nkrumah:

“... “With feelings of great bitterness and shock, we, in the United Arab Republic, have heard of the sad events to which the people of Ghana were exposed ... I agree with you that the forces of colonialism are always trying to undermine the independence of African states, and to draw them again into their spheres of influence in order to continue exploiting their resources and shape their fates. What has happened in Ghana is actually part of this imperialist plan. To face colonialism in the African continent requires of us all continuous efforts and a sustained struggle to liberate it from old colonialism and neo-colonialism. The setback that has occurred in Ghana must act as a driving force for all of us to continue the struggle for the consolidation of the independence of African peoples and their liberation from imperialist forces,” ...Nasser

wrote Kwame Nkrumah less than 48 hours after the coup which toppled the latter's government. Nasser's commiseration letter to Ghana's first- ever president was typical of the friendship Nasser had with African leaders of his time; such as Guinea's President Ahmed Sékou Touré and Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba. As comrades, to use the parlance of the period, they developed a sense of personal solidarity within the larger context of African liberation. "I thank you for your kind felicitations on the Ramadan Bairam and send my best wishes to you and your family," ...stated a letter from Nasser to Nkrumah dated 25 January 1967. Nasser's African connection was in no way restricted to the Nkrumah family... Indeed, he took a special interest in the resettlement of Lumumba's family after the Congolese leader was brutally assassinated at the hands of the henchmen of the Mobutu Sese Seku, the late Zairean military strongman. Lumumba's widow and children fled to the safety of the Egyptian embassy in Kinshasa and they were spirited away to Cairo in a harrowing rescue mission. Nasser's gallant gesture further enhanced his stature in the entire African continent. Nasser's Egypt became the Lumumba's adopted home... African leaders like Nasser and Nkrumah were aware that the world was watching their political, social, and economic endeavours. It was the success, not the failure, of Nkrumah's policies that triggered the CIA-inspired coup of 24 February 1966. Nkrumah, like the core leftist African leaders of his generation, looked to Nasser's Egypt as a bulwark against colonialism and imperialism. Socialist leaders in Africa watched closely the agrarian reform and the ambitious industrialisation drive of Nasser's Egypt."

Abdel Gamal Nasser firmly believed in Pan Africanism and promoted this ideology through his theory of the triple heritage amalgamation of the sub-human races and cultures namely: African, Arabic, Islamic. He propounded his theory in his book *The Philosophy of the Revolution* which he undertook to put into his daily life practice and relations with his people and friends.

According to Nasser, even though the Arabs and Islam could be accused for perpetrating the Trans-Saharan Slavery the Islamic colonisation of the Black people of Africa before the Western European colonization, exploitation and domination, it was necessary that Africans, Arabs and Blacks, of North African or Sub-Saharan origins, could use the past injustices and shortcomings as a learning process for the assertivisation of Africans for the building of a more humanitarian Africa where peace and justice would reign.

Kwame Nkrumah was later to express the same ideology in his *Philosophy of Consciencism*. The son of Kwame Nkrumah from his Egyptian wife, Gamal Nkrumah (2004), furnishes us with details of this Pan African Philosophy which flourished between his father Kwame Nkrumah and Abdel Gamal Nasser:

“Nasser was the first Egyptian leader to put Egypt firmly within its African context. Successive Egyptian and other North African regimes followed that trend. For Nasser, Egypt’s identity drew upon three circles: the Arab, the Islamic and the African. Nasser saw no contradiction in Egypt belonging to the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Prior to Nasser, Egypt’s rulers were mostly Mediterranean, if not outright European, in their outlook. Nasser deliberately shifted the focus with his introduction of the Arab, African and Islamic “circles” as expounded in his The Philosophy of the Revolution. Nasser’s stress on those three circles brought him into close contact with the leaders of the African liberation struggle. Nkrumah, too, had a similar vision for the African world. In his Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation, Nkrumah says that the African personality draws upon three major elements: the African, the Western Christian and the Arab Islamic. Nasser’s The Philosophy of the Revolution, echoes the same sentiment.”

It was this engaging and practical friendship which was building between other African heads of State, especially Kwame Nkrumah and Abdel Gamal Nasser that prompted Nkrumah to propose his Philosophy of Consciencism which highlighted the need to celebrate all the cultural heritages Africa has garnered through the various colonisations. Just like in Nasser’s Philosophy of the Revolution, Nkrumah in his Philosophy of Consciencism (1964, 70, 90) advocated that:

“Consciencism is the map in the intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and Euro-Christian elements in African society, and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality... With independence... a new harmony needs to be forged, a harmony that will allow the combined presence of traditional African, Islamic and Euro-Christian Africa, so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African society... such a philosophical statement I suppose to name philosophical consciencism, for it will give the theoretical basis for an ideology where the aim shall be to contain the African experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of traditional African society, and, by gestation, employ them for the harmonious growth and development of the society.”

Abdel Gamal Nasser’s Pan Africanism was demonstrated in the support he gave to liberation movement’s fighters and the African liberation cause. The complicity between Abdel Gamal Nasser and Kwame Nkrumah was so tight and their vision for Africa, its industrialisation and development was so knitted together that one would wonder whether the CIA who went after Nkrumah could have spared Abdel Gamal Nasser. His death just at his prime, at 52, just

like Nkrumah's at 63, seems to reinforce the suspicion and hypothesis of an eventual CIA interference and foul play. It is very interesting to note that both leaders and friends in combat died within the same pace of each other: Abdel Gamal Nasser in 1970 and Kwame Nkrumah in 1972.

Actually the suspicion is founded because during the Cold War, all African leaders who were suspected of Communist Marxist inclination or those having relations with the Soviet Union, like Kwame Nkrumah, Abdel Gamal Nasser and Patrice Lumumba, were targeted, because they were accused of being Communists, by the CIA and the Western Secret Intelligence Service for elimination.

Abdel Gamal Nasser could not survive because he was sponsoring and training the Freedom fighters of Southern Africa. Sam Nujoma, in his autobiography, titled "Where Others Wavered," (Gamal Nkrumah, 2004) testifies to the great role played by Abdel Gamal Nasser, as a true and devoted Pan Africanist:

"...At the beginning of March 1961, I attended the third All-African People's Conference in Cairo ... I requested President Nasser to offer the opportunity of military training to SWAPO members. Nasser assured me of such opportunities if I could get a group of SWAPO members from South West Africa. He urged all African independent countries to render the necessary assistance to the national liberation movements, including military training, in order to free their countries from colonial occupation and foreign domination. He also urged the independent African states not to allow the imperialist powers to maintain and promote neo-colonialism and disunity among the African countries, Nujoma said in his tribute to the late Egyptian president. This was how July Revolution inspired African leaders throughout the 1950s... When in 1963, the first group [of Namibian freedom fighters] went for military training in Cairo, this was possible because President Gamal Abdel-Nasser of Egypt had offered me training and tickets. Nasser was a dedicated supporter of African liberation, Nujoma added. Small wonder that when Nasser passed away on 28 September 1970, many Africans felt the loss. The world has lost a great man and all those who fight for freedom and human dignity have lost a brother in the struggle. The people of Namibia join you in mourning President Nasser's tragic death,... Nujoma, still a political exile and freedom fighter lamented. Nujoma attended Nasser's funeral in Cairo. Nasser had inspired us in Namibia as far back as 1956 when he fought against the British, French, and Israelis after he had taken the Suez Canal. When we read about the fighting, in the newspapers in then South West Africa, we were firmly on the Egyptian side..."

Muammar Gaddafi was the brain child of Abdel Gamal Nasser who embraced Pan Africanism and Pan Arabism in his early youths as a student in Libya and a military trainee in 1966 in Great Britain. After the creation of the United Kingdom of Libya by the United Nations General Assembly in 1951, to thwart the British and French machinations to recolonise Libya after the Second World War, Libya was reduced to puppet state.

After the defeat of the pro-Nazi Italy under Mussolini, a pro-Western puppet Government was set up with the support of the West. The United Kingdom of Libya was headed by King Idris who immediately banned all political parties and set up a hyper centralised state with an absolute monarchy.

The defeat and occupation of Egypt by Israel in the Yum-Ki-Pur Six Days War of 1967 caused popular riots across Libya against all pro-Israeli and pro-Western powers. King Idris government was accused of being Anti-Arab and for supporting Israel and the colonial Western Powers. Anti-Western riots were rampant in Tripoli and in Benghazi, while workers shut down all oil terminals in solidarity with Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt.



Photos 175 (a) & (b): Muammar Muhammad Abu Minyar al-Gaddafi: June 1942 – 20 October 2011

This anti-Western and anti-Israeli protest culminated in the overthrow of King Idris in 1969 by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who abolished the monarchy, placing the Crown Prince Sayyid Hasan Ar-Rida-as-Sanussi under house arrest. The military take over which was called “Operation Jerusalem” was bloodless because the King was out visiting in Turkey and Greece. That is the reason it was also called the White Revolution. Muammar Gaddhafi then set up the Libyan Arab Republic which became one of the Pro-Nasser and anti-Israeli bastions in Africa.

Muammar Gaddhafi then set up the Revolutionary Command Council, RCC of Free Unionist Officers. He then set out to reunite the country that

had been divided along regional, ethnic and tribal lines under King Idris after the discovery of crude oil in 1959, to share the oil wealth which had become the huge resource for boosting up the economy. Muammar Gaddhafi's social reforms were in consonance to his newly adopted ideology of socialism. Between 1969 and 1973 he undertook great social welfare reforms, health care and house building projects, all funded with oil money.

Muammar Gaddhafi's Arab nationalism pushed him to send Western NATO powers packing from Libya. He argued that it was not becoming for Arab nationalism to harbour the shackles of neo-colonisation embodied in the British and American Military bases in Libya. That is why in March 1970 the British military base had to quit Libya; and in June of the same year the American military base rolled down its flag. Muammar Gaddhafi then proceeded in 1971 to ask Malta to cease harbouring the NATO military base, and provided Malta with a large foreign aid.

The Government of the Island of Malta continued to host NATO but only on condition that they would never use it as a military launching base to attack any Arab country. Muammar Gaddhafi then strengthened his ties with Gama Abdel Nasser's Arab Nationalism which had a tremendous influence over the RCC. Gaddhafi's power base was also strengthened by the support he had from the four neighbouring states with Arab nationalist governments namely: Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Algeria and Sudan. Egyptian experts in various fields of political economy and governance were sent to help the RCC government established by Muammar Gaddhafi.

Muammar Gaddhafi in line of his mentor Abdel Nasser, propounded the need for a United Arab State stretching across North Africa to the Middle East. He made this his priority objective after the founding of the Arab Revolutionary Front in December 1969 in Libya.

The West then became very suspicious of Libya and the firebrand Muammar Gaddhafi who was so virulent in his attacks on capitalism and Western domination of the Arab world, Africa and the rest of the Third World. The author (Fongot Kinni, 2006, 49) well documents on this aspect when he says that:

“The NATO Powers, led by the USA, then saw Libya as great threat to their strategic logistics in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. On the flip side of the coin, were the United Arab Republic – UAR, and the Arab League Al, especially those that were employing the ideology of the Socialist Ba’athist Movement of Michel Aflaq of Syria. These were Egypt, Egypt, Algeria and Syria (Fongot Kinni, 1975, 1976, 1989) who were decided to liberate the Arab world and re-establish the true identity of the Arab Nation, (Michel Aflaq, 1959) not only from the domination of the

Ottoman Empire and Culture, but also from the Western imperialism and the Israeli Zionist hegemony in the Arab world. The young Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was welcomed and posited himself in the footsteps of Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, as another virulent revolutionary red feather in the cap of the Arab League.”

The Arab Revolutionary Front which tied up with Egypt, Sudan and Syria died a natural death in 1973 when Annuar Sadat became head of State of Egypt after the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser in November 1970, because Sadat felt that Libya was becoming too radical for his liking.

This was obviously due to the creation of the First Nasserite Volunteers Centre on 11 June 1972, supported by the Jihad Fund he created in 1970, destined to train guerrillas in tactics against what he called the Zionist State of Israel. He considered the creation of State of Israel in 1948 “as an oppressive indignity forced on the Arab world by Western colonialists.”

His target therefore was the training of Palestinian guerrillas to fight in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. As documented by the author (Fongot Kinni, 1976, 2006, 50) Muammar Gaddafi’s contention was that:

“The Western Super Powers and the NATO Allied Powers, as well as the Lord Balfoureaan Refugee Settler State of Israel, artificially created in 1948 out of Palestine, after the Nazi demise (and genocide) of European Jews, became the targets of the Arab revolutionary States which did not admit nor recognise the creation of a Jewish Zionist State, considered as a Trojan Horse, in their midst.”

In his zeal for Pan Arabism and anti-Israeli rhetoric, he fell out with Yasser Arafat the Palestinian leader of Fatah because he considered him too moderate for his call for a more violent revolution. That is how Muammar Gaddafi funded the Black September radical Palestinian guerrilla group which perpetrated the massacre of Israeli athletes in Munich, West Germany in 1972.

In solidarity with Israel and the innocent Israeli athletes I composed this poem and song which was transmitted over Radio Luxembourg who invited me for an interview. I was spending the Summer holidays in Duren, Germany, during that Olympic disastrous incident, when I composed the Poem and Music titled:

HEIL OLYMPIA

(Dedication to the Munchen Olympia Massacre of the Israeli Sports Men and Women)

Hail, Hail, Hail, Olympia

*O show me the gold, the silver and bronze,
 That we have come to share at Olympia...
 Brotherhood and love, the freedom Man...
 That is the meaning Olympia...
 O where is the love, the joy of humankind
 That weaves the garlands for Olympia
 The Spartans did strive to die in the fight
 Because they thought they would win gold medals
 Nations go to fight to boast in their pride...
 And so they hope to win gold medals !
 O - O.O - OO.O - - Olympia ...
 O - O.O - OO.O - - Olympia ...
 O show me the gold, the silver and bronze,
 That we have come to share at Olympia...
 Brotherhood and love, the freedom Man...
 That is the meaning Olympia...
 O where is freedom matured in reason
 To hem in the breaches of Olympia?
 The courage to face the challenges of Man...
 That is the meaning of Olympia...
 O show me the gold, the silver and bronze,
 That we have come to share at Olympia...
 Brotherhood and love, the freedom Man...
 That is the meaning Olympia...
 O - O.O - OO.O - - Olympia ...
 O - O.O - OO.O - - Olympia ...
 O where is the cheer to play without fear
 Within the spirit of Olympia?
 But why these banners with all their anthems
 That seduces the refrains of Olympia !
 O show me the gold, the silver and bronze,
 That we have come to share at Olympia...
 Brotherhood and love, the freedom Man...
 That is the meaning Olympia...
 Brotherhood and love, the freedom of Man...
 That is the meaning of Olympia !
 O - O.O - OO.O - - Olympia ...
 O - O.O - OO.O - - Olympia ...
 Heil Olympia...
 Heil Olympia...*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Duren, 6th September, 1972

Dedication to the Munchen Olympia Massacre of the Israeli Sports men and Women.

By 1975 Muammar Gaddhafi was already disillusioned and infuriated with the so-called Pan Arab alliance because he was not privy to the Egyptian-Syrian alliance which fought the Yom Kippur War against Israel. What angered him the more was the Camp David Peace Talks between Anwar Sadat and the Israelis which Gaddhafi described as betrayal of Nasser's vision.

Gaddhafi argued that the Arab world should have fought till the last man until victory was won. Gaddhafi also turned against President Gafar Niemery of Sudan because he had developed closer links with Egypt which had inclined to the West and abandoned the radical revolutionary option. He went as far as sponsoring mercenaries to overthrow Niemery from power. It would seem the assassination of Anwar Sadat could have also been sponsored by Gaddhafi.

Muammar Gaddhafi became very popular for his revolutionary radicalism which was also inspired by the Marxist "Armed Revolution" ideology and the prevalence of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" which was rife in the 1970s. The humiliating defeat of the Americans in Vietnam in the early 1970s, also gave a lot of hope that radical revolutionary Marxism would always prevail. That is how Gaddhafi used Libya's oil money to sponsor wars and guerrilla movements like the Eritrean-Ethiopian War of Independence, the anti-Apartheid African National Congress - ANC in South Africa; the Black Panther and the Nation of Islam in the United States; the Provisionary Republican Army in Ireland, in the United Kingdom; the ETA in Spain; the Red Brigades in Italy; the Red Army Faction in West Germany; the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua; the Red Army in Japan; the Free Aceh Movement in Indonesia and the Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines.

Young, gifted, handsome, and flamboyant Gaddhafi's revolutionary virility thus thrust and projected him as the Radical Revolutionary Super Star, leader and advocate of the oppressed and disinherited of the earth, not only of the Third World, but also of the First and Second Worlds of Europe and the USA and Japan. The oil wealth of Libya gave him the clout to call the shots as he dished out substantial financial support for warring revolutionary factions in the world fighting senile capitalism and repression in the world. The irony was that even though the Western super-powers feared, hated and dreaded Gaddhafi, they could not ignore him since they were forced to do business with him for his very rich oil deposits they needed for their industries and

household sustenance. Gaddafi had succeeded to create a niche for himself to become all at once to Africa and the world the Che Guevara of Latin America and Fidel Castro of Cuba. He had succeeded to establish in Libya what he called the “Popular Revolution” of Libya which could be compared to the Moa Tse Tung Cultural Revolution of China for the Liberation of Libya and Africa from the slave-driven capitalism of the Western exploitative powers. This was the Liberating Popular Revolution he intended to spread all over Africa.

In the speech of 16th April 1973 at Zuwara, where Gaddhafi proclaimed the launching of the “Popular Revolution” of Libya, he outlined a five point plan which consisted in:

*The dissolution of all existing laws;
The Removal of all opponents of the revolution;
The removal of all traces of bureaucracy and bourgeoisie from Libya;
The arming of the population to defend the revolution;
The beginning of a Cultural Revolution to expunge Libya from all
foreign influences, domination and exploitation.*

Gaddhafi then went on to promulgate a more direct participatory system of governance which he declared was more innately democratic with the form of direct participation than the political-party based system of Representative system of governance. Muammar Gaddhafi launched the Green Book (Fongot Kinni, 2006, 68) published 1975 and 1979, outlining his political philosophy arguing that the political party, just like the Parliamentary representation was anti-people power and constituted an abortion of democracy. He argued that:

“Political parties are divisive instruments of societies, because their main objectives are to win elections and carry out their programmes regardless of the rest of the community. But in a people’s power democracy and people’s power authority, no single party can arrogate to itself the sole privilege to govern the entire people of any given society or community.”

Gaddhafi established the local working groups as the basis for the Revolutionary Committees at the District and National levels. He promoted the spirit of Nationalism, rejecting the Western Capitalism and the Communist Atheism describing them as imperialist.

Wherefore he proposed the Third Universal Theory founded on a progressive Pan Arab Nationalism and Pan African Humanism which would

lead both the Islamic and the Third World against the forces of the Western and Eastern World Imperialism.

He saw Fundamental Islam as playing a key role in the revolutionary ideology, thereby calling for an Islamic Revival and the return to the origins of the Qur'an, and rejected the scholarly interpretations and the Hadith. It was this attitude which angered many Libyan Clerics and contributed to distance him from them.

After Gaddhafi had severed relations with the Arab World he turned his interest to Africa where he sponsored the spread of Islam, building Mosques and having acolytes like Omar Bongo and a few sympathisers like Jean Bedel Bokassa of Central African Republic. He tried to create closer links with the Maghreb region of the northwest African Islamic States.

In 1974 Libya and Tunisia of Habib Bourguiba announced the forming a political union of the Arab Islamic Republic, but due to unpopular reception in Tunisia the reunion affair became unpopular and was abandoned. Gaddhafi later signed in 1975 the Hassid Messaoud Defence Agreement whose objective was to counter Moroccan expansionism; and the funding of the Polisario Front of the Western Sahara Movement for the liberation of Sarahoui.

Muammar Gaddhafi's penchant for his anti-West and anti-capitalist rhetoric did not die with his conversion from sponsoring guerrilla movements in the twenty first century. He still consecrated his time to the cause of the Third World and the disinherited of the earth. One of his achievements was that he became one of the rare spokes persons and advocates for Third World issues with the capitalist West.

He never let go any opportunity that was given him on the World Platform to advocate for the cause of the Third World. At the Second Africa-South America Summit on the Isla Margarita, Venezuela in 2009, Gaddhafi joined the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, to call for an "anti-imperialist" front across Africa and Latin America. He went on to propose the establishment of the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation to counter challenge and check NATO's excesses in imperialism. He seized the opportunity given to him, for the first time, on the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, on 23rd September 2009, to condemn Western aggression and imperialism of all sorts which had taken a new form of Neo-Imperialism and the abusive use of force in the twenty first century.

Muammar Gaddhafi's contributions to Pan Africanism are rather controversial because of Arab-Islamic innuendoes, considering the fact that the Arabs are among the first colonisers and perpetrators of the Arab-Slave Trade in Africa. It is true that every political venture goes with the control of power. That is why those who accuse Muammar Gaddhafi of his political self-

aggrandisement would be right. What is politics after all? But it must be seen from the perspective where politics becomes a project for state management for the interest of an oligarchy or a democracy, or better still a communitarian polity.

It is also true that if we have to remain always lamenting on colonisation and victimisation and becoming victims instead of using the very negative resources that have colonised us and enslaved us and become victors; then we shall never provide new alternatives for change and development, as Martin Luther King Junior did, when he said “I have a Dream,” and walked and worked towards achieving that dream.

When Muammar Gaddafi in 1989 founded the Al-Gaddafi International Prize for Human Rights, to be awarded to figures from the Third World who had pro-actively struggled against colonialism and imperialism, he was making this alternative statement of a Victor.

In nominating Nelson Mandela as the first year’s winner as a South African Anti-Apartheid Activist, he was recognising and advocating this alternative Victor Hero of Change for Africa and the world that Nelson Mandela had become.

When in October 2010 Muammar Gaddafi apologised openly for the Arab Slave Trade that contributed to decimate, dehumanised and impoverished Africa, he was, by assuming the Vicariate Responsibility, telling Africans that if Arabs had reduced them to Victims of the human ambiguities of the “Inferno,” “Hell” of the Human Comedy; then now is the time for Africans and Arabs to rise up as Victors of their Differences, and establish the Permanent Interpenetration of their Contraries, for the good of Humanity.

We should see it in the same manner in which Bill Clinton, in 1988, apologised for the American Slave Trade, thus paving the way for the Victory of the once Black enslaved people through the realisation of the Dream of Martin Luther King Junior in Barrack Obama becoming the Symbol of Victory, even though a tokenism, and the embodiment and Monumental Emblematic Victor of all Black people in America, in Africa and all the oppressed People of the World.

That is how I see the U-turn Muammar Gaddafi made in rejecting Arab nationalism and Pan Arabism to embrace the new humanist spirit of Pan Africanism and emphasising Libya’s African Identity.

The energy that Muammar Gaddafi put in his new vision for Pan Africanism from 1997 to 2011 before his assassination by NATO forces and America is worth recommending.

Within this period he reinforced his ties with African leaders. This is how he developed this new type of pre-emptive peace building and economic

relations with most African countries. He strengthened his ties with South Africa by visiting his friend Nelson Mandela in June 1999; and in the following month, he attended the OAU summit in Algiers, where he called for a greater political and economic integration across the African continent. He re-incarnated Kwame Nkrumah, and became once more the staunch advocate for the creation of the United States of Africa.

Muammar Gaddafi was the first to initiate and propose, (Fongot Kinni, 2006, 21) at the OAU Conference of Lomé, Togo, in May 2000, the creation of the African Union – AU. His proposal to replace the moribund OAU with the African Union, was unanimously voted by the African Heads of State at the Lusaka Summit, Zambia, in July 2001. At the opening ceremony of the African Union, in 2002, Muammar Gaddafi proposed that African States should reject conditional aid from the developed world.

Even though this message was contrary to President Thabo Mbeki's, it was well received by all well intentioned Africans who could understand that conditional foreign aid was tantamount to neo-imperialism.

During the Third Summit held in Sirte, Libya in 2005, Muammar Gaddafi called for a greater level of integration among African States, when he advocated for the following:

A single African Union passport;
A common defence system;
A single currency and monetary system;
An African Monetary Fund and Development Bank;
A United States of Africa.

He even coined the slogan: “The United States of Africa is the HOPE!” It is very interesting to see how in the same coincidence of the Prophet of African Unity, Muammar Gaddafi ended up in the footsteps of Kwame Nkrumah's vision for Africa during the first Conference at Addis Ababa on 23rd to 26th May 1963 which saw the creation of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU.

In June 2005, Libya joined the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa – COMESA. In August 2008 Muammar Gaddafi organized a Conference of African Traditional Rulers. This visionary realized that the Neo-Elitist-Neo-Colonial Politics practiced in Africa where the original legitimate foundation pillars of power were excluded or side-lined in the name of democracy was an aberration of democracy and the communitarian participatory governance he envisaged to re-establish in Africa.

As an appreciation for his endeavour to see that the original legitimate indigenous rulers were included in the participation of the new African leadership, the traditional rulers awarded him the symbolic honoris causa title of “King of Kings”.

Most slanderers have taken this to mean that Muammar Gaddhafi wanted to become the King of Africa, while forgetting that according to African tradition, this honorific title that is conferred on many deserving sons of Africa, even in their own home countries, does not really entitle them to become Kings, even though such candidates are expected to be the go-betweens of matters concerning the legitimate traditional leaders and rulers.

According to African political philosophy, this honorific title is seen and understood rather as a title for service to the people than for lordship and domination as is currently practiced and understood in Western Royalty.

Muammar Gaddhafi’s assumption of the Chairmanship of the African Union on 1st February 2009, was a mere coincidence of the round-robin rotatory function which cannot be interpreted as his slanderers would have it that it was his “coronation” as the King of Kings of Africa at the 7th African Union Summit at Addis Ababa.

After all is said and vomited about Muammar Gaddhafi, one thing is certain, that it would take a more balanced appreciational study, to come to grips with the realities that prompted and built up the Gaddhafi of his time of the Cold War, and the Gaddhafi of the Post-Cold War, the Post Colony and the Neo-Colonial Imperialism he was victim of and decided to transform into his own Victory.

It is in this perspective that one can also appreciate why on writing about Gaddhafi, the author (Fongot Kinni, 2006, 21) recommended other authors to read between the lines before condemning out rightly Gaddhafi and not throw the baby with the dirty washing water:

“It would have taken no nationalist African other than President Muammar Gaddhafi, to revisit, consciously or unconsciously, Nkrumah’s philosophy of Consciencism for African Unity and liberation. Gaddafi had come a long way from a trouble shooter and a liberation fighter to safeguard the self-determination of his people, the rest of Africa and the Arab Palestinian world. If any true African would like to compare most of the African leaders who have been lackeys and mercenaries of either the Western or the Eastern imperialist Powers, to fight the Cold Wars of other people, other nations, other interests, to the detriment of their people, then Gaddafi would always win the gold medal. When compared to lackeys like Joseph Mobutu Sesse Seko, who connived with the CIA, and cautioned the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, ordered by Eisenhower and his Western Cold War allies, (Linda Slattery, 2001, Gamal

Nkrumah, 2004), the first democratically elected Prime Minister of the Congo, Gaddafi would appear as a veritable nationalist. Those African mercenaries and Cold War Lords, like Jonas Savimbi, sponsored by the CIA through Joseph Mobutu, transformed their countries to warring arenas for West-East ideologies and lived extravagantly from the dirty pay packages of their Western and Eastern proctors, who supplied all the arms of destruction, as military aid in all sorts of cover ups, to maintain peace at all cost, within these neo-colonial mercenary puppet states. Some of them are still living today, without pensions from their former masters, whose interest was, and still is, to exploit the blood diamonds, the blood gold, the blood copper, the blood cobalt, uranium, coltran; the blood forest logging, the blood oil and all other mineral resources; to pay the debts for these destructive arms, which Africa has never finished paying today. And abandoned to their lot of induced poverty, they have not been able to think out a salvific way out of this embarrassment, until Gaddafi, a true nationalist African, could propose a blueprint for Africa's political liberation and economic development, in the third millennium."

The truth is that whatever criticism can be levied against Gaddhafi, the most prevailing and undisputable facts of his service to his country, his people and Africa as a whole remains resonant and indelible. Gaddhafi since seizing power as the age of 29 had proven that a selfless devotion to nationalism for his people was the guiding principle of his Popular Revolution. He had succeeded to raise Libya from an agrarian peasant feudalism economy to a first world emerging economy. Libya standard of living, the livelihood of its citizens, the life span of men and women had risen much higher than in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece.

Libya under Gaddhafi had the highest level of education for men and women in the Arab world before Iraq and Iran. Gaddhafi developed the standard of free education for boys and girls and even adult education for all those who wanted to be educated. All Libyan benefitted from free health care, and state subsidized housing facilities where every Libyan was encouraged to own his or her own personal house. The real estate laws of Libya discouraged speculation on property by landlords since a tenant became actually the owner of the house by paying rents which was calculated cumulatively to buy the house with subsidy from the state. Wherefore Libya had no homeless citizens; even foreigners could become landlords and owners of property in Libya. All Libyan graduates and job seekers were paid a monthly minimum survival salary before they actually got employed.

No Libyans were jobless or loiterers. Foreigners streamed in Libya looking for employment. Even when the Western Powers like Great Britain and

America declared Libya to be unsafe for their citizens, and asked foreigners to leave Libya, many Western Engineers decided to stay and work for Gaddhafi.

Gaddhafi was able to solve Libyan clean drinking water and miscellaneous water usage problem by drilling deep bore holes in the desert and producing clean water from the Sahara desert which was used for drinking and household purposes and well as for irrigation purposes. Gaddhafi was the foresighted leader who transformed the Sahara Desert into a greenery and hot house for producing fresh vegetables and all kinds of crops throughout the year for the food sufficiency of Libyans. This was the technology he intended to propagate in the Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa, especially in the arid regions which were usually hit by drought. But the Western Powers could not acknowledge the credit and master plan Gaddhafi had for the sustainable development of his country and the welfare and sustainable livelihood of his people. The NATO forces assassinated him because of the danger his vision for a United and Liberated Africa was going to cost them, especially Europe which is already experiencing the decadence of Neo-Colonialism and the decadence of the Slave-Driven Capitalist Economy established in Africa and the Third World.

The bitter truth is that Libya and Africa will ever live to regret and mourn the loss of this firebrand nationalist and foresighted liberator of Africa slaughtered in cold blood by the NATO Forces with the connivance of some hired mercenary leaders of Africa like the Odinga of Kenya and his followers who, with the connivance of the UN forces also betrayed Laurent Gbagbo of Cote d'Ivoire that he did challenge the Imperialism of the West in Africa, as they did to Patrice Lumumba in the Congo in 1960 when he challenged the Imperialism of Belgium and the Western Super Powers and their corporate societies that have not only exploited but have continued their barbarism and bleeding of the DRC to death up till this day.

It was for this recognition that I paid the great African Patriot Muammar Gaddhafi this honour after his untimely murder by the allied NATO Forces of America, France and Great Britain entitled:

Consternating Dirge For A Beloved Patriot- Martyr

*You had a Great Dream and I dreamed along with you
You brought me hope from the hopelessness of my cradle
Of the people once and serially abused in the name of a 'God'
I grew up to fear, to love and hate, to admire and even doubt
That we were truly of the same stock of all GOD's created People...
We of Africa's Biblical CHAM descent, the First-Borns of GOD's Humanity...*

*You inspired the likes of us of the disinherited of the earth
With your big talk of uniting Africa and giving her abusedly enslaved
And divided people, holocausted, bastardised, Nazied in their Diaspora lands
Of their estrangements, segregations and beguiled snappy assimilations...
Befitting slaves of a Paradise they cannot duly own nor duly rule...
Like the Obamas who believe they have arrived and fulfilled the Dream...*

*You once made us to Dream with Martin Luther King Junior the Brave
Who dared to have a Dream that his people shall one day be free to spread the Love of
God's People from North to South, East and West of the new Humanised Universe...
Where Race, Religion, and Capitalism shall have lost the Wall-Streets
To a new Michael-Moore's Humanisation and Socialisation of People with a single
Birth Right to Live and to Die in Honour defending the Dream as you bravely did...*

*But your excesses were there to betray you as you trusted in the weapons They sold to
you to fight their crazy battle of State-Initiated-Terrorism and 9/11s Of Twin-Towered
Ground Zeros of their Hypocrisies in the reckless arms deals From their Manhattanised
Atomic Hiroshima Bomb Genocides that recall the Genocide of the First Nation People
whose lands they ravaged without compensation, without recognition...
As they control the UN with the same unhumanistic Vetoes to benefit their NATOed
bombardments that Saved a People they happily Re-Enslaved with their
Weapons of Mass Destruction for their oil rich heritage lands
Of manipulated leaders now gagged to kill and bury their people in God's-Name...*

*Muammar Kadhaffi, you had Dreamed the
Mahatma Ghandi's Dream of Equality of Races
And the Emancipation of People of all Caste Systems...
If you had Dreamed the
Martin Luther King Jr's Dream of...
Nonviolence you might have continued to build the
Hope of Freedom and Love...
And Non-Destruction of Despair...
But like Malcolm X
The Vitriolic Revolutionary
For whom a Good Racist Whiteman
Was a Dead Ku Klux Klan-man
Who lynched and murdered Blackmen
Who were Good-For-Nothing-But-Dead...
You died a Hero,*

*Martyr of the boomerang of their
 Sadistic Creations and Robotisations
 Since they believe and preach that only Arms and
 Weapons of Mass Destruction CAN DO
 Their Scamming of the World of Despair they
 Created and Cradled you in from your Childhood
 How then can the TERRORIST Master-Minders
 Turn Round and call you Terrorist?...
 You started a Dream....a
 Dream we still Dream despite your
 Excesses and Miscalculations;
 For you were but human and
 In a rush like all Revolutionaries to bring a
 Change in the colonialised mindsets and
 Tethered Bowl-In-Hand Desperate Bootlickers of
 Super-Powers Westernised Santa-Claused Children of
 Deranged Africans who sit and wait and pray only for Miracles
 And for GODOT for their Emancipation
 Praying to GOD to come back and put FOOD on their Tables
 As they Ignorantly and Blasphemously
 Ask God for MORE DAILY BLOCKADES
 For MORE DAILY BREAD
 When GOD has already given them BREAD so GENEROUSLY
 And even with a BLAS to these
 BELOVED SONS And DAUGHTERS OF AFRICA...TO
 These Spoilt CHILDREN of AFRICA
 More than the ENDOWMENT TO any of GOD's CHILDREN...
 But you were always forgetting that there will
 Always be Droned-Enemies and Mercenaries of Destinies
 Who are not ready for this kind of
 Emancipating Autocratic Freedom
 To tirelessly Revolutionise the
 Sahara Desert from a Death Trap of Man-Made Draught
 Into a Lush Fertile Forest for Human and Animal Life
 Of that Pristine Garden of Eden of Mythified Biblical Dream
 Brought Back and Reincarnated into Reality
 Through Resilient Human Endeavour and Creativity
 To continue GOD's Creation here on this
 Bastardised Earth-Paradise by Capitalistic Greed...
 But you had a dream for Africa*

*A FANTASTIC but PRACTICAL Dream
For the Reversal of the TABLES of
Of Conceited Greed and Racism...
But for
The Change you Dreamed of,
Of The United States of Africa, like
Kwame Nkrumah Dreamed...
Will come to pass and
We shall Crown You the
Autocratic Nationalist Son of
PAN AFRICANISM FOR EVER...*

*Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, 21 October, 2011, (For Muammar Kadhaffi - an African
Patriot And Martyr)*

Ahmed Ben Bella's (Alistair Boddy-Evans, 2013) nationalism started very early when he <http://africanhistory.about.com/bio/Alistair.Boddy.Evans-6973.htm> consulted 28-6-2013, was still in the secondary school at Tlemcen. His sensitive peasant background made him to reject at a very early age what he considered very Eurocentric teachings and brainwashing in the school education he received from his French colonial teachers. It was in Tlemcen that Ahmed Ben Bella joined the nationalist movement of Algeria, the "Parti du Peuple Algerien" – PPA, Algerian Peoples Party, which was militating for total independence of Algeria. This party was heavily persecuted by the French settler colonial authorities who were bent on transforming Algeria into one of the largest French overseas territories.

Ahmed Ben Bella's conscription into the French army after he left school in 1937, was a God-sent-situation for this future revolutionary ideas and engagements. Posted to Marseille where he was placed in the Alpine infantry regiment, he excelled in his training and mastery of military skills and was soon promoted to the rank of sergeant in the mixed infantry of French and Algerian conscripts. By the time World War II was declared by Germany who invaded France, Ahmed Ben Bella was called to defend the French nation and was awarded in 1940 the "Croix de Guerre," "War Cross" medal. After the fall of France Ahmed Ben Bella turned down an offer to play professional football in Marseille and decided instead to return to his people in Algeria, precisely to his family farm, where he would relax and think out how his military experience and service would be more useful to his country.



Photos 176 (a) & (b): Ahmed Ben Bella 25 December 1918 - 11 April 2012

When in 1943 he was assigned to an Algerian regiment he became very outspoken of the discrimination and maltreatment of Algerian soldiers by the French settler officers. He was then immediately transferred to the Moroccan regiment of “*Tirailleurs*,” “*Snipers*”. Ahmed Ben Bella (Alistair Boddy-Evans, 2013) took action in the campaign with the Free French forces that took part in the liberation of Rome. He had risen to the rank of sergeant-major in 1944 and was awarded the “*Medaille Militaire*,” “*Military Medal*” by General Charles de Gaulle.

But situations changed drastically for Ahmed Ben Bella when in 1945 he became aware of the deaths of thousands of Algerian Muslims who had been killed by the settler French authorities during the uprising in Sétif, Guelma and Kerrata. That is when he decided definitely to return and fight for the nationalist cause. When he returned to Menia he took up position of councillor and intensified his nationalist activities. It is at this time that he enlisted in *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques* - MTLD, Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, the main Algerian nationalist party founded by Messli Hadj.

This was the new party that replaced the outlawed “*Parti du Peuple Algerien*” – PPA. When his farm was confiscated by the French authorities he relocated to Algiers and went underground thus becoming one of Messali Hadj’s “*Young Turks*”.

The hammer fell at last when in 1948 Marcel-Edmond Naegelen was elected Governor General of Algeria closing all possibilities of achieving any democratically elected independent government.

Ahmed Ben Bella, with the support of Messali Hadj’s party, founded the “*Organisation Spéciale*” – OS – “*Special Organisation*,” a paramilitary organisation that was focused on starting the armed struggle against French rule. To achieve this goal, Ben Bella, in 1950 became party to the robbery gang

of the main Post Office bank in Oran so as to raise necessary funds to buy arms for the nationalist movement.

After Ben Bella was caught, sentenced for eight years and imprisoned in Blida, he managed to escape just after two years. He fled first to France and then to Egypt, where he re-established the Organisation Spéciale with the help of Gamal Abdel Nasser. It was from Abdel Nasser that he honed his nationalist fighting spirit and re-enforced his Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism.

Even though it could be said that Ahmed Ben Bella fight for independence was to strengthen his Pan Arabism ties with Gamal Abdel Nasser, it is also very true that he was a diehard Pan Africanist. Ahmed Ben Bella was so committed to Pan Africanism in such a way that he made this statement (Pan African Quotes, 2013) which has become an African quotation today, that:

"Let us all agree to die a little, or even completely so that African unity may not be a word."

Ahmed Ben Bella became entirely committed to the fight for the liberation of Algeria's independence till the victory of her revolutionaries and nationalists over France was consumed.

The French-Speaking African and African-Caribbean Consciousness of the Surrealist Aesthetic and Moral Philosophy and Ideology of Pan-Africanism

It would seem Prince Kojo Tovalou Houènou from Dahomey, current Benin, was the forerunner of the surrealist philosophy of Negritude with its aesthetics and moral implications, for the definition of the African personality and consciousness, for the African self-determination of African people for liberation from colonial imperialism.

From his early contact with Marcus Garvey and some members of the Harlem Renaissance in the United States, in the early 1920s, it would seem he laid the first foundations for the French-speaking community in Paris, that was to take over the baton of African consciousness in the 1930s through the initiatives of the Nadal Sisters.

This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by (J. Ayo Langley, 1979) who admits that:

“In the years immediately following World War I, Prince Marc Kojo Tovalou Houènou was one of a small number of French Speaking Africans to openly challenge French rule on that continent. In his short book, L’Involution Métamorphoses et des Métempsychooses de l’univers, which was published in 1921, he attacked the European colonisation of Africa. Three years later he created the Ligue Universelle pour la Defense de la Race Noire while he lived in Paris, France. In the following address given at the Inter-Allied School of Higher Social Studies, University of Paris in 1924, Houènou describes the situation facing the residents of French Colonial Africa.”

When we read between the lines of the address and the academic discourse that Prince Kojo Tovalou Houènou delivered at the Inter-Allied School of Higher Social Studies, University of Paris in 1924, we realise the tons of courage in his heart and mind when he describes the situation facing the residents of French Colonial Africa.

Prince Kojo Tovalou Houènou demonstrates, in his advocacy for his people in denouncing the Colonial Policy, that he would prefer to die with his people than keep quiet to die in silence. Even in his desperation of his powerlessness to fight for his people, he adopts the course of non-violence to appeal to the consciences of the colonial powers that had lost their sense of

orientation. But it seems his pleas, which I will render in its entirety, fell on deaf ears when he pleaded:

"I regret very much at a time when France is passing through such a critical period, to be obliged to make a strong denunciation of her Colonial Policy, which today encompasses almost entirely every phase of the problem of the Negro race. It is a second Battle of the Marne in which France is engaged. It is being fought in peace, therefore it is pacific; it is financial, therefore economic; but it is violent—it is terrific and we are ignorant of the outcome. To begin with, I must completely absolve France from the policies of some of her children. We who have been reared in the Motherland—we know her, we love her, and we have unshakeable confidence in her. But, I regret to say, though I say it fearlessly, that the representatives whom she sends to her colonies fail to perform their duties. More than that, they betray the interests of France and compromise her future. They betray the interests of Africa, and thereby compromise the future of a people who has the right to exist. My sympathy, my affection, my love for France cannot be doubted; for in the critical hours of 1914, without compulsion of any sort, I assumed spontaneously the duty of all citizens and exposed my life like all Frenchmen. Moreover, it will soon be 24 years that I have lived in France. I have lived the life of the French entirely. My childhood, my youth were passed with companions who, today, for the greater part, are asleep over there, on the battle-fields, and who have been so quickly forgotten after the Armistice. That is to say that I have a profound and sincere attachment for France; and that if, during the period of danger, of great risk, I had military courage, today with reluctance, and in spite of the apparent unreasonableness of my intervention, I wish to have the civic courage to declare publicly that, in the Colonies, the representatives whom you send us from the Motherland betray you, compromise your future and foster such rancour, such hatred, that it would not be just and equitable that this be allowed to burst forth some day and wound mutilated France—so beautiful, so grand, so generous. And, being aware that at the present time, when you are surrounded by enemies of all sorts, at the time when the Allies of yesterday, by the ambiguity of their attitude are raising numberless difficulties for you, the extent of which you cannot measure, you are wrong to disown and to torture simple, primitive, warm-hearted and faithful human beings who have attached their fate to yours, and who wish to live your life. Since they have lost their patriarch, the ancient, dethroned and exiled kings, they have believed ingenuously that their Governors would be their benevolent protectors. What bitter and cruel disillusion!"

Prince Kojo did not stop short in decrying the horrible barbarism perpetrated in the colonies which could not be supported by any right-thinking person. He describes the aberrations and the atrocities of colonization that had gone beyond any human description. Colonisation was

not short of the indentured slavery that I was talking about in the introduction to this book.

Actually one would say that Prince Kodjo was the precursor of Adam Hochschild who later on documented elaborately and graphically on King Leopold's Ghost in the Belgian Congo.



Photo 177: George Marke, Prince Kojou Tonalou Houenou, and Marcus Garvey in Harlem, 1924 (Image Ownership: Public Domain)

Another French critic who later joined Prince Kodjo Houenou in castigating French Colonialism Mission in Africa was Andre Gide, the explorer who wrote bitterly against French Colonisation in 1927 after his exploration of French Equatorial Africa which took him from Brazzaville, the estuary of the Congo through Bangui to Fort Fourreau (Njamena) Chad.



Photos 178 (a) & (b): Andre Gide In The Congo – July 1925 to February 1926; Andre Gide With Friends In Paris On His Arrival From The Congo And Equatorial Africa

His published documentation of an explorer with an anthropological eye was very much criticized by colonialists who thought he was ridiculing them or interfering in what did not actually concerned him as he tried to stand out as the advocate for those voiceless people who had no control over the colonial occupation and exclusion that was going on their own country. Lecia Gordner (1997) testifies to these attacks explaining that:

“Gide first shocks the reader when he discusses the abuses committed by the French officer, Pacha, against the natives. He is bolder in his criticism when he alludes to the idea that although Pacha was an extreme case in French Africa, every officer had his own shameful secrets. Gide often leaves many descriptions of his voyage hanging and the reader will not ever know the end of the story he started to tell. He does however include the most important pieces of information which contribute to a commentary on the abuses of the region. However, it seems that Gide is also careful not to blame the French leaders in Africa directly for their faults, but instead he points out the lack of resources, personnel, and organization in the colonies. The reader can easily gather that Gide does not think the French should leave Africa, but instead, should devote more money and people to the region, in order for it to be an admirable mission. Gide’s Voyage au Congo sparked many criticisms of the French colonial system after its publication. It is interesting to review and compare the travel documents and chronicles of French travelers in Africa from the start of the expansion into Africa and then later in the colonization period, when Gide’s book was written. Did the spirit of colonization remain a nationalistic one after people realized all the abuses occurring in Africa? This leads to an interesting topic to research. Another area of interest is an inquiry as to whether or not the French government made any improvements in the organization and government of its African colonies after it realized the problems associated with its short-handed approach there.”

Colonisation was the savagery and the barbarism that Cheikh Anta Diop would later try to describe sixty years later, or what others like Adam Hochschild would also describe as the Ghosts of King Leopold in the Congo that had transformed Africa into a carnage camp of insensible manslaughter, murder and assassinations that surpassed the Nazi holocaust. No! It was not only King Leopold’s Ghosts. Prince Kojo was denouncing also the French-Colonial-Kings’ Ghosts when he describes very graphically the colonial barbarism that was leashed on helpless Africans:

“Europe has inaugurated in the Colonies an area of veritable savagery and real barbarism which is carried out with science and premeditation—with all the art and all the refinement of civilization. The unfortunate natives have mingled their destinies with yours. They are always ready to fight by your side. They are truly the moral and material capital on which you have the right to depend, and which will never fail you if you know the precise moment to break with those intermediaries who deceive you and deceive them. The speakers who have preceded me were to have stated the problem of the Negro race and my role was to find the solution and offer practical conclusions. By reason of the unfortunate indisposition of Mr. René Maran, Mr. Alfred Aurousseau, with his lyric fervour, has offered to speak in his place. I myself replaced Mr. Maran at the second conference. I have studied the problem of the Negro race which Europeans only have presented, because Blacks, or Negroes, are perfectly ignorant of it. For us, all races are as welcome as the magnificent bloom of spring. We do not understand that colour enters into intellectual or moral expositions; we do not understand that colour intervenes in economic questions; we understand nothing of the egotistic and barbarous aims sought by certain civilized people who believe that civilization can only reach its zenith by ignoring original laws, and by debasing and enslaving men who have the natural right to live, to evolve, and to attain the full expression of their being. I am ignorant of the problem as a whole, otherwise I should have presented it. But I shall content myself with giving you a history of its successive phases in Europe and shall content myself with telling you rapidly and briefly that the problem arose at the moment of the discovery of America when Europeans intoxicated by glory, adventure, and above all by rapine injustice, sought to conquer new territories which did not belong to them. They destroyed the aborigines of America—exterminated them! Then, terrified at the void they had created around them and being themselves incapable of labour, they turned to Africa for workmen. It was Africa that furnished contingents for penal-slave labour—this Africa with whose unhappy history you are unacquainted but which some day, one of her sons will outline for you in darts of fire,—a monument of shame for that civilization of which you boast. Without humanity there is no civilization!”

With the reign of perpetual terror, lynching and repressions, how was the colonised people to develop into normal responsible citizens? How could the so-called civilization actually take place under the abuse of all forms of human rights? Of the systematic abuse of natural rights and moral rights of peoples? The colonial forces that were drunk with power and with alcohol could not govern the colonies. This was because they were mad not only with ignorance, but also with cruelty that translated the colonial administration into what Prince Kojo describes as a fatality that burdens Eschyllican tragedies which

cannot compare with the genocides of the African tragedy from the French colonization of Africa as Prince Kodjo rightly puts it:

"If the monsters, full of vice, sodden with alcohol, contaminated by disease, whom you send to us, have nothing else to offer than what they have already given us, then keep them yourselves, and let us revert to our misery and our barbarity. The whole fatality that burdens Eschyllean tragedies cannot compare with the blackness of the African genocidal tragedy. Under cover of civilization, men are hunted like deers, plundered, robbed, raped, killed; and these horrors are presented afterwards in eloquent orations as blessings. Hypocrisy and knavery are added to crimes! Since, regardless of the Africans, regardless of the Negroes, much more civilized than themselves, Europeans have presented the problem of races, and particularly that of the Negro race, what can be the solution? What do we want in the Colonies—we subjects—or, by special favour and grudgingly made, citizens? We want the laws that concentrate and codify despotism repealed. There are no half-measures! A new constitution is needed in the Colonies. When a member is gangrenous, it is necessary to intervene quickly; remove the member by amputation. That's what the surgeon does. If it happens that he hesitates, lingers, delays, ignorant pain is aggravated—the disease gains ground, then an ignorant adventurer takes a scalpel and wounds the healthy organ, while attempting to remove the affected member. It is thus that the Government who should aid in the evolution of the people—for evolution implies full liberty of movement, is driving the natives to an ignorant, unskilful and awkward intervention—that which, after all, is the first stage of evolution: revolution. And, in the exercise of this revolution, in the execution of these rights of the people to act in stead and in place of technicians, regrettable incidents occur. We must foresee and arrest all gestures that are luckless and fatal for the common weal. Now, if we are not careful, unfortunate events will occur in the Colonies."

Even though Prince Kojo warned the colonial government about the disastrous effects of inadvertent and crude uncouth behavior of the colonial officers towards the native peoples, the Metropolitan government did nothing to change or curb the excesses of its colonial policies and barbarity perpetrated by the colonists in the colonies. It allowed the colonial officers to behave more or less like outlawed warlords in their dominions. Even though he asked for the installation of the rights of the natives of the colonies to make their voices and will to self-determination heard, the colonial abuses of the colonised continued. Prince Kodjo prophesied that what happened to ruthless Belgium being devastated by Germany during the First World War would happen to France if restraint and checks were not put in place. When Prince Kojo described that he could not believe the colonial atrocities his own people recounted to him about the transformation of Dahomey into another King

Leopold Ghosts' that haunted colonies, the Metropolitan policy makers did not give his complaints the attention they deserved. In his frustration as one of the sons of Africa in the Metropolis of Europe who could not make the voices of the sufferings of his people heard, he did not give up, warning the Metropolitan Government of the boomerang of the negative effects of its administrators as he warned them saying:

"The conclusions that we must draw from the examination of the present conditions in the Colonies are the following: First of all, it is necessary that the Colonies should have the possibilities of making their voices heard in the affairs of the Government. What I may say of the Administrators would seem to be exaggerated, but the Governor of the Colonies, Mr. Augagneur, Governor of Equatorial Africa, has often intervened at the Ministry for the Colonies to point out the daily abuses of the Colonial Policy, and in particular, of the Policy called Native Policy. This Policy is a source of perpetual vexations. Let me illustrate: A European passing along the highways can arrest a native and condemn him to 15 days imprisonment for the sole reason that he did not take off his hat to a white man. You will say to me that these are insignificant matters; but the arbitrariness goes much farther. The power of the Administrator is enormous. Contrary to that which happens in Europe, it is the accumulation of all powers; it is the accumulation of legislative and executive powers; it is the accumulation of judicial and administrative powers,—it is despotic power without control."

Prince Kojo exposes the rudimentary cruelty of the colonial officers in the colonies who have reduced humans to moving explosive barrels. The senile and power-drunken state of the minds of colonists and colonial Administrators is depicted in the pleasure they take in torturing and destroying human beings by inserting like suppositories, cartridges of dynamites into the native people and ordering them to run so that the dynamite explodes and blow up to pieces of trash whole human beings. This sadism is beyond any human reasoning with all the repugnance and rage to the African reader. This graphic picture is painted and denounced by Prince Kojo who does not tire out in castigating the immorality and barbarity of the French colonial administration in these terms:

"Sometimes the Administrator—often a rudimentary, vicious man—indulges in all the base fancies that cross his imagination. These acts—and I should have wished that Mr. René Maran whose preface to his 'Batouala' has been so much criticized—could have recounted them to you himself; for with his clearness of vision and moreover his realistic style, he would have known how to depict them in their horrible crudity. I shall not approach his realism, and I do not wish to linger at these repulsive pictures. It

is sufficient to say that even today, in the Colonies, there are Administrators who insert like suppositories, cartridges of dynamite in the natives, and order them to run; then suddenly the dynamite explodes and the natives are blown to pieces. This happens in the French Colonies on a regular basis! You see, I regret to say these things publicly. And there are so many others! I have assumed a painful task. It is repugnant to me to insist. I commenced at the opening of this conference by absolving France from the acts of her functionaries. It was necessary to do so. I have felt the reflected indignation which passed through the audience, and feel the same sensation of horror. These are facts so far removed from our mentality that I should like to tell them as if they were ancient legends. But I assure you that they are exact, and that they happen, even today, alas, in the Colonies. This is why we wish—contrary to that which you are told, either in Parliament or at the Ministries, particularly at the Ministry of the Colonies, which is a veritable Bastille to take—that you should be convinced that with such a clique so backward—more backward than the peoples whom they pretend to civilize, there can be no compromise. It is an imputation that is necessary to make. It is dynamite that must be thrown at them to save a part of humanity! And what part of humanity? That which is as important as Europe, since it concerns a Continent: Africa! It is necessary that you should no longer allow yourself to be put to sleep by this chloroform in strong doses—in doses in bulk—which from time to time, in flights of oratory, members of Parliament, and sometimes their supreme chief, the Minister for the Colonies, administer to you. These men have opportunities for information. They can draw at the sources, and, notwithstanding that, they pretend to be ignorant of what we others, who speak the African language, of what we, children of Africa, feel and suffer. You cannot imagine how painful, how frightful it is for a man who has lived the whole period of 1914-1918, to hear his native brothers who are supposed to be ignorant of all social and political questions say, as it happened to me in Dahomey: ‘Belgium has been invaded—so much the better. She has received what she deserved. She has invaded us, robbed us, pillaged us, exploited us shamefully. It is the just reward of things here below.’ In 1914, Belgium was, for me, the Martyred Virgin. She withstood the shock of invasion; she suffered horribly in body and soul. In 1921, when I found myself in my native land, I should never have dared to tarnish her glory. But behold some of my Congolese brethren, groaning under the conqueror’s brutal yoke, uttered in my presence the words I have just quoted. And I spare you what they sometimes say of France.”

Prince Kojo compares the destruction of Africa and the despoliation of her people and their property to a situation not very different or even worse to that of their brothers and sisters forcefully exported to the Americas during the Slave Trade. He decries the injustices in the colonies, how the natives are not even given a voice and a few hand-picked mercenaries of the colonies are selected to be the voice of the people they never represent in the colonies.

He describes and decries this system of deceit where the colonial officers and traders represent themselves in parliament and form the majority to submerge the voices of the natives of Motherland Africa, claiming to speak for the natives and lie how the natives are incapable of political organization and legal rule.

He decries what he calls these Byzantine distinctions of citizens and non-citizens, of civilised and none civilised whereby the natives are not given voice about their self-determination to attaining their liberation.

Prince Kojo denounces the censorship put on the teaching of the French Revolution in the schools in the colonies which would give an idea to the Africans what it means for a people to fight for their freedom.

He describes and decries this scenario of so-called representation of the colonies as a mere derision of what he classifies as the criminal exploitation of the colonies and his beloved Motherland which he tries to defend and advocate for in stronger terms like these:

“Truly, I did not want to be told so much. I reacted against the narratives. I did not wish to understand; and suddenly I interrupted them and cried: ‘You have lied! It is false! You are sacrilegious to wish to impute to those noble countries crimes of which they disapprove.’ But I was obliged to hear the evidence. We cry, ‘Justice!’ ‘Reparation!’ While We tolerate robbery, rape, brigandage and assassinations. In the Colonies, it is the wholesale sabotage of all the institutions and of all the principles that are valued throughout the civilized world. These republicans, who go from France to the Colonies, reject all republican doctrines. They are new Federal lords who arrogate to themselves special privileges, and defend them jealously and fiercely against the original possessors—the rightful occupants of the land. Let it be sufficient for me to say to you that not long ago, a circular appeared forbidding the entry into Africa of the history of the French Revolution. Indeed, it is mortifying—above all dangerous to teach in the Colonies that which free, hardy and powerful minds have conceived and realized in the period of 1789 and during the various Revolutions that have been, so to speak, the corollaries of this violent explosion. You cannot, with impunity, carry through the world these flaming torches that are the rights of man and which the French Convention has upheld uncompromisingly in the face of all despotism and of all tyranny. Men imbued with such principles must react; and I understand those Governors who had the temerity—since they are republicans—to suppress the pages of history that give to man the sense of his liberty, of his right and of his progress. All this demonstrates that the Colonies are not yet ready to be governed according to legal methods. Privileges only are defended and not the institutions born of the Convention—the real republican and democratic institutions that France is so proud to have extolled in the world. They cry ‘Reparations!’ without ceasing. But what reparations will it be necessary to give to men who possess nothing,

whose property rights are violated, who have no civil rights before the law, and who, in consequence, are oppressed in their economic, individual and social liberty, and annihilated from all the progress of evolution which they would like to realize in the future? The balance sheet of colonization shows that depopulated France has lost more than half the inhabitants of her Colonies. These are facts that the chloroforming Ministers dare not communicate to the public. The conclusions to be drawn are simple. In this matter, there can be no compromise—no half-measures. It is necessary to say this: ‘Absolute autonomy for the Colonies, with imperial relations to the Motherland on general questions; or otherwise total, complete assimilation without frontier—without distinction of race.’ Assimilate! Or, if you avow your weakness, let them go and give them autonomy. There is no shortage of organizing geniuses in Africa. It is feared that Colonial Deputies may invade the Chamber and form the majority since their countries are larger and therefore more populated. Will the number of Colonial Deputies submerge those of the Motherland? To begin, a limitation is necessary. It is necessary at first to give to the African citizens a limited number of Deputies, and accord to all, the right to designate their delegates. How are the Deputies elected in the Colonies? Behold again, one of the manifestations of arbitrary rule—of Colonial deceit. The delegates are nominated by the Europeans established in the Colonies. They pass for the choice of the natives: Now, the natives have never had the right to these nominations since it is exacted as a preceding condition to possess French citizenship, and to enjoy civil and political rights. No native has this right. He is only a French subject. Again these Byzantine distinctions of which you are ignorant! These delegates of the Europeans—and not the Africans—these delegates of the functionaries, of the traders, they form the Superior Council of the Colonies. What derision! The criminal exploiters have, indeed, the need of advocates to defend them in the Motherland. It is true that it has been said that the natives are incapable of taking an active interest in politics, that they are incapable of everything. I grant you this and even more. This incapacity is persistently decreed by the same functionaries who are interested in the oppression of a whole people. Inferiority? Incapacity? It is absurd. Let us not insist. Why are the natives not represented? Why are the sick not allowed to say of what they are suffering from? For we often see peasants or uncultured men say to physicians: ‘Oh, it’s in my arm—it’s in my leg that I feel pain,’ and this fixes or directs the diagnosis, and permits the surgeon to operate with surety? How can you wish to care for the sick, if the patient dares not tell you—‘Oh, it’s in my arm—it’s in my leg that I feel pain’? It is an absolute necessity, it is urgent to accord to the natives who have no civil and political rights, the possibility of approaching the Government through their representatives, to discuss the problems whose solution must bring them a slight relief. Complete assimilation, representation, home-rule or autonomy, these are the things we put forward as some of the conclusions for a solution of the Colonial problem. During the conferences, we have discussed the problem of property. The native possesses nothing. Thanks to the regime of despoiling concessions,

he has been expressly forbidden to own property. The land, conceded to him for the cultivation of corn, manioc and other crops, is taken away as soon as the European disembarks. We wish to have the property of the native assured to him. It is necessary that he should have the right to exploit the land and its resources. Do not forget that the land is his own; that the blood of black men has conquered distant possessions for France; and that the sweat of Negroes has cleared, ploughed, sowed and fertilized them as it had fertilized that of ungrateful America. Do you wish to hear the series of inconsistencies? Senegal has conquered Dahomey. Dahomey has conquered Madagascar. It was black men who conquered Guinea, the Ivory Coast, the Sudan and Morocco; and all these conquered peoples have rushed in throngs to save their conqueror at Charleroi, at the Marne, at the Yser, in Champagne, at Verdun, at Chemin des Dames, and at last, at the second Marne where they have won a decisive victory for right, justice and liberty which have been systematically denied them. Homeless, expatriated, famished, overwhelmed by suffering and misery, under the ardent tropical sun, it behoves them to plough and water with their sweat a soil confiscated and reserved as the property of their executioners."

Despite the fact that he decried the depopulation of the colonies due to the conscription of the natives to fight the Wars of France, and due to the expropriation of the lands of the natives which rendered them homeless and famish, the Colonial Metropolitan Government does not act in favour of the natives. When Prince Kojo describes how the drop in demography is because the natives no longer have land to produce food the Metropolitan government continues to allow land seizures for the colonists. The confiscated lands having been transformed into protected reserves for plantation exploitation by the executioners of the native people who are obliged through the forced labour systematically practiced in the colonies of indentured slavery, to suffer in misery while nothing is done by the Metropolitan Government to salvage the situation.

Prince Kojo went on to castigate not only the situation of their African brothers and sisters in the Americas who claim to be civilized but have not yet condemned the law of lynching Blacks, racial discrimination and repression of Black people in the Americas. He also condemned the farce of the European nations condemning the slave trade but to turn around and create the colonies and the indentured slavery of Africa.

That is why he challenged the so-called European civilization which has only exported barbarism to the confines of the universe through the dehumanization of the Black people and Asian people considered inferior to the European so-called civilization. Prince Kojo asks for hands off Africa and the colonies to let the people live their God-given rights of freedom that has

been torpedoed by the European civilization for their addiction and greed to exploiting Africa's natural resources. He fearlessly makes his point very clear in these terms:

“We, Negroes of Africa, we raise our indignant protestation against the fate of our brothers in America. Shame to those Americans who feign to be civilized, but who have not yet condemned, by law, the outrage of lynching, and who continue to torture 15 millions of our brothers! Let the so-called civilized nations stop wholesale trade of Negroes by the purchase and sale of Colonies, after having condemned the slave trade in detail! No more transfer of territories with their inhabitants, as that recently affected by Denmark! This is the most modern, the most monstrous form of the slave trade. Since the label of a nationality has been attached to us, we do not wish to change it with every treaty, unless it is to resume our complete independence. We demand respect for the territorial integrity and the national independence of the rare African states, or states of African origin, which still possess their autonomy. Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and St. Domingo are striking proofs of the organizing and political genius of Negroes, notwithstanding the persistent sabotage by nations eager for conquest. We claim the right to judge and to be judged,—a judicial court should be instituted, and above all, we claim the right to be educated. It is necessary to organize compulsory education in the Colonies. The education of the native is the best means of assuring his evolution and his adaptation to European civilization. It is necessary to develop Africa for the benefit of the Africans and not exclusively for the profit of the white man, and to assure freedom of commerce and industry. The problem of the Negro race first came into being in America, by the extermination of the aboriginal Red Skins, then by the transplantation of natives of Africa to fill the void created, and at present it is confounded with the Colonial problem which is its ultimate phase and which is now shown by the absolute negation of the rights to property by Negroes, by the negation of their civil rights—since their civil personality is not recognized, by the negation of their possibilities of evolution, by deceit, by calumnies which induce the world to believe that this race is irremediably condemned to inferiority, to stagnate in ignorance, brutality, and violence—all of which is contrary not to experience, since you have never attempted, in good faith, this experience, but to that which we know—we who have lived with our fathers, our mothers, our brothers, our sisters—we who know that they are also men and women. They have less instruction, education and adaptation to European civilization, but they have kept, more than we have, the true and solid qualities of which human worth is formed, and we benefit by their conscience, their knowledge and their experience. They have lived in simple surroundings where human sentiments bloom spontaneously. They know nothing of your complications, of your mixed conceptions of life. They understand nothing of your economic cares, of your worries, your irritations and your nervousness. They have conserved all the simplicity, all the sweetness, all the joy of life. They are like the fish in

that historic and legendary river which descends from the towering St. Gothard to the North Sea—the Rhine—river of gracious waters, the history of which you are certainly cognizant, and whose waters you have often made scarlet with your blood. The fishes of the Rhine know not whether they have two or three countries. They live in peace. Less wise than they, you have battled for centuries on the two banks of this river, while the simple creatures live in its depths disdainful of your quarrels. This is what we do in Africa. We care not whether you have two or three countries, or whether you have none. We wish simply, that since you have come and conquered us, that you should live in peace with each other, and that we be not always called upon to become your cannon fodder. We wish that you recognize our rights to citizenship—the elementary rights of man—and that living your life, suffering your sorrows, and rejoicing in your joys, we might be called to share your destiny, good or bad, but which we accept sincerely, loyally and faithfully.”

This fearless and courageous address by Prince Kojo which carefully outlined in detail the horrors of the brutality of colonialism and its outrageous and insensitive greed and desire of some human beings to enslave and suppress other humans and deprive them of their human rights did not spare the French colonizing government of its hideous colonial crimes against humanity.

But to think that France has not heeded this condemnation of its human rights abuses in Africa almost seventy years later, during the Rwandan massacre which was perpetrated by France, or the Ivory Coast’s occupation and destitution of democracy, as Jacques Chirac amidst; it becomes evident that France was never convinced it was time to repent for the atrocities committed in Africa. It was this plight of Africa in the hands of France’s abusive engagement in Africa that the author was prompted to write this poem and compose the music for Rwandan massacre entitled:

THE MATCHETS OF RWANDA

*Think
Don't
Think
See
Don't
See a Sea
Of blood
Hotly revolting
In mean
Ethnic
Hate...*

*These pale dead eyes
Cold my blooded heart
In their metaphysical
Depths, in their stark
Vision of
Emotions...
Strangulations...*

Of

*Love
Fear
Pain
Anger
Joy
Sorrow
Despair
Hope
Panting, panting, panting...
Heaving up the disgusting
Dirge of death
Shameful, Homeless
DEATH...*

*My armpits
Trickle
Droplets pf riddled
Sweat of deception*

*Heart beats
Freeze
In their alchemy
Before beautiful
Women
Maidens
Children
Handsome men
Butchered
In their make-ups
These glittering scape-goats
In the helpless
Embalming
SUN...*

*Shine, Shine, Shine...
O Eternal Rays...
Wash away the stigmas
My heart can contain*

No more...

*Burn and heat up
The cold image
Inhumane Death
Has engtaven
In my Eyes...*

*Mea Culpa...
I have sinned
In my silence
Condoning*

*The slaughtering
Of innocent BaTutsi
And the ruthless massacre
Of the avenging
LiberatORS of BATUTSI
From BAHUTU DEOCRACY...
...O Rwanda, Rwanda
My voice is strangled
It is strangled
With the strangled
Dead children*

Women

*Men
Of infernal
Ethnicism
Of fratricidal*

*TRIBALOCRACY
...O Rwanda, Rwanda, RWANDA... !*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Ngaoundere, 9th June 1994.

PEACE SINGING DOVES

*If you will hear that I am dyeing
You have to come and bury me
Among my people...*

*If you will meet all my friends
And family who are sobbing in pain
You have to give them
This branch of the peace plant*

*Which will sprout and
Grow in the sunlight...*

*And then all the birds
Will come to sing
The songs of peace
The songs of peace
This lullaby of Orphans...*

*Now I call you my brother ...
My sister from Rwanda
You have to weep on with me
You have to sing out with me
You have to shout out with me
You have to die along with me
And sign on with your blood
This peace song of love...*

*If you will look around the world
You will see that all the mountains
Are trying to march on for peace...
If you will meet all my friends
And family who are dieing in pain
You have to give them
This branch of the peace plant
Which will sprout and
Grow in the sunlight...*

*And then all the birds
Will come to sing
The songs of peace
The songs of peace
This lullaby of Orphans...*

*Now I call you my brother ...
My sister from Burundi
You have to weep on with me
You have to sing out with me
You have to shout out with me
You have to die along with me
And sign on with your blood
This peace song of love...
Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Buea, 4th January, 1997.*

Prince Kojo was indeed the precursor of the French-Speaking later advocates for the liberation of Black people of all descent in the Diaspora and the colonies. It can rightly be said, even though not acclaimed by the Negritude and other defendants of the rights of Black people in Africa and in the Americas and elsewhere, that Prince Kojo was the forerunner of the Negritude philosophy that was to engender in France by the Nardal Sisters and Suzanne Césaire.

Prince Kojo was a well refined Pan-Africanist and a humanist whose outreach to his sisters and brothers and his advocacy for their wellbeing and sustainable development cannot be ignored in this chapter.

It must be recalled here that the years after the First World War and the Second World War had witnessed the coming into the scene of Pan Africanism the French wave of Pan Africanism from the West Indies, French Guyana and African intellectuals. These intellectuals were to join in the creation of awareness for the emancipation of Africa and Black people over the world, in the Diaspora and the continent.

The French intellectuals focused on the creation of ideology of the aesthetics of Blackness, and the strife for the affirmation of Black Culture and common identity and the need for Black solidarity for the total emancipation of Black people.

This is how in 1935, African intellectuals of the French Ecole Normale: Aimé Césaire from Martinique, Léon Gontran Damas from Guyana and Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal would benefit from the French Socialist and Communist protection and largess and come out with the assertive African Identity discourse of Negritude.

These three intellectuals with their fellow students Gilbert Gratiant, Leonard Sainville, and Paulette Nardal, initiated the publishing of the magazine titled *L'Étudiant Noire*, Black Student, which became the forum for the creation of awareness about Black African identity.

The Black Student magazine wanted to hold the mirror of racism in the face of the White folks and racist communities and racist ideological schools of thought of Europe and France.

By deliberately using the pejorative expression “Nigger” (Negro) (Paul Francois Paoli, Figaro, 2008) to emphasise the Black consciousness of the value-asset and aesthetics of determination in the emancipation of Black people; and the raising of Blackness to the pinnacle of emancipation of all Humanity, they set the new pace for this Black African awareness and consciousness laced with its aesthetic and moral value assets as well as its Humanitarian leadership role.

The first articles in the Black Student made this affirmative statement: “Les jeunes nègres d’aujourd’hui ne veulent ni asservissement ni assimilation, ils veulent l’émancipation.” “The young Niggers of today do want neither servitude nor assimilation, they want emancipation.” According to Jean Bouchard (2009):

“L’Étudiant noir also published Aimé Césaire’s ”Négreries,” which is recognized not only for its disavowal of cultural assimilation as a strategy for resistance but also for its reappropriation of the word “nègre” as a positive term. Previously, especially during colonization, “Nègre” had been used in an offensive, pejorative sense.”



Photos 179 (a) & (b): Aimé Césaire 26 June 1913 at Basse-Pointe -17 April 2008 at Fort-de-France, Martinique

It can rightly be admitted that twenty-six years after Prince Kojo of Dahomey had lashed out on the French colonisation as a so-called civilisation which could not live up to its image; and could not even manage and reform its own mismanagement and misgovernance, was not worth its salt.

That is the reason Aimé Césaire (1950) came out in vehement attack with his scathing discourse on Colonialism lashing out that:

“A civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization. A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a sick civilization. A civilization that plays fast and loses with its principles is a dying civilization.”

Aimé Césaire went on to prescribe a clinical probing into the French Colonisation process and Colonisation as a whole. On the backdrop of the atrocities of Colonialism as documented by Prince Kojo twenty-six years

before Aimé Césaire's discourse, it is clear the psychoanalysis or the Psychiatric probing of Colonialism was overdue.

Aimé Césaire was only hammering on a very warped mind and distorted policy that could not be set right again after the atrocities had been done. Yes a clinical study of Colonialism was more of a pathetic pathology of the insanity that Colonialism had become, because it had transformed its adepts into sycophants and prisoners of their own mindsets.

That is how we would understand Aimé Césaire (1955) when he entreats that:

"Yes, it would be worthwhile to study clinically, in detail, the steps taken by Hitler and Hitlerism and to reveal to the very distinguished, very humanistic, very Christian bourgeois of the twentieth century that without his being aware of it, he has a Hitler inside him, that Hitler inhabits him, that Hitler is his demon, that if he rails against him, he is being inconsistent and that, at bottom, what he cannot forgive Hitler for is not crime in itself, the crime against man, it is not the humiliation of man as such, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa. And that is the great thing I hold against pseudo-humanism: that for too long it has diminished the rights of man, that its concept of those rights has been - and still is - narrow and fragmentary, incomplete and biased and, all things considered, sordidly racist."

The pre-occupation of Aimé Césaire and his colleague Léopold Sédar Senghor to define their identity in a global system where the common denominator is White, colonial, racist and imperialist is very pertinent. And so we might ask ourselves with the various definitions of humanity today whether that denominator still holds today.

Souleymane Diagne (2010) gives us a taste of what it was like when Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor posed the question of identity to themselves as Black people of the world where only the second class state was their lot. But we ask today whether with state of affairs, can we say that the world has become different. To answer this question let us hear what Aimé Césaire says according to Souleymane Diagne who declares that:

"Aimé Césaire has declared that the question he and his friend Léopold Sédar Senghor came to raise after they first met was: 'Who am I? Who are we? What are we in this white world?' And he commented: 'That's quite a problem' (Césaire 2005, 23). 'Who am I?' is a question Descartes posed, and a reader of the French philosopher naturally understands such a question to be universal, and the subject who

says "I" here to stand for any human being. But when "who am I?" has to be translated as "who are we?" everything changes especially when the "we" have to define themselves against a world which leaves no room for who and what they are because they are black folks in a world where "universal" seems to naturally mean "white". "Négritude," or the self-affirmation of black peoples, or the affirmation of the values of civilization of something defined as "the black world" as an answer to the question "what are we in this white world?" is indeed "quite a problem"..."

Aimé Césaire can be described as that incarnation of the genius of 'Surrealism and the Realism of Negritude and Africanity that gave birth to Renaissance Liberating African Philosophy and immortalized him in this living world of futile mortal humans.' His surrealistic wholesomeness of body and mind exuded with the divine perfection of creation that only spirits and angels could be endowed with. That can explain why only such a pristinely pure mind of the divine could have crafted the ever most surrealistic and realistic poem a living philosopher of the world could have dared to craft, internalize and propagate. That is why Cy Grant (Cygrant.com, 1979, 2007) describes Aimé Césaire's ground-breaking poem on the 'Notebook Of A Return To The Native Land' as:

"An unforgettable work of imagination, realism and surrealism, the Cahier is one of the most powerful, inspiring and beautiful poems ever written. Andre Breton, a leading French surrealist poet, described it as "nothing less than the greatest lyrical monument of this time". The text is an edited version of the translation by John Berger and Anna Bostock for the Penguin Poets series in 1969, and made in rehearsal by John Russell Brown and Cy Grant for the actor's stage performance at the Lyttleton Theatre in 1978 and at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs the same year and on tour for two years; with permission by Presence Africaine, Paris."



Photos 179 (c) & (d): Aimé Césaire 26 June 1913 at Basse-Pointe -17 April 2008 at Fort-de-France, Martinique

The genius and mastery of the slave-driven depravation of a capitalist economy which has dehumanized the city, which is Port au Price, and Martinique his Native Land is captured in the lines of the lyrical verses that Aimé Césaire pens to life, painting in a magnificent and captivating manner, the curves of the atrocities and viciousness of the Slave Trade and colonialism that has bastardised his people who have lost their voice to shout, to cry for their freedom.

That is why he asks the lousy pig-headed cop who still holds to his colonial mentality ...To beat it! Beat it!... in the same way Michael Jackson would scream at the racist Americans many years later to...Beat it! Beat it!

It is very interesting to see how many years, almost a generation, 40 years later, Michael Jackson would be faced with the same problem of belonging in a country where you are told to disappear, to run for your dear life because the colour of your skin makes you unsafe:

“Beat It”

*They Told Him Don't You Ever Come Around Here
Don't Wanna See Your Face, You Better Disappear
The Fire's In Their Eyes And Their Words Are Really Clear
So Beat It, Just Beat It
You Better Run, You Better Do What You Can*

*Don't Wanna See No Blood, Don't Be A Macho Man
You Wanna Be Tough, Better Do What You Can*

*So Beat It, But You Wanna Be Bad
Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Right
Just Beat It, Beat It
Just Beat It, Beat It
Just Beat It, Beat It
Just Beat It, Beat It*

*They're Out To Get You,
Better Leave While You Can
Don't Wanna Be A Boy,
You Wanna Be A Man
You Wanna Stay Alive,
Better Do What You Can
So Beat It, Just Beat It*

*You Have To Show Them
That You're Really Not Scared
You're Playin' With Your Life,
This Ain't No Truth Or Dare
They'll Kick You,
Then They Beat You,
Then They'll Tell You It's Fair
So Beat It, But You Wanna Be Bad
Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Right
Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Right
Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It*

*No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Right*

Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Who's Right
Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Right
Just Beat It, Beat It, Beat It, Beat It
No One Wants To Be Defeated
Showin' How Funky Strong Is Your Fight
It Doesn't Matter Who's Wrong Or Right
Just Beat It, Beat It
Beat It, Beat It, Beat It

Aimé Césaire is very conscious of the fact that the African has been dehumanised and colomentalised to become the slave-master of himself, as Frantz Fanon would confirm later. Wherefore he admonishes the colomentalised to wake up and liberate himself from that prison he had been made to accept for ages as normal. And so the message in the poem on The Return to The Native Land is directed to sensitise his compatriots to wake up and liberate themselves from this mental slavery of which Bob Marley also alluded to:

"At the end of daybreak ...
Beat it, I said to him, you cop, you lousy pig, beat it.
I detest the flunkies of order and the cock-chafers of hope.
Beat it, evil grigri, you bedbug of a petty monk.
Then I turned toward paradises lost for him and his kin,
calmer than the face of a woman telling lies, and there,
rocked by the flux of a never exhausted thought I
nourished the wind,
I unlaced the monsters and heard rise,
from the other side of disaster,
a river of turtledoves and savanna clover which I
carry forever in my depths height-deep as
the twentieth floor of the most arrogant houses and as
a guard against the putrefying force of crepuscular surroundings,
surveyed night and day by a cursed venereal sun.
At the end of daybreak burgeoning with frail coves,

*the hungry Antilles, the Antilles pitted with smallpox,
the Antilles dynamited by alcohol,
stranded in the mud of this bay,
in the dust of this town sinisterly stranded.*

*At the end of daybreak, the extreme,
deceptive desolate eschar on the wound of the waters;
the martyrs who do not bear witness;
the flowers of blood that fade and scatter in
the empty wind like the screeches of babbling parrots;
an aged life mendaciously smiling,
its lips opened by vacated agonies;
an aged poverty rotting under the sun, silently;
an aged silence bursting with tepid pustules,
the awful futility of our raison d'être.*

*At the end of daybreak,
on this very fragile earth thickness exceeded
in a humiliating way by its grandiose future --
the volcanoes will explode, the naked water will
bear away the ripe sun stains and nothing will
be left but a tepid bubbling pecked at by sea birds --
the beach of dreams and the insane awakenings.*

*At the end of daybreak,
this town sprawled-flat, toppled from its common sense, inert,
winded under its geometric weight of an eternally renewed cross,
indocile to its fate, mute, vexed no matter what,
incapable of growing with the juice of this earth,
self-conscious, clipped, reduced,
in breach of fauna and flora.*

*At the end of daybreak, this town sprawled-flat ...
And in this inert town, this squalling throng so astonishingly
detoured from its cry as this town has been
from its movement, from its meaning,
not even worried, detoured from its true cry,
the only cry you would have wanted to hear because
you feel it alone belongs to this town;
because you feel it lives in it in some deep refuge
and pride in this inert town, this throng detoured
from its cry of hunger, of poverty, of revolt, of hatred,*

*this throng so strangely chattering and mute.
In this inert town, this strange throng which does not pack,
does not mix: clever at discovering the point of disencasement,
of flight, of dodging.
This throng which does not know how to throng,
this throng, so perfectly alone under the sun,
like a woman one thought completely occupied with her lyric cadence,
who abruptly challenges a hypothetical rain and
enjoins it not to fall;
or like a rapid sign of the cross without perceptible motive;
or like the sudden grave animality of a peasant,
urinating standing, her legs parted, stiff.*

*In this inert town, this desolate throng under the sun,
not connected with anything that is expressed, asserted,
released in broad earth daylight, its own.
Neither with Josephine, Empress of the French,
dreaming way up there above the nigger scum.
Nor with the liberator fixed in his whitewashed stone liberation.
Nor with the conquistador.
Nor with this contempt, with this freedom, with this audacity.*

*And the end of daybreak, this inert town and its beyond of lepers,
of consumption, of famines, of fears crouched in the ravines,
fears perched in the trees, fears dug in the ground,
fears adrift in the sky, of piled up fears and their fumaroles of anguish.
At the end of daybreak, the morne forgotten, forgetful of leaping.
At the end of daybreak, the morne in restless, docile hooves ---
its malarial blood routs the sun with its overheated pulse.
At the end of daybreak, the restrained conflagration of the morne like
a sob gagged on the verge of a bloodthirsty burst,
in quest of an ignition that slips away and ignores itself.
At the end of daybreak, the morne crouching before bulimia on
the outlook for tuns and mills, slowly vomiting out its human fatigue,
the morne solitary and its shed blood,
the morne bandaged in shade, the morne and its ditches of fear,
the morne and its great hands of wind.*

*At the end of daybreak, the famished morne and no one knows better
than this bastard morne why the suicide choked with a little help*

*from his hypoglossal jamming his tongue backward to swallow it,
why a woman seems to float belly up on the Capot River
(her chiaroscuro body submissively organized at the command
of her navel)*

but she is only a bundle of sonorous water.

*And neither the teacher in his classroom, nor the priest at catechism will
be able to get a word out of this sleepy little nigger,
no matter how energetically they drum on his shorn skull,
for starvation has quicksanded his voice into the swamp of hunger
(a-word-one-single-word and
we-will-forget-about-Queen-Blanche-of-Castille,
a-word-one-single-word,
you-should-see-this-little-savage-who-doesn't-know-any-of-
The-Ten-Commandments)
for his voice gets lost in the swamp of hunger,
and there is nothing, really nothing to squeeze out of this little brat,
other than a hunger which can no longer climb to the rigging
of his voice
a sluggish flabby hunger,
a hunger buried in the depth of the Hunger of this
famished morne*

*At the end of daybreak, the disparate stranding,
the exacerbated stench of corruption,
the monstrous sodomies of the host and the sacrificing priest,
the impassable beak-head frames of prejudice and stupidity,
the prostitutions, the hypocrisies, the lubricities,
the treasons, the lies, the frauds, the concussions ---
the panting of a deficient cowardice,
the heave-holess enthusiasm of supernumerary sabibs,
the greeds, the hysterias, the perversions,
the clownings of poverty, the cripplings, the itchings, the hives,
the tepid hammocks of degeneracy.
Right here the parade of laughable and scrofulous buboes,
the forced feedings of very strange microbes,
the poisons without known alexins, the sanies of really ancient sores,
the unforeseeable fermentations of putrescible species.
At the end of daybreak, the great motionless night,
the stars deader than a caved-in balafon,
the teratical bulb of night, sprouted from our villainies and our self-denials.*

*And our foolish and crazy stunts to revive the golden
splashing of privileged moments,
the umbilical cord restored to its ephemeral splendor, the bread,
and the wine of complicity, the bread, the wine,
the blood of honest weddings."*

Aimé Césaire decries this colonial dehumanization which has reduced the colonized people into dirt and how they are rubbished and treated worse than animals without rights without consideration. He decries the rank racism where colour is more important than the human factor in every human being. The European civilization and the colonial civilization are nothing but the putrefied dung-beetle life of the African, the Chinese, the Indian and also the Jew that has suffered genocides just like the Blackman, the First Nation People and many other colonized people. Despite all this humiliation and frustration of the Black People, they are still resilient to spread the human spirit of accommodation everybody including even the despotic and cruel master. Césaire goes on to criticise and condemn this mentality firmly saying:

*At the end of daybreak, the wind of long ago --- of betrayed trusts,
of uncertain evasive duty and that other dawn in Europe --- arises ...*

*To go away.
As there are hyena-men and panther-men, I would be a jew-man
a Kaffir-man
a Hindu-man-from-Calcutta
a Harlem-man-who-doesn't-vote
the famine-man, the insult-man,
the torture man you can grab anytime, beat up, kill ---
no joke, kill --- without having to account to anyone,
without having to make excuses to anyone
a jew-man
a pogrom-man
a puppy
a beggar
but can one kill Remorse,
a perfect stupefied face of an English lady discovering
a Hottentot skull in her soup tureen?*

*I would rediscover the secret of great communications and great combustions.
I would say storm. I would say river. I would say tornado.*

I would say leaf. I would say tree.

I would be drenched by all rains, moistened by all dews.

*I would roll like frenetic blood on the slow current of the eye of words
turned into mad horses into fresh children into clots into curfew
into vestiges of temples into precious stones remote enough
to discourage miners. Whoever would not understand me
would not understand any better the roaring of a tiger.*

*And you ghosts rise blue from alchemy from a forest of hunted beasts of
twisted machines of a jujube tree of rotten flesh of a basket of
oysters of eyes of a network of straps in the beautiful sisal
of human skin I would have words vast enough to contain you and
you earth taut earth drunk
earth great vulva raised to the sun
earth great delirium of God's mentula
savage earth arisen from the storerooms of the sea a clump of
Cecropia in your mouth
earth whose tempestuous face I can only compare to the virgin and
foolish forest which were it in my power I would show in guise
of a face to the undeciphering eyes of men
all I would need is a mouthful of jiculi milk to discover in you always
as distant as a mirage --- a thousand times more native and
made golden by a sun that no prism divides --- the earth
where everything is free and fraternal, my earth*

To go away. My heart was pounding with emphatic generosity.

*To go away ... I would arrive sleek and young in this land of mine and
I would say to this land whose loam is part of my flesh:*

*I have wandered for a long time and "I am coming back
to the deserted hideousness of your sores."*

I would go to this land of mine and I would say to it:

*"Embrace me without fear ... And if all I can do is speak,
it is for you I shall speak."*

And again I would say:

*"My mouth shall be the mouth of those calamities that have no mouth,
my voice the freedom of those who break down
in the prison holes of despair."*

And on the way I would say to myself:

*"And above all, my body as well as my soul,
beware of assuming the sterile attitude of a spectator,
for life is not a spectacle,*

*a sea of miseries is not a proscenium,
a man screaming is not a dancing bear ...”*

That is the reason Cy Grant (2007) insists that Negritude, even though a revolt against the dehumanisation of the African by colonialism, was more a Philosophy of Universal Humanism without exclusion of race, religion or political conscience. It was an all-embracing Philosophy for the uplifting of the human condition as bastardised by colonialism and slavery:

“Negritude was a revolt against colonial values - glorifying the African past and praising the traditional communal values of harmony based on intuition, caring and emotion - the ‘dark senses’ in other words, that seem more real than Western values based purely on reason and logic. It was a ‘state of total belonging’, beyond division and separation from Mother Earth... I want to rediscover the secret of great speech and of great burning. I want to say storm. I want to say river. I want to say tornado. I want to leaf. I want to say tree. I want to be soaked by every rainfall, moistened by every dew... The poem is a plea for wholeness, a recognition of that blackness which transcends race. It was not as limited in its meaning as the term negritude has come to mean. Césaire identified with that state of total belonging that can only be found with an integration of mind and spirit, man and nature, ancient African animism and spirituality...”

*my negritude is not a stone
nor deafness flung out against the clamour of the day
my negritude is not a white speck of dead water
on the dead eye of the earth...”*

This humanism is also laced with a lot of humility and selflessness on the part of Aimé Césaire’s Negritude Philosophy which does not commit the same error like the racist colonialist and slave master. That is the reason in Aimé Césaire’s ground-breaking poem he entreats and prays that God should give him the clairvoyance and humility to move with a lot of caution and consideration for others as he reiterates that his objective is for the liberation and the uplifting of all humanity:

*“Make me resist any vanity, but espouse its genius
as the fist the extended arm!
Make me a steward of its blood
make me a trustee of its resentment
make me into a man for the ending*

*make me into a man for the beginning
make me into a man of meditation
but also make me into a man of germination
Make me into the executor of these lofty works
The time has come to gird one's loins like a brave man ---*

*But in doing so, my heart, preserve me from all hatred
Do not make me into that man of hatred for whom I feel only hatred
for entrenched as I am in this unique race
you still know my tyrannical love
you know that it is not from hatred of other races
that I demand of myself to become a hoer for this unique race
that what I want
is for universal hunger
for universal thirst
to summon it to generate,
free at last, from its intimate closeness
the succulence of fruit.
And be the tree of our hands!
it turns, for all, the wounds cut
in its trunk
the soil works for all
and toward the branches a headiness of fragrant precipitation!
But before reaching the shores of future orchards
grant that I deserve those on their belt of sea
grant me my heart while awaiting the earth
grant me on the ocean sterile
but somewhere caressed by the promise of the clew-line
grant me on this diverse ocean
the obstinacy of the fierce pirogue
and its marine vigor."*

It is for this reason that Aimé Césaire will forever remain the Father of Negritude Humanism because from its inception he was able to provide its philosophy and trace its evolution in his epic poem of Return To The Native Land, which was none other than the embracing of the glorious humanistic past of Africa with all it entailed to redefine the African Renaissance Personality.

Cy Grant captures pertinently this philosophy in his plays and commentaries which throw more light on the philosophy of Humanistic

Negritude in a manner that no Philosopher had ever done before. I have decided to quote him copiously because my own words are rather weak and rather empty if I try to give my own appreciation:

"It is not only a powerful deconstruction of colonialism but an impassioned plea by the poet for an imagined return to the Africa of his forefathers. It was a desperate longing to reconnect with the 'invulnerable sap', that state of total belonging with the Cosmos. But its importance has been generally misunderstood- even by black intellectuals- as only extolling blackness or negritude. Yet Wole Soyinka, famously observed that 'a tiger does not extol its tigritude.' Of course, a tiger does not have to proclaim its intrinsic nature. A tiger epitomises awareness of environment; it is relaxed, cautious but confident, exuding grace and power in its every movement. [You don't mess with a tiger.] The black man has been so dehumanised and traumatised by white domination that it becomes a necessary first step for him to redefine himself, to rediscover his humanity, his roots in Africa where the genetic journey of the whole human race began. Asserting his blackness is not only to challenge his perceived place in the over- all scheme of things but to rediscover his own history – the greatness of ancient African civilizations like Nubia, and Ethiopia, Benin and Egypt, that existed whilst Europe still slumbered in the dark ages. Egypt was where Pythagoras, the father of Western civilisation had studied for 21 years; and where he coined the word 'philosophy', the search for truth. The poem highlights the psychological damage caused to black people by white people over the centuries.. It is a poem of great anger, matching my own at the time.

For centuries this country had proclaimed that we are brute beasts
That the...

The Cahier remains an impassioned plea for the emergence of a new man with new values other than the purely materialistic rationale of the West. It is also a call for a return to Nature. On the face of it, it may appear to be just an oppositional stance to white power, but at its deeper and more significant level, it articulates a fundamental sacred connection to a force vital, a panpsychism or animism that informs him, that pleads for a return to his native land, to the natural state of things, and the sacredness of existence."

CY Grant goes further to let us beware of the error of the interpretation of Wole Soyinka who took and understood Negritude at its face value instead of its spiritual and surrealistic import, as that weapon of liberation for all humanity irrespective of race or colour as most scholars have erroneously

interpreted this great Humanistic philosophy of Liberation. Wherefore he warns that Africans should not make the error of reclaiming and reconstructing their history and their identity under the pretext that it is outdated and reeks of Black racism. But the truth that people appreciate more the identity of other people no matter the similarities and the crude globalisation we try to project, which in actual fact is the predominance of one mainstream culture and manner of perception of Truth, when they master their own culture and identity. That is why the caveat of Cy Grant must be taken very seriously not only by Africans but by all people in this kaleidoscopic wheel of Humanity when he insists that:

‘The black man having reclaimed his authentic history and recovered his lost soul, must not fall into the trap of aspiring to assimilate into the so-called civilized values of his oppressors. On the contrary, he must revert to his traditional values of community and caring; celebrating the intrinsic goodness of African life and rites of passage; the ‘being’ mode as opposed to the ‘having’ of Western culture, encapsulated in the concept of Modimo, where all life is sacred. And in so doing he must not advocate hatred of other races;

*And here at the end of the small hours Is my virile prayer
That I may hear neither laughter nor crying
My eyes upon this city which I prophesy as beautiful.
Give me the sorcerer’s savage faith
Give my hands the power to mould
give my soul the temper of the sword
I will stand firm. Make of my head a prow
and of myself make neither a father
nor a brother nor a son
but the father, the brother, the son
do not make me a husband,
but the lover of this unique people.
Make me rebellious against all vanity
but docile to its genius.....
the time has come to gird my loins like a man of courage.
But at the execution, let my heart perverse from all hate
Do not make of me that man of hate for whom I have only hate
I was born of this unique race
But knowing my tyrannical; love
you know It is not by hatred of other races that I prosecute for mine
all that I would wish
is to answer the universal hunger*

*the universal thirst
to prescribe this unique race free
to produce from its tight intimacies
the succulence of fruit.
Look. The tree of our hands is for all.*

Like the Tao, negritude cannot be defined. It can only be hinted at: as that deep African Nilotic concept of total belonging; an animism or panpsychism of an interior awareness, of an infinite root that sees that there is a force vitale that links all of creation, thus capable of giving meaning to existence. Because this force is positive, it is called ‘vital’. The human being is always interlocked with others and with nature in total participation. Animals as well as plants have ‘seriti’. This belief was implicit in all the pre-Christian African legends. Modimo, the life force, is the source of all life and of all things. It is in everything and everywhere, giving meaning to life. According to Christian de Quincey all things have a mind or consciousness ”The entire world of nature tingles with consciousness. Nature literally has a mind of its own. Nature feels and responds to our presence... all bodies, from atoms to humans, tingle with the spark of the spirit” This panpsychism holds that all objects, including those we normally classify as inanimate possess an interior, subjective reality – that mind cannot emerge from something that is mindless, a view that our present day science does not acknowledge.”

It was this endemic Humanism in the Negritude Philosophy which guided Césaire and his colleagues of the Negritude School of thought to be very wary about what they called the falsehood of Civilisation which was no other than the “White” way of life which was full of nothing but deceit, brigandism, thievery, enslavement, murder and exploitation to the core of other races considered and branded as inferior and destined good-for-nothing but for servitude. With the help of the German Anthropologist Leo Frobenius, who published the *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas*, *The Cultural History of Africa*, (1933), translated in French as *Histoire de la Civilisation africaine*, (1936), Aimé Césaire and his followers undertook to reconstruct the History and Civilisation of Africa from which Negritude was born as the new African Renaissance Philosophy of Self-Determination, the New Humanisation Liberation Philosophy. That explains the reason Aimé Césaire took to task the so-called European Civilisation which was rather a late comer in the history of Civilisations of the World, especially the Civilisation of Africa that gave birth to Asia and to Europe and many others after.

And so Aimé Césaire is very severe in his criticism of European Civilisation which had the guts to go massacre other peoples and other

ethnicities and destroy their civilizations just to turn round in its culpability complex to teach the world that these people were uncivilized and therefore must be Europeanised, bastardised or ruthlessly butchered.

In his *Discourse on Colonialism* (Presence Africaine, 1955) Aimé Césaire does not spare colonialism which he considered not only an aberration in history of humanity but also an agent of the kinds of destruction and frustration that the history of humanity has experienced since the world began. Thus he cautions on what is called White or European Civilisation saying that:

“A civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization. A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a stricken civilization. A civilization that uses its principles for trickery and deceit is a dying civilization. The fact is that the so-called European civilization – “Western” civilization – as it has been shaped by two centuries of bourgeois rule, is incapable of solving the two major problems to which its existence has given rise: the problem of the proletariat and the colonial problem; that Europe is unable to justify itself either before the bar of “reason” or before the bar of “conscience”; and that, increasingly, it takes refuge in a hypocrisy which is all the more odious because it is less and less likely to deceive. Europe is indefensible. Apparently that is what the American strategists are whispering to each other. That in itself is not serious. What is serious is that “Europe” is morally, spiritually indefensible. And today the indictment is brought against it not by the European masses alone, but on a world scale, by tens and tens of millions of men who, from the depths of slavery, set themselves up as judges. The colonialists may kill in Indochina, torture in Madagascar, imprison in Black Africa, crackdown in the West Indies. Henceforth, the colonized know that they have an advantage over them. They know that their temporary, “masters” are lying. Therefore, that their masters are weak. And since I have been asked to speak about colonization and civilization, let us go straight to the principal lie which is the source of all the others. Colonization and civilization? In dealing with this subject, the commonest curse is to be the dupe in good faith of a collective hypocrisy that cleverly misrepresents problems, the better to legitimize the hateful solutions provided for them. In other words, the essential thing here is to see clearly, to think clearly – that is, dangerously – and to answer clearly the innocent first question: what, fundamentally, is colonization? To agree on what it is not: neither evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease, and tyranny, nor a project undertaken for the greater glory of God, nor an attempt to extend the rule of law. To admit once for all, without flinching at the consequences, that the decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the ship owner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which, at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale

the competition of its antagonistic economies. Pursuing my analysis, I find that hypocrisy is of recent date; that neither Cortez discovering Mexico from the top of the great Teocalli, nor Pizcarró before Cuzco (much less Marco Polo before Cambaluc), claims that he is the harbinger of a superior order; that they kill; that they plunder; that they have helmets, lances, cupidities; that the slaving apologists came later; that the chief culprit in this domain is Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equations Christianity=civilization, paganism=savagery, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences, whose victims were to be the Indians, the yellow peoples, and the Negroes. That being settled, I admit that it is a good thing to place different civilizations in contact with each other that it is an excellent thing to blend different worlds; that whatever its own particular genius may be, a civilization that withdraws into itself atrophies; that for civilizations, exchange is oxygen; that the great good fortune of Europe is to have been a crossroads, and that because it was the locus of all ideas, the receptacle of all philosophies, the meeting place of all sentiments, it was the best center for the redistribution of energy.”

Aimé Césaire goes further to show how “Segregative, Destructive and Dehumanising” Colonisation could never be equated to Civilisation, especially when discoursing about European Colonisation. If we have to admit that “Inclusive Miscegenation” Colonisation is the order and trend of life, and that through “Inclusive Miscegenation” Colonisation in the good sense, where exchanges and mutual accommodation occur for the general good of humanity, then the Slave-Driven Capitalist Exploitative Colonialism can only be called Barbarism.

Césaire goes on to demonstrate how because of the various barbarisms and atrocities committed by the European Colonising World in the name of Civilisation, the term itself has lost its original meaning and now it is difficult to define what Civilization truly is since a Madagascan can be tortured and killed without any reaction in the so-called civilized world, a girl child in Vietnam, in Iraq, in Afghanistan raped or prisoners tortured and sodomised by US Marines and that will still be okay in the civilized world, just as there is child-trafficking and child pornography going on in the so-called civilised world without any real alarm raised because the Justice system is controlled by the same law breakers. This also goes with the so-called Human Rights which also measured according to whether you are Black or White, as it is with the land tenure system in Israel, America, Australia and Africa – especially in Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia, where the Migrant invaders and White Colonial Settlers seized the lands of the Indigenous Natives and First Nation Peoples, and still claim absolute authority and Exclusive Rights against the Original Native Owners.

Aimé Césaire goes on to show how when Hitler practiced Nazism, it was condoned by the European society which in most part supported him. For, according to the Aryan Racist Philosophy of Nazism, Jews were considered Black and were polluting the Aryan Blue Blood. And Michael Jackson says, "It doesn't matter who's wrong or right." Everything goes as long as "we dominate the world and have control."

Wherefore, a Civilization which is selective and racist-driven cannot be called Civilization for Humanity in the global sense of the word. This is why Césaire lashes out on European Civilisation as nothing short of an obnoxious hypocrisy when he says:

"But then I ask the following question: has colonization really placed civilizations in contact? Or, if you prefer, of all the ways of establishing contact, was it the best? I answer no. And I say that between colonization and civilization there is an infinite distance; that out of all the colonial expeditions that have been undertaken, out of all the colonial statutes that have been drawn up, out of all the memoranda that have been dispatched by all the ministries, there could not come a single human value. First we must study how colonization works to decivilize the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism; and we must show that each time a head is cut off or an eye put out in Vietnam and in France they accept the fact, each time a little girl is raped and in France they accept the fact, each time a Madagascan is tortured and in France they accept the fact, civilization acquires another dead weight, a universal regression takes place, a gangrene sets in, a centre of infection begins to spread; and that at the end of all these treaties that have been violated, all these lies that have been propagated, all these punitive expeditions that have been tolerated, all these prisoners who have been tied up and "interrogated, all these patriots who have been tortured, at the end of all the racial pride that has been encouraged, all the boastfulness that has been displayed, a poison has been instilled into the veins of Europe and, slowly but surely, the continent proceeds toward savagery. And then one fine day the bourgeoisie is awakened by a terrific reverse shock: the gestapos are busy, the prisons fill up, the torturers around the racks invent, refine, discuss. People are surprised, they become indignant. They say: "How strange! But never mind-it's Nazism, it will pass!" And they wait, and they hope; and they hide the truth from themselves, that it is barbarism, but the supreme barbarism, the crowning barbarism that sums up all the daily barbarisms; that it is Nazism, yes, but

that before they were its victims, they were its accomplices; that they tolerated that Nazism before it was inflicted on them, that they absolved it, shut their eyes to it, legitimized it, because, until then, it had been applied only to non-European peoples; that they have cultivated that Nazism, that they are responsible for it, and that before engulfing the whole of Western, Christian civilization in its reddened waters, it oozes, seeps, and trickles from every crack. Yes, it would be worthwhile to study clinically, in detail, the steps taken by Hitler and Hitlerism and to reveal to the very distinguished, very humanistic, very Christian bourgeois of the twentieth century that without his being aware of it, he has a Hitler inside him, that Hitler inhabits him, that Hitler is his demon, that if he rails against him, he is being inconsistent and that, at bottom, what he cannot forgive Hitler for is not crime in itself, the crime against man, it is not the humiliation of man as such, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa. And that is the great thing I hold against pseudo-humanism: that for too long it has diminished the rights of man, that its concept of those rights has been - and still is - narrow and fragmentary, incomplete and biased and, all things considered, sordidly racist. I have talked a good deal about Hitler. Because he deserves it: he makes it possible to see things on a large scale and to grasp the fact that capitalist society, at its present stage, is incapable of establishing a concept of the rights of all men, just as it has proved incapable of establishing a system of individual ethics. Whether one likes it or not, at the end of the blind alley that is Europe, I mean the Europe of Adenauer, Schuman, Bidault, and a few others, there is Hitler. At the end of capitalism, which is eager to outlive its day, there is Hitler. At the end of formal humanism and philosophic renunciation, there is Hitler. And this being so, I cannot help thinking of one of his statements: "We aspire not to equality but to domination. The country of a foreign race must become once again a country of serfs, of agricultural labourers, or industrial workers. It is not a question of eliminating the inequalities among men but of widening them and making them into a law." That rings clear, haughty, and brutal and plants us squarely in the middle of howling savagery. But let us come down a step. Who is speaking? I am ashamed to say it: it is the Western humanist, the "idealist" philosopher. That his name is Renan is an accident. That the passage is taken from a book entitled *La Reforme intellectuelle et morale*, that it was written in France just after a war which

France had represented as a war of right against might, tells us a great deal about bourgeois morals.

My filial tribute goes to this great African Philosopher and Father of Humanistic Negritude who forever reactivated and energized the critical mind-set of future Africans to stand up and hold the torch of Humanism for the world to trace their foot-path to our common destiny. That is why I felt proud of this Sphinx of a genius whom I could call my mentor when I dedicated to him this poem to celebrate his transition entitled:

Africity Iconic Philosopher

*I had always thought you've become eternal
In your post nonagenarian cycle life span
You had always taught me what it takes
To be a proud African...
Proud of our colour...
Proud of our heritage...
Our history...
Our culture...*

*You instilled in me the
Critical spirit of Metelus
About life...
About power and what
We deem civilisation...
And why I have to be critical...
About justice and to
Stand for the downtrodden
People irrespective of race...
But to uphold the Humanity and
Divinity in every being...*

*By taking me through the world of
'Le Roi Christophe'...
You opened my eyes to the
Depravity of human power...
How a People can turn against
Itself because of self
Conceited greed...*

*How conceited and greedy Africans
Contribute to the underdevelopment of Africa
How Africa was and is still able to
Lose its best brains and muscles to the
Prejudiced Racist Capitalist World when...
It started losing its Communalism for Individualism...*

*But your Negritude invention
Was racially misinterpreted
By monocular ethnocentrics...
Colomentalised and
Biased Philosophers as
Black Subjectivism thus...
Missing your Prophecy of
Black Pride and Emancipation...
The Renaissance Black
Humanism and Aesthetics...*

*Now I feel so lost and sad that
You have left when Africa needed
You most and when we are going
Through this turmoil and
Divisions about how to
Manage our multiple common
Identity and destiny...how to
Love ourselves again despite
The calamities and humiliations
We Blacks have all been through...*

*Now in your meteoric metaphysical
Stage of existence you have
Taken your new abode in the
Pantheon of the African Ancestry
As we await the house warming ritual
You will concert with African
Minor Divinities and the Almighty
RAH about the new Revelation to
Africa and its Re-Renaissance
Peoples and Cultures for Humanity...*

So, Dear Aimé Césaire...
Keep your cyber line
Virtual Digital Fibre Connections
Open to receive and reply to
All my virtual inquisitive Emails...
For I do not want to fall on
The spiritual scam blogs
And answering bytes of your
Celestial cell phone
As I have a lot more to
Discuss and consult with
You, the 'Chi' of Africa and
'Mbom'- Almighty on
How to project the legacies of
Re-Renaissance Humanist Africa...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Yaounde, 21st May, 2008

Léopold Sédar Senghor tried to look at this problem from his poetry and other writings which have contributed to enhance the aesthetics and the definition of Black People. Through poetry, Léopold Sédar Senghor was able to deconstruct and denounce in a non-violent manner the atrocities and inhumanism of colonisation.

According to Gale Cengage (2000) Senghor, through his writings and poetry, was able to distinguish himself as: "...one of the preeminent African intellectuals of the twentieth century, and has been hailed as a powerful voice of post-war black cultural pride and self-determination." She goes further to affirm that Léopold Sédar Senghor marked himself out as:

"A leading proponent of Negritude, a literary movement based on the repudiation of Western imperialism and the reclamation of Pan-African heritage, Senghor was instrumental in the cultivation of postcolonial aesthetics and black racial consciousness."

Among his most acclaimed poems "Chants d'ombre" (1945), "Hosties" (1948), Ethiopiques (1956), and Nocturnes (1962), stand out pre-eminently as those verses which brought out Senghor's vehemence and condemnation of French colonialism in Africa. He was able to present in a more lyrically refined unarmful form the same atrocities that had been denounced twenty-six years before him by Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou.

In *Chants d'ombre* (1945), which constitute Senghor's first collection of poetry, also variously translated as "Songs of Shadow," "Shadow Songs," or "Songs of Darkness," according to Gale Cengage (2000) Senghor deeply searches in the African soul and:

"...expresses his feelings of exile, cultural estrangement, aversion to the bondage of colonialism, and nostalgia for the African paradise of his childhood and ancestors. Though stylistically influenced by contemporary French poetry and the irrational imagery of surrealism, Senghor's trademark verse merges European forms and allusions with the language and spiritual motifs of African folk song. The controlled, musical rhythms and long, annunciatory lines of his poems, often prefaced with instructions for accompanying instruments, evoke the sounds and atmosphere of his native land and people."

In reassessing Gale Cengage's interpretative contributions I would like to add that this collection of "Chants d'ombre" which contains several of Senghor's best-known poems, among which highlighted themes like "Nuit de Sine" ("Night of Sine"), "Neige sur Paris" ("Snow Upon Paris"), "Masque nègre" ("Black Masks"), portray the deep nostalgia of the African soul in foreign lands; where "Femme noir" ("Black Woman"), becomes not only exuberant poem to the beauty of African womanhood; but also the healing ideographic nostalgia of that surrealistic imagination and projection of that idealic pristine African Woman of a lonesome African in estranged lands from his Motherland Africa.

According to Gale Cengage, the publication of "Chants d'ombre" contributed to establish Senghor as the prominent spokesperson of Negritude, a role which he exercised with extreme devotion till his last days.

In the collection of poetry titled *Hosties noires*, "Black Sacrifice," (1948), consists of poems which were composed during the wartime when Senghor was in captivity in the German concentration camps. These poems bring out vividly Senghor's growing sense of purpose and his definition of his racial identity. It also highlights his recognition, reconciliation and networking with his brothers in the Diaspora, where poems such as "Aux soldats Negro-Américains," ("To the American Negro Soldiers"), and "Désespoir d'un volontaire libre," ("Despair of a Free Volunteer") extol the friendship network which was engendered with the African-American, West Indian and Senegalese soldiers during World War II. As Gale Cengage puts it: "These poems also display Senghor's increasingly strident attacks on French colonialism and racial exploitation." Then in "Prière de paix" ("Prayer for Peace"), for example, Senghor, in the footsteps of Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou, proceeds to present a litany of African degradation at the hands of

unscrupulous and hypocritical Europeans, thinly tempered with a plea for divine forgiveness.



Photos 180 (a) & (b): Leopold Sedar Senghor: 9 October 1906 at Joal, In Sénégal - Died 20 December 2001 At Verson, In France

This poem which is the non-violent way of expressing the helpless state of the Black people ruthlessly abused by the colonialists might seem unrealistic in the sense that the ruthless colonialist does not care a damn whether God forgives him or not. He impunitively goes on abusing the rights of Black people because the colonialist says that the abuse of Black people was mandated by God who cursed them through Noah.

In Senghor's third volume collection of poetry titled, "Chants pour Naëtt" (1949), one discovers a series of love lyrics dedicated to his first wife, Ginette Eboue, the daughter of Felix Eboue the Guyanese Governor and Administrator of French Equatorial Africa, whom he divorced in 1956 and married Colette Hubert the next year. One discovers that in "Chants pour Naëtt," Senghor, as in other poems were expressing his obsession for the female subject of the poet's affection which served as a metaphor for Mother Africa.

And it would seem Senghor was an experimental poet who tried to put his theories of miscegenation of races, for the production of the mulato race, into practice.

The collection of poems titled *Ethiopiques* (1956), depicts Senghor's early political involvement, which showcases Senghor's keen desire to bridge the opposing aspects of European and African culture. As Euba Akin explains in *Chaka: An opera in two chants*, <http://africarts.org/pr01.htm> :

“Senghor’s poem covers the last moments of Chaka’s life. In Chant 1, the hitherto invincible Chaka has been assassinated by some of his own people and lies dying from his wounds. He is cross-examined by White Voice (who is a dual symbol of the missionary and colonial presence in Africa). White Voice denounces Chaka as a blood-thirsty tyrant who murdered Noliwe, his wife-to-be, in order to gain absolute power, and also caused the slaughter of millions. Chaka’s defence is that every act of his was performed for the love of his dark-skinned people.”

Senghor endeavours in this poem of Chaka to evince the humanism in Pan-Africanism, where in this poem he seems to insist on the fact that if Pan-Africanism must endure it would include the violator of Africa’s human rights, and the violated Africans who must not take the revenge into their own hands. It seems Senghor was already prophesying in Chaka, South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He was prophesying about the new Chaka, Madiba Mandela, who would not raise his hand to revenge the blood of his sisters and brothers from the Apartheid regime.

This hypothesis is also confirmed by Gale Cengage (2000) who states that Senghor uses the long epic poem Chaka, an adaptation of Thomas Mofolo’s 1926 historical novel about the ruthless nineteenth-century Zulu chieftain, to reflect upon the burdens of leadership, the necessity of sacrifice in the name of African Unity, and his own persona as a “poet politician”.

This confirms the non-violence principle of Senghor and his Negritude colleagues. That is how in New York Senghor uses a more conciliatory tone in advocating for the (Gale Cengage, 2000) “end to the city’s racial division and acceptance of African-American culture as a regenerative force.” This reconciliatory sentiments flows well again in “Epîtres à la Princesse” (“Letters to a Princess”), which is a sequence of poems describing an “African man’s romantic attachment to a European princess,” in which Senghor tries to romanticise on his theory of miscegenation of the White race and the Black race to produce a much stronger and intelligent race, that defies racism. According to Gale Cengage, this poem also represents the allegorical union between North and South which also, on the hind sight, mirrors Senghor’s second marriage to his second wife Colette, a white Frenchwoman.

That is why Jim Oboth (2012) describes Senghor as this conformist who dabbled and supported this ambivalence of mind and culture of the African elite and promoted this dualism of existence combining the African culture and the French culture. That is how he comes to admit that:

“Unobtrusively, he recognizes emerging contradictions of modern evolution. Is it surprising, my dear, if my melody has become sombre?” To this end he prescribes African

socialism as an alternative to Marxism, drawing profoundly from the doctrines of negritude which ruffled feathers among some literary figures. A rabid critic of the philosophy was Cameroonian novelist and poet Mbella Sone Dipoko in his characteristic Afrocentric militancy denounced negritude as 'reactionary, rightwing, irrelevant ...absolutely incapable of reinstating the oppressed and exploited Blackman in his rightful place in the world.' Dipoko's disillusionment is palpable with politics and colonialism. Senghor's poetry acknowledges dualism with assimilation of French language and literature, his devout Catholicism, and marriage to a white woman, Collette Hubert. In a sense, Senghor is caged in there but Ulli Beier defends him as 'not merely a Frenchified African...an African who uses the French language to express his African soul.' This angular admission of the effects of cultural crossroads on Western-educated elite is cause for further alienation. 'O I speak his language yes, but listen to my accent.' Senghor's verses re-create grandeur of the 'beauty of ancient times' laced with nostalgia for the African paradise of his childhood living in 'virgin forest' of Africa but ignores acculturation effects. For his part, Dipoko's poem 'Lovely Land' denounces colonial negation in deeply atypical eroticism."

In the volume of poetry titled *Nocturnes*, "Nocturnes," (1962) the collection of poetry stand out as indicators of those verses which brought out the ripe mature mind-set of Leopold Sedar Senghor. *Nocturnes* were published a year after Senghor was elected President of Senegal. In *Nocturnes* Senghor extols the African Black Beauty, the Black Woman who incarnates his mission of Negritude.

Actually *Nocturnes* is the celebration of the African woman in all her transmutating dimensions of Blackness as proposed in one of the five elegies where "Midnight" is the fullness of the life of darkness and Blackness but the time of the incubation, the hatching of the Divine mystery of life whom the Black Woman fully incarnates. Actually goes here to celebrate the African Woman as the Primordial one nearest to the Divine Creation because it was out of Darkness the God created Light and Man. Wherefore, the Black Woman incarnates hatching of the Night with its multiple shades and resources.

That explains the reason why Senghor calls her "Nocturnes" in her plural encapsulation of virtues and resourcefulness. Night brings along with her the various shades of life (Adama Ndao, 2008) from "shadow," "dusk," "obscurity," "shade," "coverage," "darkness/tenebrouisity," "black," "evening," "crepuscule," "midnight," the fullness of the Black Woman. Other shades of Blackness are manifest in the African universe with "sleep," "dream," "nightmare," "cloud," "anxiety," "fear," "sadness," "regrets," "enigma," the "initiate," etc. as Adama Ndao well demonstrates. Night is also

“silence,” thus incarnating mystery, the enigma which constitutes darkness, that exudes with her black body of the African Woman whose “smile is an enigma,” as Senghor declares that; “Ton Sourire me pose l’Énigme,” and the affirm that “the smile of the Black woman is also Gold and golden,” fascinating the heart to behold: “L’énigme d’or de ton sourire.”

This celebration of the Black Woman of Africa extols the physical beauty of the Black Woman in “Chants pour Signare” made up of 21 poems of celebration and dedication where the poet highlights and takes pains to paint the kaleidoscopic nature of the beauty of the Black Woman, as well as her moral character and grooming and good upbringing; her lively nature full of happiness and music as she sings to entertain nature, herself and the world; just as she is the subject of music, poetry and song for the men who admire and adore her.

Senghor brings out in the Black woman the Cultural and Traditional Values of Africa that she incarnates. Signare is this great prodigious and generous Black Woman who knows how to blend her Matriarchal Powers with the grace of her hospitality, bringing comfort and charm to her guests. She is not only gifted with the grace and charm of her politeness, but is always vigilant to make her guest feel at home in her presence and in the presence of society and the world in the most natural and uncompromising and generously uncalculated manner.

This explains why her guests are transformed into poets who rival each other to compose and sing her praises, as they inhale the perfumes of “amber and gongo” exuding from her enchanted body as she approaches them. More to her credit the Signar is well educated and schooled in the art and practice of religion and religious rites like all Black African Matriarchs. The poet recognizes her religious power and prowess as the High Priestess of the Voodoo Religion of the Africans, which moved from Benin to Brazilian Americas and the West Indies.

Senghor in Nocturnes places the Black African Woman on a very high pedestal of the power of self-reliance and the grace of service to humanity. He brings out the Black African woman as the origin of Light and Creativity, as well as the High Priestess of the energy-source and revitalization of life and the society and community. She uses her charm and grace not to entice men but to build and give confidence to man, to nurture and to educate man in the good morals and behavior befitting human beings.

That is the reason she does not have any complex whatsoever to entertain her guests sumptuously even in the presence of her husband, or in the presence of passers-by and onlookers, to the prejudice and surprise of Ibin Batuta who was not happy that his African Muslim convert friend could allow

his wife entertain her guest and male friend in his presence without any reservations.

Nocturnes tries to rehabilitate the African Black Woman whose centrifugal status and the builder of society has been bastardised by the Western Slave-driven capitalist economy and colonization. The Black African Woman who has been serially raped by the slave and colonial master of her beauty, her grace, her charm and her physical and intellectual property rights, her intellectual resources and her religious rights.

The rape of the African Black Woman by Slavery and Colonisation was the greatest rape of Africa and the rape of the foundation and seat of her Cultural Heritage and Indigenous Knowledge and technology and Intellectual Property Rights. For the Black African Woman was not only the source of the creation of the enlightenment of the Universe, but also the source of the creation of man and all being that came to be. This explains why the African Black Woman was from the initial creation of the world the centre of the Eco-System, in short, the Eco-Woman.

In Nocturnes, Senghor goes back to his infancy to recall all those natural and human resources that make up the African world in the Black Woman whose praises he sings with all the romanticism and lyricism that it entails. The African world is plunged in the metaphoric and material world of darkness where expectations, anxiety uncertainty and long waiting abound.

But the night which symbolically represents the Black Man and the Black world transformed into the Black ravishing and enticing Woman, is also the time for amorous adventures, where the moon light also represents the time for poetic reveries and dreams of the ideographic world of the old world and a new birth and new revitalization and humanization.

He criticizes the colonial Western powers who have endeavoured to rape the African Woman, and rob her of her beauty in the name of Civilising Enterprise which has exploited her and her lover and admirer to betray her; but her beauty remains resistant and consistent, waiting in the native land for the right suitor, who will forever come back to sing of her grace, her beauty, that outlives time...

Then he recalls with nostalgia the infancy where they played together, reminding her, asking if she is not the same Nyominka who was always there ready in all majesty and honour to present him with a welcoming seat...And again in this new encounter je recounts new romantic stories...certainly she would recognize her brother with the trembling voice – telling you the time is overdue for this hide and seek game we have always played. It is this hide and seek that has led me searching into the arms of the Black damsels of the Diaspora, like the Black Cuban damsels, the Voodoo Princess of the

enchanted Island, who have made her sad and jealous... Certainly he was alluding to his first West Indian wife Ginete Eboue.

This long night revives his emotions of his homeland, this very Western night which he likes to the Joalian Night where one can hear from the depths of the long profound night "The voice of the Lover singing the tenebrous splendour of the Lover." But this night of long waiting has made the poet to tire out and this has created some kind of boredom "On this long journey that has worn him/me out... And made me to hate a little bit more the oriental face of his blue fiancée" which puts to question the relation between the poet and the Black damsel... where the poet contrasts the African reality with the European Universe full of routine and monotony, with a precise mechanical drudgery that goes on for eternity, because the western poet lacks the night with its virility of the Blackman laced in virile thoughts. Where the night calls for love-making... "And I am beautiful and handsome like the 100 metres sprinter, like the Black Stallion brought out the darkness of Mauritania."

It was certainly this poem which inspired Paul Sartre, in his preface to *Black Orpheus*, to affirm that Negritude was Androgynous vital force with its virility that incarnated the emerging phallus with the sperm that fecundated the Western Universe and civilization that had lost its virility by becoming too mechanical and incapable of making love, and of really exuding with that pristine Humankind-Natural-Lovemaking-Love.

But the uncertainties and the stress of this long hide and seek waiting is such that the poet finds himself overcome by some emptiness like the Sahara Desert and cries to God to be reborn again to his infancy to become a new Man. For the African, to be born again was to go through the rite of passage of circumcision which was the passage of death to infancy and birth to a new life which breaks with the monotony of mechanical life to a new creative adventurous and entrepreneurial life, where the rite of passage in Death gives birth to a new life of Love and jubilation. And so this Death to the old infancy is rebirth and renaissance with the thunder of lightening (Adama Ndao, 2008) and enlightenment of the Poet, the New Man, and the Poet-King.

This is where, I think, Jim Oboth, (2012) misinterprets the religious symbolism in *Nocturnes* looking as it is derived from Puritanism. But I disagree with his interpretation of *Nocturnes* as he confirms that it is "fashioned into a puritanical kind represented in the pilgrim – underpinning the paradox of death to be reborn in revelation of beauty!"

Actually I would interpret the rebirth here as Senghor's pro-occupation with and re-invocation of the African rites of passage where the individual is re-born into a new world of knowledge and capacity-building process, but also

into a world of mysteries and wisdom, to become more a man, more of a woman.

That is the reason why Senghor decides to flirt with the lyricism of the young uninitiated and uncircumcised lad flirting with the beautiful damsels that he can only consume metaphorically and virtually as symbols of his ardent erotic desire.

For Senghor, therefore, Negritude is this embodiment of the new humanity symbolized by the Black damsel you can also name Nocturnes, Darkness, with this ravishing but elusive beauty which transcends colour and race.

In order to give voice to Negritude and its advocates, Senghor, in 1947, co-founded the literary journal *Présence Africaine* with Alioune Diop. This unfailing dynamism to reconstruct Africa and put Africa on the face of the map of the world contributed to Senghor being appointed a year later as editor of *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malagache de langue française* (1948), a highly influential anthology of black francophone writers from Africa and the Caribbean. This volume was immortalised by its famous introductory essay “Orphée noir” (“Black Orpheus”) penned by the existentialist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, and became a defining work of the Negritude movement. Prolific as he was Senghor continued writing both poetry and philosophical works in various fields of African renaissance and identity. Gale Cengage (2000) furnishes our readers with Senghor’s subsequent volumes of poetry which include:

“Lettres d’hivernage (1973) ; Elégies majeures (1979) , which contains “Elégie des Alizés” (“Elegy of the Trade Winds”) and personal tributes to George Pompidou and Martin Luther King; and Oeuvres poétique (1991; The Collected Poetry) , the definitive edition of Senghor’s poetry. Senghor has also produced a large body of commentary on literary, political, and social subjects, including the essay collection Ce que je crois (1988) and three volumes under the heading Liberté—Nation et voie africaine du socialisme (1961; On African Socialism) , Negritude et humanisme (1964; Negritude and Humanism) , and Négritude et civilisation de l’universel (1977.”

Gale Cengage concludes by paying tribute to this controversial poet and philosopher who had the audacity to create the renascent African aesthetics and moral as well as surrealist philosophy of Negritude which has contributed to the reconstruction of the African personality and identity. She joins in with the other critics of Senghor to celebrate this great genius of Africa and its Diaspora by stating that:

*“He is also highly esteemed for his important work as editor of *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malagache de langue française*, which, as K. Anthony Appiah notes, “remains one of the models of African and Afro-Caribbean literary achievement.” Critical evaluation of Senghor’s poetry is inextricably linked to its basis in negritude, an ideology whose wide-reaching influence waned during the early 1960s, though reemerged in America as a progenitor of the Black Pride movement. While many commentators approve of Senghor’s effort to relocate black self-identity and solidarity in traditional African culture, some regard the concept of negritude as a Western intellectual construct that misrepresents black experience and engenders its own harmful racism. In addition, Senghor’s assimilation of French language and literature, as well as his Christian piety and remarriage to a white woman, have lead a minority of detractors to view his devotion to Africa with scepticism. However, as Ulli Beier asserts, “Senghor ... is not merely a Frenchified African who tries to give exotic interest to his French poems; he is an African who uses the French language to express his African soul.” Viewed as a prophet of reconciliation—racial, cultural, and political—Senghor is internationally respected for his overriding humanism and important contributions to the literature and politics of modern Africa.”*

As Paul Francois Paoli, (2008) affirm in Figaro, the affirmative of (Nagger) which was the derogatory nomenclature for Black people was turned around as an affirmative African identity and action-driven motivating indicator, aimed at advocating for the decolonisation of African people. It also became the value assertion and affirmative acceptance and action orientation for the production of their original Black culture. And this was the sense Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor defended and gave to the idea of “Negritude”. Jean Bouchard (2009) thus admits that the term:

“Négritude became a literary, ideological, and political movement developed in the 1930s by a group of young Caribbean and African intellectuals living in Paris. European and other forms of Surrealism provided aesthetic influence and political support to the Négritude movement. In particular, Martinican Négritude writers including Aimé Césaire, Suzanne Césaire, and René Ménil took up Surrealism as a revolutionary writing method and a means of critiquing rational, European culture. Négritude was based on the notion that solidarity in a common black diasporic identity was necessary to overcome the social and political rhetoric of colonial racism and domination.”

The Martinican poet, Aimé Césaire, Senegalese author and politician, Léopold Sédar Senghor, and the Guyanan poet, Léon Damas are considered to be the fathers of this movement.

Leon Damas who is also known as ‘l’Enfant terrible de la Négritude’ was co-founder of Négritude with Aimé Césaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor. He was so called because of his very radical and acerbic criticism of the French colonial extravagances and ruthless rule in the colonies and its theory of assimilation.

In 1934 the three founded the *L’Etudiant Noire* (Black Student), aimed at breaking the nationalistic barriers between Black students of African origin. This journal moved away from the political preoccupation of Black students to the development of Black Culture.

Like the Harlem Renaissance of the African Americans founded by Hubert Henry Humphrey, from which they got much of their inspiration, this created the climate necessary for the launching of Négritude. This was to counter the launching of the nationalistic West Indian journal, *Legitime Defense*, launched in 1932 by three students from Martinique – Jules Monnerat, Etinne Lero, and Rene Menil which was against the capitalist world, bourgeoisie, colonial oppression and racism. This created the perfect environment in Paris necessary for the pursuits of non-violent Black Intellectualism.

Leon Damas, the third father of Négritude tried to reflect in his poetry the preoccupations of Non-Violence of the Négritude movement, while lashing out on racism, the problem of self-identity caused by the French colonial policy and ideology of assimilation, the inhumanism of Western European culture and civilisation, and society.

Poems from his book *Pigments* are good examples of his theory and accusations against colonialism and racism. One of the things which made him outstanding and unique is that he transformed the coloniser’s language into his own, he forgot what he learnt in French schools about verses, meters and metaphors and used musical rhythms, humour, repetition and unorthodox typography, reflecting the spirit of his African roots.

It is also affirmed by Souleymane Diagne (2010) that Leon Damas allowed his poetry to be a blend of all the Black African oral cultural traditional forms and creations and Diasporan Caribbean transformations from Jazz, calypso, rhythms and tunes of African-American blues and jazz, Harlem Renaissance poetry, as well as French Surrealist ideas.



Photos 181 (a) & (b): Léon-Gontran Damas: March 28, 1912 Cayenne-France-Guyana - January 22, 1978

It is said <http://theculturetrip.com/south-america/french> that his poems were extremely modern for their time and he soon became the icon of Black Poetry.

Souleymane Diagne, (2010) on writing on Negritude brings out Jean Paul Sartre's defence of the philosophy of this new African surrealist movement whereby people of African descent were able to seize the language of the coloniser to build it into their own weapon of fighting the same coloniser. He goes on to elaborate his thesis in the following terms:

"One important point made by Sartre was that Négritude was first and foremost a black poetic appropriation of the French language. Unlike other nationalisms, he explained, which reclaimed the tongue of the people against the imperialist imposition of the language by which they were governed, black people had to use the language of domination imposed by French colonialism as cement for their shared Négritude and as "miraculous weapons"[3] against that same domination. In so doing they radically transformed it, manifesting through their poetry that there was nothing natural and unquestionable in the way in which the language would identify Being with Good, Beautiful, Right and White. The simple song of a black poet chanting in French the beauty of the naked blackness of the woman he loved, Sartre wrote, would then appear to the ears of French people a fundamental violence against their linguistic and indeed ontological self assurance; in spite of the fact that the poem was not even meant for them, or rather because of that. In the poetry of Négritude they would be struck by the discovery of their own language as unfamiliar and hitherto unheard of, especially when that poetry makes the best of surrealist writing as it "smashes [the words] together, breaks their customary associations, and couples them by force" (Sartre 1976, 26). But then again one knows that such an unsettling of language and indeed its "auto destruction" is the "profound aim of French poetry (...) from Mallarmé to the

Surrealists” (1976, 25). Therefore, Sartre concludes, Négritude has achieved that goal: the poets of Négritude have taken to its end what surrealist writers had been calling for.”

Leon Damas’ first collection of poems title “Pigments” in 1937, became the manifesto of the Negritude movement, because of his outlining the need to cure the ills of Western society where he passionately condemned the racial division, slavery, and colonialist assimilation. Damas denounced this assimilationist policy as racist and colonialist whereby Negritude was the categorical rejection of the systematic process whereby Black people were denied and deprived of their God-given inborn and acquired spontaneity and their naturally contextualised environment which made them who they were. And so Leon Damas denounces the taking away or the deleting of those things and images: real and virtually spiritual environments which make up his identity. Wherefore he denounces the unidimensional formula whereby becoming French required the (Souleymane Diagne, 2010) “...loss, repression, and rejection of self as well as adoption of a civilization that robs indigenous cultures, values, and beliefs...”

Leon Damas articulated explicitly his losses in his poem “Limbé” in which the poet laments bitterly this assimilation which meant the ruthless deprivation which calls for a retribution and reconstruction when he reiterates:

*“Give me back my black dolls
so that I may play with them
the naïve games of my instinct
in the darkness of its laws
once I have recovered
my courage
and my audacity
and become myself once more.”*

It is said that to reclaim his Black African-ness, Leon Damas developed his own form of poetry which marked him out a part of the other two co-founders of Negritude. Souleymane Diagne (2010) highlights how Damas’s poems exuded more of the cryptic style, as opposed to “...the ‘rich drapery’ of Senghor’s verse, or the extended explosions of Césaire’s (Kennedy 43).” This blunt and cryptic style was also harnessed on the rich African staccato rhythms, plain language, and vivid images. It was found that Damas used stylistic devices in his poetry which included alliteration, repetition and

enumeration. This is well illustrated in the following excerpt from “They Came That Night”:

*“How many of ME ME ME
Have died
SINCE THEN
Since they came that night when the
Tom
Tom
Rolled
From
Rhythm
To rhythm
The frenzy
Of eyes
The frenzy
Of hands
The frenzy
Of statue feet.”*

Damas was able to blend his African and European experiences into one mould of the Negritude surrealism that tapped deeply into the Harlem Renaissance and the rhythms and tunes of African American blues and jazz. That is how Damas came to admit that in his poems one can “find rhythms” just as his poems “can be danced and they can be sung”.

Souleymane Diagne (2010) affirms that it was also admitted that Damas’ poetry contains elements of Caribbean calypso such as the call/response technique, “the relating of personal experience, the ironic twists, the refrain, the tongue-in-cheek ending”. All these features are particularly evident in one of Damas’ more popular works, “Hoquet”/”Hiccups”.

Among Damas’ outstanding works which portray this genius of communicating this disgust and disdain for colonial and racist deprivation and domination of Black people are expressed in poems like the divided self, exile and return, racial identification and solidarity, and to some extent, love; “Retour de Guyane,” “Return from Guyana” (1938), “Poèmes nègres sur des airs africains,” “Negro Poems on African Airs” (1948), “Graffiti,” “Graffiti” (1952), “Black-Label” (1956), “Névralgies,” “Nervous-wreck” (1965), and “Veillées noires,” “Black Wake-keepings” (1943).

When we evaluate the contributions of the three fathers of Negritude, we realise that just like the creation of awareness that was started by Prince Kojo

Tovalou Houenou in 1924 to decry the racism, deprivation, suppression and colonization of the Black people of the world; they succeeded to create on the continent of Europe, France especially, networking with the Harlem Renaissance actors before them and during their period, a platform in the world stage that gave voice to African people.

We realise that it was through these relentless efforts, propelled by the Nadal Sisters and Suzane Rossi Césaire, that the birth of Negritude gave this platform for the Black voice in the world stage that was denied Black people of the Diaspora and the African continent. That is the reason why this unflinching support and honourable credit must go to them without reservations.

Negritude goes on to show how in every situation in life, the denial or deprivation of some people their voice and their rights as human beings by a repressive majority, always engenders an alternative product from the recycled damage and waste produced by the dominant and repressive and affluent society.

What I want to say is that just as the inhumane Western capitalist system produced its waste product which was recycled by Karl Marx to produce MARXISM and blown into the face of the WESTERN CAPITALIST WORLD; so also did Slavery, Racism, Deprivation, Colonisation and Abuses of Human Rights of Black People produce NEGRITUDE that turned round as the recycled “Shit” of the “White-Society,” splashed into the face of the Western powers and decried the injustices of the White-Slave-Driven-Capitalist World against Black People.

Come to think of it. After the fall Apartheid, my South African White friend told me that Blacks of South Africa were now practicing Racism in reverse, that is, Black Racism, because Blacks were now given preferences to assume key positions that formerly were occupied by Whites, even though sometimes with lower qualifications, because of the law of integration, proportional equitable distribution.

In the USA, had Mo-Town Records not Brocken the chain of discrimination of Blacks in Show Business, some Black top musicians like James Brown, Stevie Wonder, Diana Ross, Lionel Richie, Michael Jackson, Whitney Houston, or Beyoncé would never have been projected to the lime light.

Had the Harlem Black Ballet School not opened its doors to Black people, they would have for ever been discriminated from the Whites only “Swan Dance” of ballet, with all prejudiced rational analysis that because Blacks have heavy bumps they cannot stand on their tip-toes and dance like swans.

If Nollywood not taken the initiative to promote Black African Culture, Hollywood and Bollywood which had only concentrated in the promotion of White and Indian cultures, and to some extent denigrating Black African Culture as Hollywood often did, Nollywood which has become the second in world's entertainment today would never have seen the day, Black entertainment would never have made the headway it has today to beat Hollywood in its own game of bias.

Even if we would admit that Negritude is an avatar of the White Colonial Culture, we must also proclaim Negritude as the only adequate non-violent Black Rebuttal of White Colonialism and Repression that had taken Africa hostage for Thirteen Hundred Years of Slavery and Colonialism also known as the Indentured Slavery in Africa.

And it could be argued that what emanates as a challenge to an existing system cannot divest itself totally of the system that begot it. That is why Negritude cannot divest itself totally, no matter its Africanity, of the Western Colonial System and the Western Colonialism from which it was engendered. It is just like saying that in the independence of Africa, it was not practical and possible for Africa to lose its colonial traits. But it is also true that with time Africa would become more and more African, just like after Apartheid, the Mandela Truth and Reconciliation Commission would take time to embrace all the Rainbow South Africans as One People of One Nation in spite of their diversities and their contradictions today.

It is in this perspective that we understand all the criticism that is levied against Negritude by the various authors that have happened to analyse and give their honest appreciations. Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum (2010) furnishes us with a <http://exhibition.nypl.org/africanage/essay-negritude.htm#roots> few of them as he goes on to elaborate:

"In a preface to Senghor's Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache, titled "Orphée noir" French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre appears as both critic and sympathizer. He calls Négritude an "anti-racist racism" but also introduces it into mainstream French literature and validates it as a philosophy of existence. Another critic of the concept was René Ménil, a Marxist philosopher and co-founder of Martinican cultural review Tropiques, with Aimé and Suzanne Césaire. He considered Négritude a form of black exoticism and self-consciousness sustaining French imperialism. Guadeloupean scholar Maryse Condé has credited Négritude with the birth of French Caribbean literature, but she has also critiqued its fetishization of blackness and black identity politics, as well as black Antilleans' idea of a return to Africa. Senghor's existentialist definition of Négritude was challenged by African philosophers and scholars such as Marcien Towa (Essai sur la problématique philosophique dans

l'Afrique actuelle, 1971), Stanislas Adotevi (Négritude et négrologues, 1972), and Paulin Hountondji (Sur la philosophie africaine, 1977.) A revolutionary theoretician, psychiatrist, and former student of Césaire's, Frantz Fanon dismissed the concept of Négritude as too simplistic and claimed in his 1952 book Peau noire, masques blancs that the notion of the "black soul was but a white artifact." A major critic of the movement was Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka, who viewed Négritude as reinforcing colonial ideology, a stance that automatically placed black intellectuals on the defensive. For him, "The tiger does not proclaim its tigerness, it jumps on its prey"...and devours it."

The various controversies about Negritude were quite founded from their perspectives of examination and evaluation. And as Frantz Fanon put it that Negritude as meaning a "Black Soul was nothing but White Artifact"; it is interesting to note that even the so-called Marxism or Marxist Revolution which most of the Negritude philosophers and the Harlem Renaissance philosophers embraced, was also a White Artifact.

This is because all Black Intellectuals, even though they were confronted with the common problem of defining their identity as Black people, suppressed and abused by White people, could not escape from the all-powerful White Machinery of Domination of Western Capitalism or Eastern Marxism.

It is very interesting to verify this hypothesis from the remark of Aimé Césaire who later threw in the towel, just as George Padmore, who resigned from the Communist party because he found out that it was also segregating Black people.

Suleymane Diagne (2012) offers some very interesting excerpts about this situation where Black intellectuals, whether of the Negritude following which were accused of playing into the laps of neo-colonialism; or of the Marxist-Leninist advocates of the "Dictatorship of Black-Proletariats," were caught between Western Imperialism and Eastern Imperialism. Souleymane Diagne brings out very pertinently this situation of what I would call the "Black Embarrassment" or the "Black Comedy of Errors," when we listen to Aimé Césaire critique and complaint:

"Césaire insisted also that Stalinist "fraternalism," with its notions of the "advanced people" who must help "backward peoples," says nothing different than "colonialist paternalism." Ultimately, what Césaire was seeking in formulations such as "it should be Marxism and communism at the service of black peoples, not black peoples at the service of the doctrine" was to define the notion of a people by means of culture rather than politics. And consequently he was refusing to just dilute the cultural

dimension of the existential response of black peoples to colonial negation in Marxist universalism: Césaire's "letter" was also, eight years later, a political response to Jean-Paul Sartre's Black Orpheus. Is my decision an expression of "provincialism," Césaire asked at the end of his letter. "Not at all," he answered. "I am not burying myself in a narrow particularism. But neither do I want to lose myself in an emaciated universalism. There are two ways to lose oneself: walled segregation in the particular or dilution in the 'universal'" (Ngal 1994, 141). Césaire called then for the promotion of an "African variety of communism" as a way of avoiding both pitfalls. Senghor also has insisted on an African socialism born of a "Negro African re-reading of Marx."...

This African socialism of Senghor could be presented briefly in two fundamental points: first the insistence that it is the early Marx who can truly inspire an African doctrine of socialism, second the understanding that socialism is a natural development of African societies and cultures. So in article titled "Marxism and humanism" and published in 1948 in *Revue socialiste* (a Journal sponsored by the French Socialist Party) Senghor notes that which will later be the point of departure for Louis Althusser's reading of Marx: between the early Marx and the Marx who writes *The Capital*, there is an epistemological break. It is to be recalled here that in 1844 in Paris, Marx wrote a certain number of texts that he just abandoned afterwards to "the criticism of the mice". Those texts, known as *The 1844 Manuscripts* were later discovered and published in Leipzig in 1932. They manifest that Marx's thinking and language were then fundamentally ethical as he was outraged by human condition under capitalist regime characterized by rectification and alienation: human beings are alienated because, Marx writes, the product of their work sucks out their life force and stands in front of them as strange and hostile artefacts. Alienation is the sentiment of living in exile and imprisoned in a de-humanized world. The Marx who writes *The Capital* will abandon that moral language and analyse the condition of the working class through technical concepts, for example that of extortion of surplus value. While Althusser considered this break the advent of Marxist science as an "anti-humanist theory" Senghor saw it as self-betrayal by Marx repudiating his identity as a philosopher and giving to his views the appearance of dogmatic economic petrifications. The task of an African re-reading of Marx is then:

To save Marx the humanist, metaphysician, dialectician and artist from a narrowly materialist, economic, positivist, realist Marxism;

To invent an African path to socialism which is inspired by black spiritualities, and which continues the tradition of communalism on the continent.

The concept of alienation in particular, so central in the writings of the early Marx are at the heart of Senghor's reflections on Marxism and liberation. Liberation for Senghor is liberation from all forces of alienation, natural and socio-political. And in his 1948 article he writes about the early works of Marx:

"For us, men of 1947, men living after two world wars, we who have just escaped the bloodthirsty contempt of dictators and who are threatened by other dictatorships, what profit is to be had in these works of youth! They so nicely encapsulate the ethical principles of Marx, who proposes as the object of our practical activity the total liberation of man."

In Senghor's vitalistic philosophy, "total liberation will be reached when the human being reaches the stage when her artistic end can now flourish, when the evolution from homo faber to homo sapiens has now give birth to homo artifex."

But this Homo Artifex of Senghor could only be born of a non-imperialistic freedom-based and freedom-conscious and freedom-driven Africans.

Wherefore, the new Negritude would divest itself of this neo-imperialism, whether from the Western Capitalist Judeo-Christian Powers; or from the Eastern Marxist Communist Powers, and will impose new communitarian Africanity and Africanity which will embrace all the different voices and resources which Africa is blessed with, human, natural and artificial as well as social.

Léopold Sédar Senghor defines this new Africanity, as the new dimension of freedom founded on the notion of Vital Force which constitutes African Humanism, as explained by Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum (2010) who tries to <http://exhibition.nypl.org/africanage/essay-negritude.htm#roots> analyse and evaluate the three fathers of Negritude and Negrologues:

"Unlike Damas and Césaire, Senghor affirmed that Negritude was also the expression of a philosophy to be read in the cultural products of Africa; and above all in African religions. Different as they are from one region to another, from one culture to another, there is still ethnographical evidence that many of them share to be founded on an ontology of life forces. "The whole system," Senghor declares, in a lecture "On Negritude" delivered at Lovanium University in Kinshasa, "is founded on the notion of vital force. Pre-existing, anterior to being, it constitutes being. God has given vital force not only to men, but also to animals, vegetables, even minerals. By which they are. But it is the purpose of this force to increase (1993, 19)."

This Senghorian philosophy of Negritude as emanating from the notion of The Primordial "Vital Force" which endowed not only humans but also all

living beings, including minerals and animals, was confirmed later by Alexis Kagame (1976) in his ground-breaking research on Bantu Philosophy.

A more radical and focused and critical Pan Africanist was Frantz Fanon who was a disciple of Aimé Césaire. He became a Pan Africanist but decided to oppose Aimé Césaire's idea of Negritude. His medical psychoanalytic and psychiatric background contributed to his clairvoyant manner of tackling the Negritude problem. In his ground breaking book titled "Peau noire, masques blancs," "Black Skin, White Masks" (1952) according to Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum (2010) "Frantz Fanon dismissed the concept of Négritude as too simplistic and claimed ... that the notion of the "black soul was but a white artifact."..."



Photos 182 (a) & (b): Frantz Fanon: 20 July 1925 at Fort-de-France - 6 December 1961 at Bethesda, Washington DC, United States

Frantz Fanon's rejected Negritude because he believed that it was a toothless dog with regard to colonialism and the racism and deprivation that Black people suffered from the hands of White slave-driven capitalism and masters of indentured slavery in the French colonies. Fanon did not believe that Negritude in its position of weakness could actually negotiate an equitable position of Black people against the Whites because, as Jessica McPherson (2007) explains, Fanon "...stated that persons' status depends on their economical and social position."

Fanon, like Malcolm X, did not believe in the non-violent policy of Negritude because he had the conviction that it was unproductive since it only played to the gallery of the colonialist and the slave-driven capitalist systems of

repression and exploitation of Black people in the world. He believed strongly in the Marxist ideology of armed revolution as the only way left to fight the oppressor and exploiter of the poor and oppressed disinherited Black peoples of the world.

For Fanon Negritude would have, instead of being non-violent, urged Blacks to take up arms and fight for their freedom. He found it a waste of time and energy for Negritude's preoccupation of defining the "Black Soul," which as a refined psychiatrist smacked of a pathological tautological misapprehension since, even if we are using the term Black metaphorically, we cannot actually talk of souls in terms of "Colour". This is exactly playing into the racist colonialist Hubert Henry Harrison was kicking against as the White Judeo-Christianity trash which convinced Black People that because their souls were "black" because of the sins of Cham their ancestor, they had to pray and entreat the Slave Master to give them nothing but Jesus, and ask him to wash their "black souls" snow-white and make them to be "Whiter than Snow."

According to Fanon what mattered was not whether our souls were Black or White. What mattered was the violence with which Black violence responded against White violence to gain our self-respect. Jessica McPherson (2007) brings out this Fanon's theory very pertinently as she elaborates:

"Fanon believed that violent revolution is the only means of ending colonial repression and cultural trauma in the Third World. "Violence," he argued, "is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect."..."

It was for this reason that Fanon thought that all the brouhaha about Negritude and the idea of "Black Souls" would end up as a malleable flux in the hands of the Capitalist White repressive society that would be able to manipulate it at will to produce whatever unpredictable and inconsistent fluke or sham they would want Black oppressed people to take it or leave it.

Since Fanon earnestly believed in the dialectic material historical development of societies and peoples he also held to the theory that persons' statuses depended more on their economical and social statuses than on any empty emblematic metaphor that persons would carry and brandish around without any real surplus value-driven reality.

We can understand therefore Fanon's preoccupation when he wrote his first ground breaking critique which was levied against the proponents of Negritude titled "Peau noir masques blancs," "Black Skin, White Masks" (Frantz Fanon, 1952) where he insists:

*"I have no wish to be the victim of the Fraud of a black world.
 My life should not be devoted to drawing up the balance sheet of Negro values.
 There is no white world, there is no white ethic, and any more than there is a white
 intelligence.
 There are in every part of the world men who search.
 I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my
 destiny.
 I should constantly remind myself that the real leap consists in introduction (of)
 invention into existence. In the world through which I travel, I am endlessly creating
 myself."...*

Franz Fanon was this existentialist philosopher who believed in the resources of the present material, social and spiritual capital which in itself was the victory-resource. This attitude was very critical of those who refused to move on with the present time-resource and remained victims of the past. Wherefore they forgot to seize the optimal opportunities of present and forge their new destiny and therefore remained celebrators of past atrocities and past abuses on Black People, instead of rising up in defiance of whose ox was gored to assert their freedom and build up their destiny. By accepting that they were Black with Black Souls, Black people were internalising this Blackness which played in favour of White People who therefore did not hesitate to patronise Blacks; but assimilated them and obliged them to become White. And since Black People put all their energies to become White and behave like White, Frantz Fanon was obliged to describe them as "Black Skin, White Masks." This was because Black People refused to see the present world as a time resource through which they had to travel and reinvent themselves and create a new destiny of victory.

This might explain the reason Fanon was described by his friend Edouard Glissant, his younger compatriot, (Jessica McPherson, 2007), as "extremely sensitive," fiercely critical and focused on human liberation and the constant rehabilitation of humankind on this universe. He was also an avid intellectual who gleaned his facts from reading and observation to build his refined and broad-based knowledge from great professors like Merleau-Ponty and André Leroi-Gourhan, Claude Levi-Strauss, Marcel Mauss, Heidegger, Hegel, Lenin, Marx and Leon Trotsky.

Fanon's first ground breaking work "Black Skin, White Masks," was a psychoanalytic dissection of the colonised mind, which Bob Marley about twenty three years later would warn us to "...emancipate (Y)Ourselves from mental slavery". Fanon was keen in his book to show how it was very difficult for the colonised psyche to divest itself from the colonising domineering

father, to use Sigmund Freud's analysis, without doing violence and committing the necessary patricide, to gain his liberty. Jessica McPherson (2007) confirms this thesis when she explains that:

"The book, analyzed the impact of colonialism and its deforming effects, which had a major influence on civil rights, anti-colonial, and black consciousness movements around the world. Fanon argued that white colonialism imposed an existentially false and degrading existence upon its black victims to the extent, that it demanded their conformity to its distorted values. The colonized is not seen by the colonizer a human being; this is also the picture the colonized is forced to accept. Fanon demonstrates how the problem of race, of color, connects with a whole range of words and images, starting from the symbol of the dark side of the soul. "Is not whiteness in symbols always ascribed in French to Justice, Truth, and Virginity?" Fanon examines race prejudices as a philosopher and psychologist, although he acknowledges social and economic realities. The tone of the text varies from outrage to cool analysis and its poetic grace has not lost anything from its appeal."

For Fanon, Negritude was just another face powder manipulation of the Capitalist Colonising White Society, with a White God, who was teaching Black people to believe and sing that their White Redeemer should "Wash" their Souls so that they should be "Whiter than Snow." This he thought was the pathological level of the state of the psychic aberration to which Black people had been reduced to accept their repression by the White Capitalist Colonising Society as normal and worth celebrating.

Fanon was a person who believed more in pragmatism than in theory. When 1954 the Algerian FLN – National Liberation Front started its open warfare against French rule, Fanon later deserted his post in Blida-Joinville and allied himself with the FLN. He travelled to the guerrilla camps through the Sahara to Mali, hid terrorists at his home and trained nurses how to dress wounds. After suffering from severe wounding in 1959 at the Algerian-Moroccan border, he was appointed provisional Ambassador of the provisional Algerian Government to Ghana. During this period he edited the magazine Moudjahid and also founded the first African psychiatric clinic.

As the prolific writer he was, he continued publishing essays and books in which he continued calling for armed struggle against French imperialism. Among these essays was L'An Cinq, de la Revolution Algerienne, published in 1959 supporting the fight for Algeria's independence. His last work titled "The Wretched of the Earth" published in 1961, was acclaimed by its publisher as "the Handbook for Black Revolution". This book which was based on Fanon's experience during the Algerian War of Independence, used the

Marxist framework to explore class conflicts and questions of cultural hegemony in the creation and maintenance of a country's national consciousness.

Fanon wanted to break with what he considered the Negritudean luxury of all talk and no action. He came out with the new proposition that: "In guerrilla war the struggle no longer concerns the place where you are, but the places where you are going. Each fighter carries his warring country between his toes." Fanon's psychiatric insights and experience with tortured war prisoners in French torture camps and psychiatric clinics both in France and Algeria, as well as the tortures of captives in Liberation movement camps, exposed for him the wretchedness and depravity of the human colonised mind.

Jessica McPherson (2007) also confirms the impact of Fanon's last book which became a Revolution Manifesto not only for Black peoples but for all repressed people of the world. She elaborates:

"The Wretched of the Earth became one of the central documents of the black liberation movement. Fanon's writings also influenced such anti-colonial writers as Kenya's Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Zimbabwe's Tsitsi Dangarembga, and Senegal's Ousmane Sembène. In contrast to Mao and orthodox Leninism, Fanon did not accept the view that the Communist party leads the revolution, but he believed that the revolutionary party grows from the struggle. As a Marxist, Fanon argued that postcolonial African nations end in disaster if they simply replace their white colonial bourgeois leaders with black African bourgeoisie trained by Europeans – oppression remains under capitalistic class structure. "The national bourgeoisie will be greatly helped on its way toward decadence by the Western bourgeoisies, who come to it as tourists avid for the exotic, for big game hunting, and for casinos. The national bourgeoisie organizes centres of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie. Such activity is given the mane of tourism, and for the occasion will be built up as a national industry."

Cheikh Anta Diop is another Pan Africanist "Young Turk" who, like Frantz Fanon, did not embrace the Negritude surrealistic discourse of the liberation of repressed African people. But rather like Frantz Fanon he chose the more pragmatic and scientific reconstruction of the African Personality and the Black African contribution to the history and civilization of Humanity.

Cheikh Anta Diop chose the most difficult route, which was the scientific and mathematical, physical, bio-chemical and forensic approach, to deconstruct all the prejudices and dehumanized image that led to the justification of the suppression and discrimination of Black people of Africa

and people of Black African descent, by the Western European and the Semitic and Indo-European people as a whole.

He was forced to choose the scientific method of approach because former racist European scientist like Levy Bruhl, William Hegel, and others, like present day genetical scientist, James Watson, who declared that Black people were genetically inferior to other humans. Cheikh Anta Diop's insistence on demonstrating the fundamental culture of Ancient Egypt, that influenced greatly the development of Greek culture and civilization, that gave birth to Roman and European civilization, as derived from Black African civilization led to ground-breaking research for Africans and non-Africans alike for the reconstruction of African History. Even though he has scientifically proven beyond doubt, using DNA and carbon dating to support his findings, some scientists who do not want to accept the any good can come out of Africa, not to talk of science and civilization, always try to bring counter pseudo-science proofs to show that Ancient Egyptians where not Black Africans.



Photos 183 (a) & (b): Cheikh Anta Diop: 29 December 1923 at Thieyton - 7 February 1986 at Dakar

That is because it is no more disputable fact that, unlike the lie that is often propagated that the Arabs developed Mathematics, it was actually the Ancient Black Egyptians who developed Algebra and Geometry and Trigonometry, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Medicine, Architecture, and the Fine Arts as depicted in the tombs, Pyramids and ancient Egyptian Museums. He was able to confirm, just like Engelbert Mveng (1970) and Theophile Obenga after him, (1990) that African Civilisation impacted positively and gave rise to Greed Civilisation, and that Greek philosophers, scientists and mathematicians like Thales, Plato Aristotle and the famous Pythagoras, who is falsely attributed a

Geometric theory, were students in Black Egyptian Temple Universities Thebes and others for twelve to twenty-one years.

Diop and Obenga were able to scientifically demonstrate that the art of writing was invented by Black African Proto-Egyptians (Cheikh anta Diop, 1980, Theophile Obenga, 1974, 1976, 1980, 1990) of Meroe and Nubia, (today's Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan), who also invented the Pyramids and still possess more Pyramids today than ancient and modern Egypt. And that it was the Meroetic script that gave birth to the Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphics, the Hieratic script (from which the Arabic script was derived) the Demotic Script (from which Greek alphabets were derived), the Geze-Ethiopian Script (which gave birth to the Hebrew Script). Diop and Obenga were able to prove that all the Pharaohs from the first to Tutankhamen were Negro and Black as depicted by the Great Sphinx which was vandalized and bastardised by the colonising Arabs who, just like the Europeans, did not want to admit a Back Negro Civilisation of Egypt/Kemet.

Even some aberrational scientific suggestions held by some European and Semitic scientists hold that the scientific and technological fits in the building of the Pyramids were carried out by an extra-terrestrial race that preceded the ancient Egyptians, even though these Pyramids were constructed during the various dynastic periods, right from the Proto-Meroetic periods that impacted on Black Ancient Egyptians and their Civilisation 15,000 B.C.

And so this subtle racist refusal of the Black African Identity to Egypt still subsists today, as shown in the hostility of modern Muslim Brothers and other Fundamentalist Muslims of Egypt today, who, in their hyper advocacy for Arabism and Islamism, do not want anything that reminds Egypt of its Blackness and Africanity as they go on vandalizing the Coptic Egyptian Churches, remnants of Black Christianity in Egypt.

This same denial of the people of African origin of any humanity or contributions to the history, culture and civilization of humanity, is still pertinent and very subtle today, when it comes to celebrating the humanism in Black Africans. A good example is the case of many deeply racist incidences that are often interpreted by those racist European and Semitic Arab peoples as mere triviality today in the so-called Globalisation of peoples and cultures.

The case of racism which Prince Baoteng, the AC Milan Player of German and Ghanaian descent, or Mario Baloteli an adopted Italian, (2013) complain about in the twenty-first century is very pertinent. It stems from this inborn and manipulated pseudo-scientific factors of race superiority with which children of European and Semitic origin are injected and inculcated at the very early age with these prejudices that have been transmitted through ages from generation to generation.

This is how, at the age of 23, when Cheikh anta Diop went to study in Paris in 1946, he enrolled in the University of Paris Sorbonne, in the Faculty of Mathematics, and later earned degrees in Philosophy, and Chemistry in 1948 and 1950. So when the Negritudeans and the Negrologues, as Stanislas Adotevi calls them (1972) were busy with lyricism and focused on poetry and literature as the arm for African Personality affirmation; Cheikh Anta Diop focused on the scientific, anthropological, archaeological, philosophical and historical groundings of African people's contribution to humanity's history and civilisation. That is how he succeeded in the sciences and humanities and the arts and cultural studies.

Cheikh anta Diop edited, in 1949 with Madeleine Rousseau, a professor of Art History, a special edition of the Journal MUSÉE VIVANT, published by the Association populaire des amis des Musées – APAM. This special edition was celebrating the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, focusing on issues of culture in contemporary African societies under French imperialism. Diop contributed an article to the journal (Danielle Maurice, 2013) <http://cm.revues.org/127> accessed 14 July 2013. titled: “Quand pourra-t-on parler d’une renaissance africaine?,” “When we will be able to speak of an African Renaissance?” In this article he examined the various fields of artistic creation, with a discussion on African languages which he proposed as pertinent sources and foundations of creating and generating African culture. Diop reiterated that African culture should be rebuilt on the foundations of ancient Egypt, in the same way as European culture was built on the legacies of ancient Greece and Rome.

Cheikh Anta Diop went further to assert in his thesis in 1954 and book “Nations negres et culture,” “Negro Nations and Culture,” and later in 1964 in his article on the “Evolution of the Negro World” published in *Presence Africaine*, Vol. 23, no. 51, where he argued that:

“Ancient Egypt had been populated by Black people. He specified that he used the terms “negro,” “black,” “white” and “race” as “immediate givens” in the Bergsonian sense, and went on to suggest operational definitions of these terms. He said that the Egyptian language and culture had later been spread to West Africa... But it is only the most gratuitous theory that considers the Dinka, the Nuer and the Masai, among others, to be Caucasoids. What if an African ethnologist were to persist in recognizing as white-only the blond, blue-eyed Scandinavians, and systematically refused membership to the remaining Europeans, and Mediterraneans in particular—the French, Italians, Greek, Spanish, and Portuguese? Just as the inhabitants of Scandinavia and the Mediterranean countries must be considered as two extreme poles of the same anthropological reality, so should the Negroes of East and West Africa be considered as

the two extremes in the reality of the Negro world. To say that a Shillouk, a Dinka, or a Nuer is a Caucasoid is for an African as devoid of sense and scientific interest as would be, to a European, an attitude that maintained that a Greek or a Latin were not of the same race."

Cheikh Anta Diop did not stop at anything to make his point about African Civilization, Identity and contributions to world history, civilisation and culture. He pursued his research in all dimensions to show that Ancient Egypt was truly African in origin and in Civilisation.

In 1963, Cheikh Anta Diop, published another ground breaking research work on *The Cultural Unity of Negro Africa*, in *Présence Africaine*, where he upheld the ancient and modern diffusion of African culture throughout the African continent, as fundamentally Matriarchal. This he demonstrated with scientific facts backed up by ritual, symbolism, arts and religion where women were always central and visually present in all spheres of life and decision making. This conceptual and practical framework of Civilisation and social organization and distribution of labour and Human resource-building, he concluded, was diametrically opposed to the Indo-European culture which, through the Judeo-Christian and Arabic-Islamic cultural and religious influence, suppressed women and relegated them to the background. He went on therefore to show that Patriarchy in Africa was new in Africa but nevertheless still cohabited in a complementary manner with Matriarchy till the Arabic-Islamic invasion and colonisation of Africa and European Judeo-Christian colonising mission of Africa when Patriarchy was hyper outstretched to its very domineering constructs as we have today.

During the 1974 Cairo UNESCO symposium on "The peopling of ancient Egypt and the deciphering of the Meroitic script" Cheikh Anta Diop was able to expose the inconsistencies and contradictions in the way African data was handled by most European authors which was considered (Shomarka Keita, 1992) as a hallmark of Diop's contribution to asserting Africa's place in world history and world civilization.

Diop's contributions were affirmed by other scholars (Hiernaux, 1975, Keita, 1990 et al) who also alluded to other data which demonstrated that a lot of data exist which show cultural, material and genetic connections between ancient Egypt and other nearby African populations including the Nubian, Saharan and Sudanic peoples of Africa. They go on to show that these data also included, apart from the linguistic areas, also cultural domains like religion which is very crucial in every civilization and identity process. And when Ancient Egyptian religion is considered, it becomes very evident that there are proofs of more solid connections with the cultures of the Sudan and

northeastern Africa than with Mesopotamia following mainstream research which affirms that:

“It is doubtful whether Osiris can be regarded as equal to Tammuz or Adonis, or whether Hathor is related to the “Great Mother.” There are closer relations with northeast African religions. The numerous animal cults (especially bovine cults and panther gods) and details of ritual dresses (animal tails, masks, grass aprons, etc.) probably are of African origin. The kinship in particular shows some African elements, such as the king as the head ritualist (i.e., medicine man), the limitations and renewal of the reign (jubilees, regicide), and the position of the king’s mother (a matriarchal element). Some of them can be found among the Ethiopians in Napata and Meroe, others among the Pre-nilotic tribes (Shilluk).”

To conclude the celebration and contribution of the colossal contribution of Cheikh Anta Diop to what we can call the Scientific Pan Africanism I would like to invite Kwaku Perso-Lynn (2012) to take the floor here in this brilliant lecture which summarizes all what could be said honourably about Cheikh Anta Diop’s ground breaking Scientific Pan Africanism. He elaborates his celebrations and grievances in this intellectual discourse:

“If one were to read Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan’s class work, “Black Man Of The Nile And His Family,” this erroneous claim would be clarified. To make a long venture short, it was those Afrikaans in Kemet who not only built (construction and engineering), but designed (architecture) and used advanced mathematics (algebra, geometry, calculus, physics) to do so, and used them for tombs, temples and observatories (astronomy). Imhotep, the world’s first multi-genius, was the Afrikan architect who designed the first step pyramid, while he was also practicing medicine, performing surgeries and overseeing a host of other physicians. On the Internet, there was a debut between Martin Bernal, author of “Black Athena,” which alleges that Greek civilization was influenced by an Afrikan civilization from the Nile Valley, and Mary Lefkowitz, author of “Not Out Of Africa” and editor of Black Athena Revisited, whose thesis is that Afrikan civilization had absolutely nothing to do with Greek civilization. Thinking and hearing complaints about these concerns, it seems we (Afrikan people) are allowing Europeans (white folks) to argue our own history and culture, and we are not joining in the debate as if we are afraid or uninformed. On the other hand, it is understood that Europeans are given the financial resources to produce and broadcast their opinions on our history. Clearly a distinct disadvantage. The reason these discussions and programs are so pervasive, most Western scholars and educational institutions teach and promote the idea that civilization began in Greece. Part of this belief is due to lack of knowledge. Part is due to a position that Western civilization

must be held up as the supreme human endeavor that ever existed, at all cost. And part is simply due to the philosophy and mental illness of white supremacy that will give global Afrikans credit for absolutely nothing. Many of the commentaries, editorials, documentaries, reports, and so forth, argue that many so-called Afrocentric scholars promote their ideas through shabby scholarship and inconclusive evidence. Fine. I won't debate that. I agree. There are some "off the top of the head" so-called academic soothsayers out there who are giving serious global Afrikan scholarship a bad name. I condemn them also; probably one of the only points I agree with the anxious Western scholars. But that just represents a surface pot-shot discussion. What the Western scholars, many of them, particularly the white supremacist-types, seem to neglect are those serious global Afrikan, and European scholars who have done very substantial and credible work to advance the view of civilization beginning in Afrika, particularly the Nile Valley, and there was a clear Afrikan presence and influence on Greek civilization. First, let's defuse one of the oldest myths in European history, at least among the student population. The foundation of European civilization was not found in Greece, but on an island south of Greece called Crete. It's culture was known as the Minoan civilization, named after King Minos, who was said to have paved the way for a sound and stable culture, which had a strong influence in the development of Greek civilization. Doubt and suspicion has always been raised about classical (ancient) writers who even hinted at his possibility, such as: Homer, Herodotus, Hesiod, Ovid, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, and several others. It was not until the revolutionary excavations of the German, Henrich Schliemann, in 1871, did the scholastic world begin to consider that there was any hard evidence to support the new Afrikan contact and/or influence in the early European world. But as expected, the denials continued. Another gentleman, Sir Arthur Evans, in 1894, embellished this work through his excavations in Crete, demonstrating that there were Afrikan contacts and influence in Minoan civilization which had a direct influence on Greek civilization. We do not have all the time we would like to discuss all of the arguments related to this discussion, but let me at least mention some areas that need to be explored, if one is serious. It is essential to look at the writings of William Leo Hansberry, known as the "father of Afrikan studies," and his "Africa and Africans As Seen By Classical Writers." His work clarifies the role classical writers play in this whole discussion, as well as presents their evidence and sources: something some writers in this area are unwilling to do. He was a very meticulous scholar who worked out of Howard University. It is also mandatory to look at the works of Cheikh Anta Diop, "African Origin Of Civilization" and his "Civilization Or Barbarism." Dr. Diop is considered the most authoritative Afrikan scholar in the world in the area of Nile Valley civilizations and its influences, particularly on Greek civilization. Or maybe it is because his research is so exact and conclusive that white supremacist scholars are relentless in attempting to discredit him and his work. A task unfulfilled. Drs. Hansberry, Diop, and several others, are not

romanticists or feel-good scholars, but serious scientists who take their work in the most serious manner. They knew full well that the correcting of world history, particularly from the Afrikan perspective, would be under intense scrutiny. Now we already know that the white supremacist Western scholars are going to object and oppose any evidence that shows an Afrikan influence on Greek civilization, or any other part of Europe. Their basic premise is to give Afrikan people credit for nothing. We understand this as they shoot off their pop guns, and we answer with nuclear canons. Before concluding, let me mention a few more items for those Western scholars who are in constant denial. When they look at the first human beings in Europe, they must investigate the Grimaldes, a people that were never taught about in school; those small prehistoric Afrikans who were the first inhabitants of Europe. Their remains have been found all over the planet. They were the world's first Homo Sapiens Sapiens' inhabitants. Also, they must look up the history of the Moors, those Muslim Afrikans who conquered much of Europe, around 700AD, for almost 800 years, and brought civilization, science, art, universities, libraries, paved and lighted streets, chess, the windmill, and a host of other objects that elevated Europe out of the dark ages. Just for added interest, they must also investigate Septimus Severus, the Afrikan who was one of the greatest rulers of the Roman Empire, as well as Isis, the Afrikan deity, antecedent to Mary of Jesus, who was worshipped so strongly that the city of Paris, France was named after her."

One can scientifically conclude that what Aimé Césaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor achieved through Negritude for Pan Africanism; Cheikh Anta Diop and Frantz Fanon did through the Applied Sciences and Applied Psychology and Psychoanalysis.

These were the two complementary faces of the Black African-American Harlem Renaissance, and the wheel of change that was launched by Barrister Sylvester Williams in 1900 for the launching of Pan Africanism and the Renaissance of African Scientific and Dialectic Material Culture for the Liberation and Celebration of All African People in the Diaspora and the African Continent.

In conclusion to this chapter mention must be made here that the windfalls of this intellectual and scientific Pan Africanism had a great impact in French West Africa.



Photos 183 (c) & (d) Modibo Keita 4 June 1915 – 16 May 1977: Houphouët Boigny 18 October 1905 – 7 December 1993),

Actually the formation of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain – RDA, in Bamako was through this intellectually-driven formula to liberate Africa through the contributions of Pan Africanism. This was the conference which brought together for the first time in French West Africa, young Pan-Africanists of the French colonies of Africa.

The Manchester Pan African Congress of 1945, just after the Second World War, sent reverberating notes of warning to the colonial enterprise in Africa and alerting the African intelligentsia and the elites in the Diaspora and Africa. The French Speaking African intellectuals and leaders then thought it timely to set up a strategic base in Africa for negotiating for independence. It would seem France which came out defeated and battered by the German occupation and domination, if not for the Allied Forces of Great Britain and the USA that came to its rescue, was determined to build back its tattered economy using Africa in the new slave-driven capitalist project. That is how it infiltrated the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain – RDA to adopt a milder tone to accommodate France's Colonial Exploitative Mission in Africa.

The RDA featured new fire-brand names in French West African Pan Africanism like Modibo Keita, Houphouët Boigny, Ahmed Sékou Touré , Ruben Um Nyobe. The RDA at the beginning was founded on a radical note, with a flare of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Russian Revolution. With the influence of France's colonial policy, and its corruption tactics, the RDA had to modify its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist approach for a more reformed Socialism coming from the impact of the Negritudean Philosophers proposing a non-violent approach to African liberation policy and activity. This Fabians' kind of approach to violent armed revolution of the Marxist-Communist-

Socialism type was rejected by some of the radical proponents of African Self-Determination and Liberation. The contribution of Toure Maclin Kegni (2007 – 2011) brings out much clearly these manoeuvres by France in the RDA project that became a still born Revolution as he declares:

“The African Democratic Rally, known as Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), was the first French-speaking Pan-African organization. Created in 1946 at Bamako, Sudan (now Mali), it emerged when African nationalist and anti-colonialist movements were growing rapidly at the end of World War II. In 1945 the French Fourth Republic granted its African colonies the right to send representatives to the French National Assembly in Paris. As these representatives campaigned to abolish forced labor and colonial rule, they decided to join forces to create a bloc of assembly votes and thus gain greater influence in political debates. They also sought to create a Pan-African movement across the borders of the various French African colonies. The representatives held a conference in Bamako on October 18-21, 1946, under the leadership of Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the representative of the Ivory Coast at the French National Assembly and founder of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI). They called their organization the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA). The RDA objectives included uniting Africans across the continent without consideration of their political inclination, social status, religion, or ethnicity. The RDA also pledged to fight colonial domination and assimilation. The organization sought to promote the African culture and civilization as an “African organization adapted for African conditions, led by Africans to serve Africa.” ...”

This is how the RDA came to give birth to a more radical wing, Union des Populations du Cameroun – UPC, of Cameroon, which began to experiment and apply the Marxist violent armed revolution and class struggle tactics in Cameroon from 1948 till independence and after when its radical leaders backed Um Nyobe undertook the organisation of mass rallies against French domination and economic exploitation of Cameroon, thus demanding for “Immediate Independence” of the United Nations Trust territory. The argument was that the French-speaking Cameroon U.N. Trust Territory could not become an extension of France from the Brazzaville Conference of 1945 which constituted Charles De Gaulle’s post-war government in exile in Africa.

The first objective of the UPC leaders wanted the French colonists and settlers out of the rich fertile Cameroon where they practised plantation agriculture in banana, rubber, cocoa and oil palms cultivation as well as the exploitation of hard wood timber and deforestation of the rich biodiversity Equatorial and Tropical forests started by the Germans who were the first colonisers of Cameroon.

The second objective was to negotiate for unification with the U.N Trust Territory of Southern and Northern Cameroon under British Administration. This was intended to rebuild the segmented German Cameroon which became a spoil of war divided between France and Great Britain as decided in the Allies' Conference of Versailles of 1919, which saw the foundation of the League of Nations after the First World War.

The UPC used the grassroots radical sensitisation of workers under the colonial service, plantation workers and peasant farmers throughout the Trust Territory similar to the Mau Mau in Kenya. It was actually an economic warfare because it sensitised the civil servants, plantation workers and subsistent farmers using the Marxist rhetoric on native land as the fundamental capital that was confiscated and exploited by the French colonists and settlers who transferred the surplus wealth to France the Metropolis. They also made the natives to understand that the use of the fertile land of Cameroon just for plantation agriculture for export crops only was impoverishing the country by not providing schemes for its food sufficiency, since the fertile lands were then confiscated for white French settlers plantations.

This grassroots sensitisation tactics irritated the French who placed a ban on the UPC in 1955 which then went underground and also took refuge in the UN British Trust Territory of Southern Cameroons. The UPC then designed and undertook a radical guerrilla warfare which came to be popularly known as the "Marquisard Guerrilla War" in the French-Speaking part of Cameroon. The main centres of this guerrilla war was in the Bassa and Bamileke lands with antennae into the Beti land and the parts of Southern Cameroon bordering on the frontier of the French UN Trust Territory of Cameroon.

The French army went out for a reinforced all-man hunt in the forest nooks and crannies of the rugged landscape of Cameroon mountain slopes and highlands. That is how members of the Radical UPC nationalism group of the RDA were tracked down and butchered mercilessly by the French. Um Nyobe was killed by the French militia in 1958 near Bum-Yebel in his home country of Bassa land. Osende Afana, who was backed by the Chinese whose base was in the Congo, was finally hunted down and arrested by the French mercenary killers and decapitated in his home country of Beti land in Dja-et-Lobo forest.

Le jour où Lamberton et Um Nyobe se sont rencontrés: Regardez la photo ci-dessous. Elle figure une des pages les plus tristes de l'Histoire du Cameroun. On y voit, pour la première fois, au premier plan, en culotte, en ZOPAC dans la Sanaga maritime, le 13 Septembre 1958, le tristement célèbre Colonel

Lamberton, celui de la formule connue de “Le Cameroun va vers l’indépendance avec un caillou dans la chaussure, les Bamiléké...”



Photos 183 (e) & (ff): The Corps Of Um Nyobe Assassinated By The French Mercenary Army at Bum-Yebel; Castor Osendé Afana 1930, Saa - March 15, 1966, was a Marxist economist and militant nationalist who died in 1966 while fighting as a guerrilla against the government of Cameroon.

A ses pieds gît le corps de Ruben UM NYOBE, symbole et héros de la lutte nationaliste, abattu sans sommation et dans le dos ce jour là dans la forêt de Boumyebel. Lamberton finira sa carrière militaire avec le grade de Général de Division, une manière de la France de le “ récompenser “. Um Nyobe quant à lui recevra pour sépulcre un bloc de béton dans lequel son corps sera coulé dans une tombe, au cimetière protestant d’Eseka. Presque oublié par le peuple, il est ignoré, comme ses compagnons, par le régime installé à la tête du pays depuis 1960, sans rue, sans place, dédiées à sa mémoire....

Cette photo m’a été communiquée il ya quelques années par un Officier Général de l’armée camerounaise de mes connaissances. J’ai attendu ce jour pour la partager avec le public. Et pourquoi ce jour? REMEMBER “13 SEPTEMBRE, JOURNEE DES HEROS NATIONAUX ET DES MARTYRS”– Le jour où Lamberton et Um Nyobe se sont rencontrés Soueces: Célestin Bedzigui, Comité du “13 Septembre” Senior Fellow, Free Kameroun Foundation New York, Septembre 2012, Posted on September 14, 2012.



Photos 183 (g) & (h): Marcel Eyidi-Bebey Imprisoned In Amadou Abidjo's Concentration Camps of High Security Prisons and Died Mysteriously (Torture and Starvation Not Excluded); Abel Kingue Abel Kingué: 1924–16 April 1964, Abel Kegue (his birth name)



Photos 183 (i) & (j): France's Military Mercenaries' Atrocities in Cameroon: The Remains of Um Nyobe – See How The French Military Gloat Over The "Bush". Source: Belgium | Galaxy News; galaxynews.gr 300 × 300 Search by image

Abel Kingue, the Bamileke from Bamenjou fought with Ernest Ouandie and met his death in exile in Algeria in 1964 in a mysterious manner just like Dr. Felix Moumie who was poisoned by a French secret agent in Geneva. Dr. Eyidi Bebey died mysteriously in the concentration camp prisons.



Photos 183 (k) & (l): France Atrocities In Bamileke Land, Cameroon. Beheaded UPC (Marquisards) Liberation Fighters in Bamilike land 1960. Source: Entraînement des élèves officiers de l'École militaire interarmes du Cameroun, dans la zone de Koutaba en 1960, sous la supervision d'instructeurs français. (Archives nationales de Yaoundé)



Photos 183 (m) & (n): Kamerun - Une guerre cachée aux origines de la Françafrique (1948-1971): Revue de presse' www.kamerun-lesite.com463 × 430Search by image des indépendances pèse toujours.

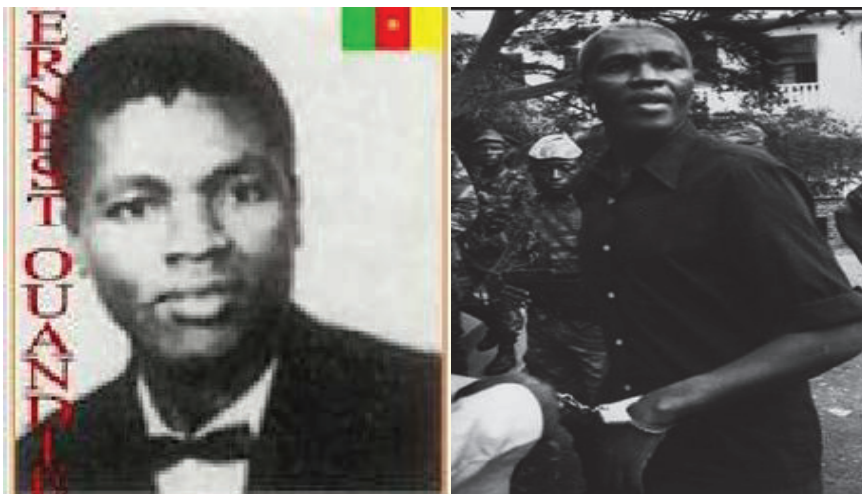
La « guerre révolutionnaire » française en pays Bamiléké@ LNr
www.lanuitrwandaise.org397 × 222

CAMEROUN, SÉNAT: DÉCLARATION DE LAAKAM SUR
 L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA SITUATION POLITIQUE DU CAMEROUN

Ernest Ouandie became the last bastion of nationalist resistance which held on the guerrilla war till 1971 when he, and supporters like Archbishop Ndongmo, were arrested, judged by the military tribunal for high treason and sentenced to death. Ernest Ouandie was subjected to the firing squad while Archbishop Albert Ndongmo, through the intervention of Cardinal Leger of Montreal, Canada, was given the Presidential pardon and exiled to Canada till his death in 1992.



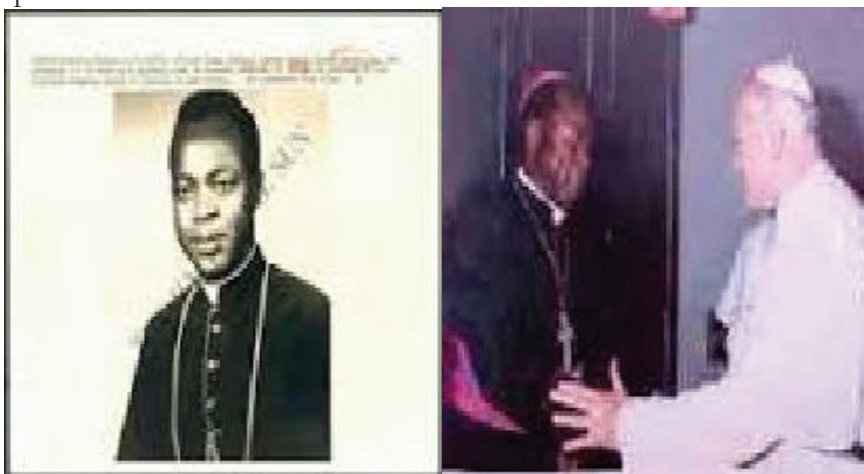
Photos 183 (o) & (p): Self Determination Demonstrations Against the French Colonial government In Douala Cameroon.



Photos 183 (o) & (p): Ernest Ouandié 1924 – 15 January 1971
La « guerre révolutionnaire » française en pays Bamiléké @ LNr
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La « guerre révolutionnaire » française en pays Bamiléké

Celestin Bedzigui (2012) in summarising the atrocities Cameroonians have gone through in the hands of German and French colonisations, consecrates an entire chapter on the nationalist heroes of Cameroon who stood up to uphold the rights of Cameroonians and their Pan African spirit for their self-determination and fight for their freedom which was not easy due to the colonial brainwashing that have taken Cameroonians “Prisoners of their Independence.”



Photos 183 (s) & (t): Bishop Albert Ndongmo: 26 Sep 1926 - 29 May 1992



Photos 183 (q) & (r): Africa The Land Of Free Experiments On Violence And Brutality And Human Rights Abuses Without End. WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RIGHT?

He furnishes my readers with the following facts, stressing on the need to ritualise and celebrate the collective historical memory of Nationalist Heroes and Martyrs, whose primary objective is:

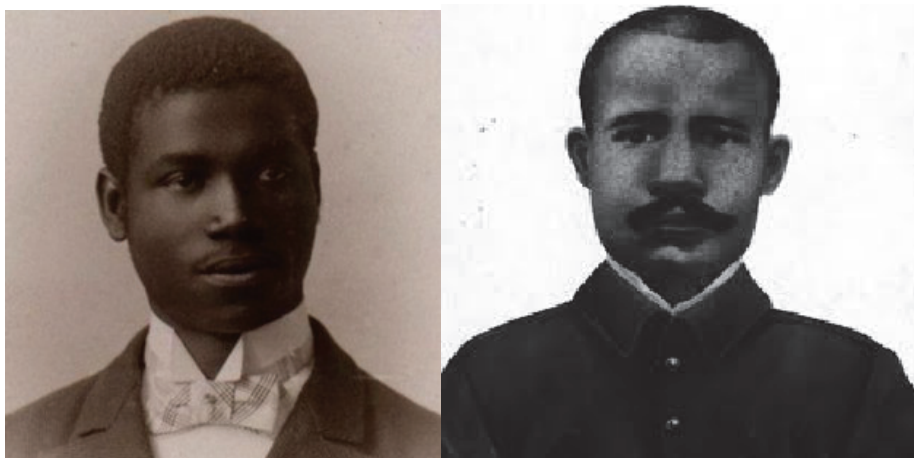
“Pour éveiller à la conscience patriotique et convoquer au devoir de mémoire le peuple camerounais. Car ce ne sera qu’en reprenant le flambeau de nos martyrs que nous défierons et romprons avec l’esprit répressif de la gouvernance publique héritée de la colonisation pour fonder les bases autant éthiques et morales que politiques et économiques dont notre pays a tant besoin, pour trouver le chemin et de la réconciliation avec lui-même, et de sa prospérité. Le peuple camerounais semblait accepter, dans une attitude proche d’un viol avec consentement, que soit mutilée son histoire et effacée la mémoire de ses héros et martyrs morts pour notre liberté, par ceux la même qui y étaient opposés, mais entre les mains desquelles, par une imposture historique, un pseudo “indépendance” sera remise le 1er janvier 1960 ? Ceux là pourtant, non seulement ont continué l’extermination des Nationalistes, avec Moumie empoisonné en 1962 à Genève, Ossende Afana mitraillé avant d’être décapité en 1969 à Moloundou, Ernest Ouandie exécuté sur la place publique en 1971 à Bafoussam, mais aussi perpétuent l’oppression des Camerounais telle que vécue aujourd’hui, par les brutalités des hommes en tenues, les entraves administratives et dictats des sous-préfets, les règlements de compte judiciaires, pour leur empêcher l’exercice de leurs droits politiques et humains. En Septembre 2011, pour pallier cette grave anomalie, avec un groupe de Patriotes, nous avons pris l’initiative citoyenne de consacrer la journée du “13 Septembre, Journée des Héros Nationaux et des Martyrs” du Cameroun. A cette occasion, une Proclamation Solennelle inspirée par les recommandations des uns et des autres a été rendue publique et un “Comité du 13 Septembre” dont le Secrétaire Permanent est le Pr Franklin Nyamsi, Agrégé de Philosophie, a été mis en place. Cette date qui correspond à la date anniversaire de l’assassinat de Ruben Um Nyobe veut rappeler au souvenir de tous les Camerounais que des compatriotes qui s’opposaient à l’asservissement de nos populations depuis la colonisation allemande et française jusqu’au présent régime, ont sacrifié leur vie, alors qu’ils étaient jeunes ou pour certains, dans la force de l’âge. Il était en effet inconséquent de continuer d’attendre de ceux là qui, installés dans la logique d’une continuité colonialiste- néocolonialiste qui prive le peuple camerounais de ses droits humains, civiques, politiques, et économiques de base, qu’ils prennent l’initiative de célébrer la mémoire de ceux qu’ils ont massacrés, torturés, présentés comme des criminels alors que leur seul crime était d’avoir rêvé d’un Cameroun profitant aux Camerounais. La proclamation du “13 Septembre, Journée des Héros Nationaux et des Martyrs” et sa célébration sont donc un acte d’émancipation patriotique. Elles signent une volonté d’appropriation de notre Histoire et sont autant de pierres à l’édification du “Panthéon Mémoirel” que nous rêvons de voir un jour être érigé en temple dédié à la mémoire de ceux là qui, par leur combat et le

sacrifice de leur vie, ont fondé la Nation Camerounaise. Bâtir ce "Panthéon Mémoriel" est une œuvre ardue, tant sont profonds les effets du lavage de cerveau dont les Camerounais ont été victimes depuis des décennies.

"To awaken the patriotic conscience and evoke the duty of maintaining the memory of Cameroonian people. For, according to him, it is only in taking the relay torch of our martyrs that we would take up the challenge and break the repressive spirit of public governance inherited from colonisation to redefine the ethical and moral bases as well as the economic and political foundation that our country badly needs, in order to find the way to reconciliation with itself its posterity. Can the Cameroonian people as it would seem, in this attitude which is more like voluntarily consenting rape, accept that its history should be mutilated and the memory of its heroes and martyrs who died for the attainment of our liberty be effaced, by the very people who were opposed to them, but in whose hands, by an historic impostor, a pseudo "independence" was attained on 1st January 1960? These very people however, have not only continued the perpetuation of the extermination of Nationalists like Moumie who was poisoned in 1962 in Geneva, Osende Afana shot before being decapitated in 1969 at Mouloundou, Ernest Ouandie executed in the public square in 1971 at Bafoussam, but have also continued with all impunity the oppression of Cameroonians till this day, by the brutality of people in uniform, the administrative aberrations and dictatorships of the Divisional Officers (the Sous-Prefets), the arbitrary judicial persecutions, in order to stop people from exercising their political and human rights. In September 2011, in order to stop this anomaly, we took the initiative with a group of Patriots to make the day of 13th September, the Day of the National Heroes and Martyrs of Cameroon. During this occasion, a Solemn Proclamation inspired by the recommendations of one another was made public and a "Committee of 13th September," whose Permanent Secretary is Professor Franklin Nyamsi, the Agrégé in Philosophy, put in place. This date which corresponds with the date of the anniversary of the assassination of Ruben Um Nyobe want to bring to the souvenir of all Cameroonians that the compatriots who were opposed to the servitude of our populations since the time of the German and French colonisation to this present regime, had sacrificed their lives, when they were still young and for others during the zenith of their prime. It was in effect inconsequent to continue to wait for those who, installed in the logic of the colonialist-neo-colonialist continuity which deprives the Cameroonians of their human, civic, political and their basic economic rights, so that they should take the initiative to celebrate the memory of those who were massacred, tortured and presented as criminals when instead their only crime was that they had dreamt of a Cameroon that would be profitable to Cameroonians. The proclamation of 13th September, Day of the Heroes and Martyrs of Cameroon" and its celebration are therefore an act of patriotic emancipation. These celebrations therefore are proof of a common will to appropriate our history and constitute the prayerful building-blocks of our "Memorial Pantheon" which dream to see one day erected into a Temple dedicated

to the memory of those who, through their combative spirit and the sacrificing of their lives contributed to the founding of the Cameroonian Nation. The building this "Memorial Pantheon," is an arduous task, because such is the depth of the effects of brainwashing that has rendered Cameroonians victims of their "colonisation" for many decades of colonialism."

Bidzigui goes on to recount the revolutionary wars that went on to mark this Pan African Spirit of thirst and strife for freedom even at the cost of the lives of these great Heroes and Martyrs of Cameroon and Africa at a time when the European powers connived to colonise Africa and continue their indentured Slave Trade, where not only the physical resources of the Africans were exploited cheaply as in the case of the Ghost of King Leopold and his European colonial indentured-slavery supporters; but also the exploitation of the rich natural resources and mineral as well as the rich timber resources of Africa.



Photos 183 (u) & (v): King Rudolph DOUALA MANGA BELL 14 August, 1873 - 08 Août 1914; Martin Paul SAMBA 1875 - 8 Août 1914

He therefore celebrates the early Nationalist Heroes and Martyrs of African Liberation and Pan Africanism who refused to submit to this colonial brainwashing despite the bloody military repression that went with it:

"Le lavage de cerveau des Camerounais s'est opéré par la combinaison d'une répression politique et militaire sanglante et d'une guerre psychologique féroce dont les méthodes ont été théorisées par le Colonel Lacheroy dans la doctrine de la Guerre Révolutionnaire – en fait la guerre contre-insurrectionnelle- élaborée après la défaite militaire de la France en Indochine. Ses champs d'expérimentation ont par la suite été l'Algérie, où la France coloniale a été à nouveau défaite, et... le Cameroun, où par contre, elle a remporté une victoire militaro-politique qui lui a permis d'installer au

pouvoir le régime néocolonial en place depuis “ l’indépendance”. C’est ainsi qu’en plus de leur extermination physique systématique, la propagande coloniale a accolé aux combattants nationalistes le label infamant de “ terroristes et maquisards” compris comme “criminels”, une perception ancrée dans l’esprit du petit peuple depuis lors. C’est cette distorsion cognitive qui servira à justifier les atrocités commises par les méthodes de la terreur dite contre-insurrectionnelle, traumatisant et prostrant de larges fractions du peuple camerounais réfugié depuis lors dans une passivité surprenante, en comparaison aux sursauts des peuples d’autres pays d’Afrique qu’on a vu se lever massivement et se débarrasser de leurs dictateurs. Quiconque se donne la peine de visiter mentalement les catacombes du martyrologue camerounais découvrira un grand nombre de tombes abandonnées, oubliées, alors même qu’elles attestent de ce que peu de peuples au monde ont payé un prix aussi élevé en vies pour leur liberté et une réelle indépendance de leur pays.

“The brainwashing process of Cameroonians took the form of combining political repression with bloody military and ferocious psychological warfare whose methods were theorised by Colonel Lacheroy in the doctrine of the Revolutionary War – which in fact was a counter-insurrectionary repressive war – elaborated after the military defeat of France in Indo-China. His field of experimentation in sequence was actually in Algeria, where colonial France experienced another defeat, and in... Cameeroon, where on the contrary, he succeeded in the militaro-political victory which then permitted it to install the neo-colonial regime which has been n place since the so-cvalled “Independence.” That is the reason that besides their systematic physical extermination through brutal force, the colonial propaganda went on to propagate a smear label on the Nationalist Cambative Heroes by infamously callingthem “Terrorists and Maquisards” as well as “criminals,” a perception that has stuck like a virus in the minds of the little humiliated prople since then. It is this cognitive distortion which will serve to justify atrocities committed using methods of terror termed counter-insurrectionary, which have traumatised and prostrated large fractions of the Cameroonian populations who have since taken refuge in a very surprising passivity, in comparison to the uprising of peoples in other countries of Africa where one has witnessed people rising massively to overthrow and divest themselves of their dictators. Whosoever takes the pains to mentally visit the Catacombes of the Cameroonian Martyrogie would discover a great number of abandoned and forgotten tombs even though they rightly attest that few people in the world have paid such a very high prize for their liberty and the independence of their country.”

Bidzigui is confirming in another psychoanalytic appreciation the same problem I have raised at the beginning of this book regarding what psychological damage and physical trauma can do to people. As a good psycho-analyst, he comes to the same conclusion that Africans behaviour

today with this lethargy despite the Catacombes of Horror of Human Atrocities and their Martyriologie, because of the inestimable brutality they have suffered through systematic Semitic Jewish and Arab Slave-Raiding and Trading in the Mediterranean World; then the Trans-Atlantic Slave-Trading; and finally the Indentured-Slavery, Brutal Abuses of Human Rights and Exploitation of Africans through Colonisation which have reduced them and their descendants today to quasi schizophrenic personalities.

These systematic oppression, brutality and martyrdom have made Africans to develop the Pavlov syndrome which explains this lethargy when faced with these Human rights Abuses that have continued right into the life of the Neo-Colonial State which have rendered Africans Prisoners of their Freedoms.

This is exactly what Harri Englund is describing when he talks about the various Human Rights Abuses the African Poor is reduced to which he describes as “Prisoners of Freedom” (2006) because of the lip-service regimes pay to the word FREEDOM or DEMOCRACY, while actually doing the opposite, while instead gagging and frustrating all attempts to Freedom made by the common people who try to resist this confiscation of their Freedom. Citizens are thereby reduced to this systematic Pavlov syndrome because of the Omnipotent State Control of regimes in power; as he goes on to explain:

“Politicians’ fervor either to denounce or to claim freedom can have surprisingly similar consequences for public debate. In the People’s Republic of China, denunciation has led to attempts to eliminate the concept itself. In 2005, the regime it impossible for its citizens to use the words “freedom,” “democracy, or “human rights” in weblogs or diaries posted on the Internet. A new software package, developed by an enterprise in which Microsoft was reported to hold a 50 percent stake, produced automatic denials of these contentious concepts. Regimes sometimes choose to exercise control over hearts and minds through earnest approval rather than oppressive denial. Political leaders in the United States have always professed passion for freedom, but few have embraced the concept more fully than George Bush. Because of the regimes claim on the word “freedom,” it has been eliminated to an extent from the vocabulary of the administration’s critics. In 2005, while the Chinese government was enlisting its corporate partner to police the Internet, President Bush opened one of his weekly radio addresses to the nation with these words: “Good morning. Today I can report to you that we are making good progress in advancing the cause of freedom, defeating the forces of terror, and transforming our military so we can meet the emerging threats of the twenty-first century. As I speak, Laura is in the Middle East to help advance the freedom agenda; and her message is a powerful one – that by working together for liberty, we will create a future of peace and opportunity for women and men worldwide. Here was another kind of political response to the idea of freedom, one that claimed not

only to spread the “freedom agenda” worldwide but also OWNED it Dissent was hardly more welcome than in the Chinese case. By defining what freedom was, the US regime could suggest that dissent served the “forces of terror,” also known as the enemy. Moreover, by tying its idea of freedom to the notion of “emerging threats,” the regime could also showcase its military as the backbone of freedom.”



KUM MBATPE
1824 - 1916



ADOLF NGOSSO DIN
1882 - 1914

Photos 1383 (w)i & (w)ii: Kum Mbatpe 1824 – 1916; Adolf Ngosso Din 1882 – 1914 Valiant Nationalists, Heroes and Martyrs of Cameroon

This explains how by making this declaration for celebrating the National Heroes and Martyrs of Cameroon and Africa, Bidzigui is actually making a new breakthrough in the awakening consciences and minds of Cameroonians as a social responsibility the present generation owes to the future progeny and leaders of Africa. The future generation will hold the present generation of African intellectuals and leaders if they fail in their duty to write this history of Pan Africanism and its Philosophy of Humanism, to vindicate the memory of its brave Nationalist Nation-builders and Martyrs who sacrificed their youths and lives for African Liberation. That is the reason Bidzigui, and the author warn against all forms of hate or vindictive reprisals; but to bear with tolerance and forgiveness those Semitic Jews and Arabs and European perpetrators of these human brutality, human rights abuses and injustice in colonial and neo-colonial Africa.

Thus Bidzigui recommends every African intellectual to contribute in his own little manner, to document on the various Heroes and Nationalists as well as Martyrs who have contributed to the liberation of Africa. He insists that this history of the forgotten Catacombs and the Martyrology of Africa should be

reconstructed, reinstated and taught in all African schools from the Nursery to the Universities.



DIKA MPONDO AKWA
1836 - 1916



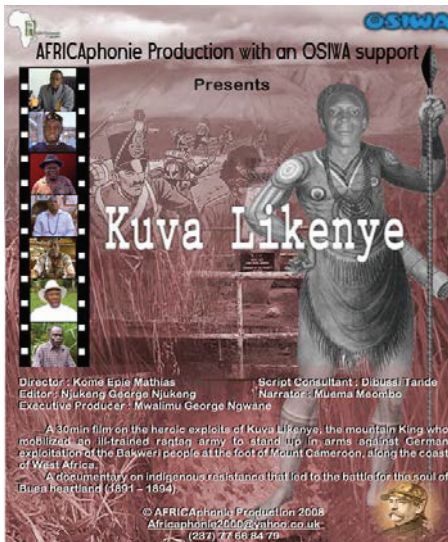
JACOB MODI DIN
1860 - 1971

Photos 183 (x)i & (x)ii: Dika Mpondo Akwa 1836 – 1916; Jacob Modi Din 1860 – 1971 Nationalists, Heroes and Martyrs of Cameroon.

He furnishes my readers with a list of the brave Nationalist Heroes of Cameroon, regarded as the real Africa In Miniature, not only in its lush variety and concentration of the biodiversity of nature, of its gallant peoples, but also in the huge and rich Martryrologie of her dauntless citizens who sacrificed their lives for the Liberation of Africa without reserve. Bidzigui gees on to narrate:

“Here are a few examples taken from the Solemn declaration of “13th September, on the Day of National Heroes and Martyrs,” and which ought to be vulgarised and shall one day, be taught in all schools of Cameroon (and Africa) namely:

The Bakweri Chief KUYA LEKENYA, after having been defeated by the Germans in 1891 during the battle of NAMONGUE (Buea) during which the Commander Karl Freiber Graveneuth was killed, and he later died in 1894 at the village of Wonya Mokumba;



Photos 183 (y)i & (y)ii:Trailer - Kuva Likenye and the Bakweri Armed Resistance to German Colonization – 1891 -1894 - YouTube www.youtube.com/480x360

ONGBA BISSOGO, *Chief of the Mvog Otton people, who was beheaded by the Germans in Yaounde in 1895 at the place called Etoa Meki;*

THE LAMIDO (SULTAN – KING) of AGORMA, the DJAOURO (District Head) of Bamé, the DJAOURO (District Head) of Oubao, the YÉRIMA (Chieftain) of Lagdo, the LAMIDO (SULTAN – KING) of Béngui, the ARDO (Chief), the ARDO (Chief) of Dégui, all hanged on 30th July 1907Germans in Garoua;

CROWN PRINCE KINI (Bobeh Anyajua) of Laikom and PRINCE LO'O of Laikom, hanged by the Germans in March 1912, in Mamfe (provided by the author);

King Rudolph DOUALA MANGA BELL, hanged on 8th July 1914 by the Germans along with his Secretary NGOSSO DIN;

Martin Paul SAMBA, executed on 8th August 1914 by the firing squad in the public square in Ebolowa by the Germans;

The Chief of Batanga MADOLA, hanged in Kribi on 8th August 1914 by the Germans;

Chefs Madola Henri de Kribi; Kum Mbapè de Bonaberi; Tetang de Bagam; Njala de Mnyuka; Kofo de Mbanga; Timothy Dika Mpondo; Edande Mbita; Ludwig Mpondo Mwa Dika; Maître Tilg, avocat allemand; Alfred Tokoto Essomè; Ekandè Epanya; Missipo Mouloby; Kwèlè Ndoumbè; Aberhard Lobè; Manga Priso; Jakop Modi Din; Johannes Eknè; Petro Essoka Diso; Richard Din Manga; Ndoumbe Koum Bell; Kolombo Enam'a Njèmbèlè; Ewèlè Doumbè; Masso Eyangò; Hugo Etoa; Ndanè (messenger de Duala Manga pour Foumban); Taffi (Messenger de Duala Manga Bell pour Bagam); les Lamido de Kalfu et Mindif; des dignitaires de la cour royale de Maroua. These also paid with their lives the prize of Liberty;

KARNOU, who led the revolt during the Kongo-Wara war against the French in 1928 to 1932 resistance in the Meiganga region, in Garoua-Boulai;

Ruben UM NYOBE, Dr. Felix MOUMIÉ, Dr. Castor OSENDE AFANA, Ernest OUANDIE, assassinated UPC leaders;

AUGUSTIN NGOM JUA, former Prime Minister of Southern Cameroons, who died mysteriously in 1977 (suspected to have been assassinated through poisoning by the agent of the Head of State);



Photos 183 (zi & (z)ii: Augustine Ngom Jua - 24 novembre 1924 - 30 décembre 1977

Chief MBILONGO of Nomo of Nlongbon by Monatele, deported to Mantum for having refused to stuff ballot boxes in 1962 elections. During the time of his arrest, he demanded the Assistant Divisional Officer Bengono to tell Abidjo that he will come back to die in his village, but that he, Abidjo, will never be opportune to die in Cameroon. He was finally released and came back to his village where he died in 1972 and ...as history would testify, Abidjo died in exile;

Albert WOMAH MUKONG, “Prisoner without a Crime” who was imprisoned in the Abidjo concentration camps for 22 years and the intrepid activist of Human Rights, who died in Bamenda 13th August 2004;

Jacques ATIWA, Nationalist assassinated on 27th February, 2008 in Douala, by the soldiers of the Renouveau Regime.

Célestin Bidzigui goes further to remind readers not to lose sight of the hundreds of Mvog Ottou of Omgba Bissogo of Mvog Betsi – Yaoundé citizens massacred by the Germans in 1985; nor to forget the 300.000 UPC massacred victims between 1955 and 1965 in the Wouri, in Sanaga Maritime, and the Bamileke who were massacred in their thousands; nor should one forget the massive deportations of the Eton and the Mvele in 1962 who were

accused of being “Democrats” and then sent into the concentration camps of Mantum and Yoko where a good number met with their untimely deaths; nor can one forget of the recent citizens assassinated in the 1990s during their fight for the installation of multipartyism and democracy in Cameroon; nor will the 139 dead be forgotten who paid with their lives the resistance and uprisings of February-March 2008, against the modification of the Constitution.

He therefore concludes that all this blood which was shed for the liberation of Africa traces a line which defines the true struggle in the Cameroonian Political History and landscape, which throughout its history have substantially swung and evolved between two opposing axis which, in spite of the hundreds of political parties registered, constitute the farce and the ridiculous political democracy that Cameroonians are living today.

This opposing political axis, he claims, were constructed right from the colonial mission policy which according to Jules Ferry decided that the colony must by all means be constructed and administered in such a manner that it will perpetually serve at all times the vested and corporate interest of the Metropolis, France.

This therefore meant that any attempt to dismantle the colonial project was tantamount to what Harri Englund (2006) describes as the attitude of colonialists and neo-colonialists who brand any opposition and world view to their individual and ego-centric view of what they call FREEDOM as dissidence, where those in quest for this real participatory Democracy and Freedom are labelled “Terrorists” or what he calls “the forces of terror,” who must absolutely be eliminated by all means possible, even with the use of ruthless military force.

The fate of Cameroon was not very different from the various repressive atrocities that were committed in Africa during the colonial period to justify the setting and maintaining in place the colonial enterprise in Africa. And so what Bedzigui describes as the AFABism which represents the tenets and foundations of Colonialism and succession and continuity of the Colonial States in Africa where: A stands for Ahidjo, F for Foccart, A for Aujhoulat, and B for Biya, can easily be extrapolated to any post-colonial State in Africa. Wherefore these agents of neo-colonialism who have dully created the so-called Democratic Parties of Africa, like the RDPC (CPDM) of Cameroon, are nothing short of the rubber stamping ambiguities of what can actually be called Participatory Democracy. And these neo-colonial agents are known to practice not only electoral fraud but also the stifling of Democracy with the repression of their citizens with the blessings of the neo-colonial prompters, in

this rigmarole dance of the corrupt Mafia illegitimate inheritors of colonialism and confiscators of the People's Self-determination and rights to Freedom.

This repressed axis is what he coins the Cameroonian acronym of MUSOMO who constitute what the colonial and the neo-colonial successors would call the "the forces of terror" and destruction which justifiably have to be eliminated. Thus in the context of Cameroon, the Political Virus MUSOMO: M stands for Manga Bell, U for Um Nyobe, S for Samba, O for Ouandie, M for Moumie and O for Osende Afana who actually represent the Cameroonian People, who have never, since the annals of the historiographic memory of Africa have never enjoyed their civil rights, and their legitimate political and economic benefits as Citizens of a Free country. That explains how they can rightly be called "prisoners of their freedoms" in the words of Harri Englund.

Evaluating the updating of the Cameroonian colonial repressive comedy and the installation of illegitimate neo-colonial agents of continuity and succession of the colonial States in Africa, Bidzigué proposes a new strategy to reclaim the self-determination and victory of the fallen Nationalists, Martyrs and Heroes of Africa's Freedom. Bidzigué is of the opinion it is high time to open up all patriotic productive forces of Africa for a more inclusive and trans-ethnic participation that goes beyond ethno-regionalism and pigeon-hole nationalism. He is of the opinion that the new generations should learn from past errors so as to avoid the loopholes of the present world where the exigencies of the collective memory of Africa binds us to our common destiny and aspiration as a united people, vigorous and incorruptible. Bidzigué re-intones Kwame Nkrumah's clarion call for African Unity as basis for the way forward so as not to betray the dreams of valiant Nationalist Heroes and Martyrs of Africa who have laid down their lives we might live, that Africa might find its rightful place in the history of Humanity with the Pan Africanism of Humanism.

It is call therefore for an open war, not against any colonial and neo-colonial enemy. It is an open war against ourselves Africans of today who have left the dream of African Unity with itself and its Diaspora to die, thinking this is an outdated claim to our cultural and political-economic as well as our social identity. Wherefore the colonial and the neo-colonial productive forces have to be harnessed to reconstruct that intercultural and trans-cultural bridge and bonding between Africans and non-Africans of good will for the emancipation and establishment of lasting Freedom of Africa for Africans and for Humanity. Meanwhile African must always be on her guard and sleep with one eye open to avoid falling in a second trap of dependence and servitude.

We realise that France succeeded in its mission to infiltrate and manipulate the French African Nationalist Ideology for Self-Determination through corruption and high-handed intimidation. Thus it succeeded to transform the RDA into a shadow of itself even though it still brandishes its reformed revolutionary claws today. Contributions from Toure Maelin Kegni (2000 - 2007) confirm this hypothesis when he elaborates that:

“The RDA did not, however, reject union with France. Other ideas were discussed to improve African conditions: increased trade between colonies, the establishment of colleges and universities, the creation of free health care centres, and the freedom to organize labor unions. Despite the goal of continent-wide African unity, the RDA always remained a French African organization. All of its members were from French West Africa (AOF) and French Equatorial Africa (AEF) territories. There were, however, some attempts to work with leaders from the French West Indies. Rather than a single political organization, the RDA was actually a network of local parties that envisioned similar Pan-African ideals. For instance, the Democratic Party of Guinea and the PDCI were local sections of the RDA. The RDA was also strongly connected to the French Communist Party until 1950 and had the support of the French government at various times. By the early 1960s when many former French African colonies gained independence, political disagreement emerged between the members, weakening the organization and preventing it from maintaining the Pan-Africanist scope envisioned by its founders. Nonetheless, more than sixty years after its founding, the heritage of the RDA is still alive in Africa within the PDCI-RDA in the Ivory Coast and the Sudanese Union (US-RDA) in Mali.”

In the other parts of Africa, Pan-Africanists like Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jomo Kenyatta, Herbert Macauley, Ahmed Ben Bella, Abdel Nasser, Julius Nyerere, Patrice Lumumba, Ahmed Sékou Touré , Amilcar Cabral, were making new headway in sensitizing the peoples of Africa. Most of these Pan-African activists were among those who spearheaded the launching of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU - on 23rd May 1963.

Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke was one of those early Pan Africanists from Senegal who became aware of the Africanisation of the Islamic religion to suit Africa's Identity needs and production. Cheikh Bamba started off as a devout Muslim Sufi, poet and mystic who began thinking how to use the Islamic Religion as a Liberation Theological tool. That was how he came to found the Muride Brotherhood in 1883 at the ripe age of 30 years old. He instituted hard work and self-reliance of his followers as the weapon for all sustainable liberation and freedom. In 1887 the capital of the Muride

Brotherhood was established at Tuba which has become the African Mecca of the African Islam.

Cheikh Ahmadou Ababa Mbacke was among the first nationalist to rise up and lead a peaceful resistance and struggle against the French colonization of West Africa. He resisted the colonial indentured slavery and encouraged his followers to work for themselves and build self-help systems of sustainable development.

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The French colonial government who saw him as a threat to colonialism arrested and sentenced Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke for insurrection and insubordination. He was later exiled to Gabon and later to Mauritania. During his life in exile he continued with his advocacy for the Sufi Muride Brotherhood of the African Islamic Liberation Theology.



Photos 184 (a) & (b): Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke: 1853 – 19th July 1927

When the French later realised that spread his brand of Islamic Muride Sufism wherever he went, they realized that it were better he was quarantined in Senegal than be allowed to cause more havoc around Africa. That is how in 1910 he was released and allowed to resettle in Senegal his homeland.

Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke's leadership role shone out bright in his very progressive approach to religion as a science of spiritual and productive life balanced by prayer, contemplation and hard work.

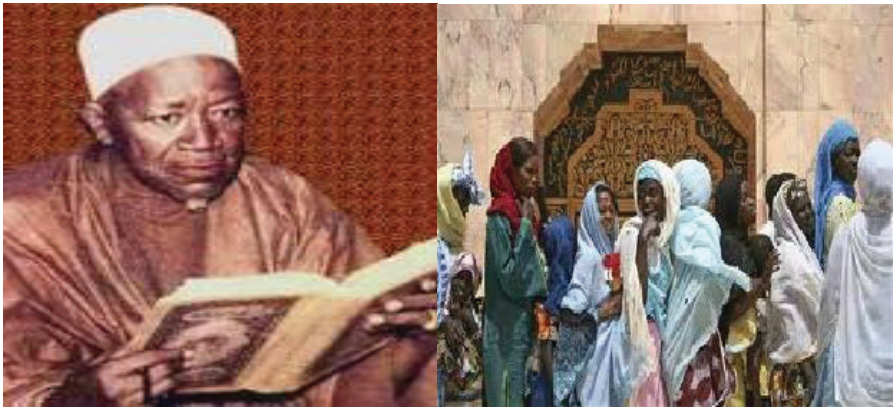
I had the privilege to understand the philosophy of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba from his grandson who was my bosom friend and fellow student at the faculty of Law at the Sorbonne in the late 1970s. Mbacke Junior as I fondly called him explained to me that his grandfather advocated freedom of religion and freedom to learn all the sciences and arts and humanities to women and men without distinction. He told me that his grandfather believed that women, who were already the backbone of the economy as well as they were the transmitters of the cultural heritage of Africa, had to be educated in the fields of modern sciences and technology, arts and the humanities, so as to carry along the soft revolution of reconstruction of the African cultural heritage and identity, and the sustainable development of Africa. He cited for me the case of his wife who was trained as a diplomat and assumed the responsibility of a high position of Consular officer at the Senegalese Embassy in Paris as example of his grandfather's advocacy and agenda for the education of

women. It was through her acquaintance that I came to encounter and know other Senegalese women of the Muride Sisterhood in Paris and in Senegal who were very highly educated and who contributed through their knowhow to the development of the country.



Photos 185 (a) & (b): Amadou Bamba Mbacke The Inventor Of Tuba The African Nationalist Mecca Of Senegal

Mbacke Junior explained to me that by the time of the death of his grandfather, the Muride Brotherhood and sisterhood had grown to such dimensions that it virtually controlled the economic power structure of Senegal. The Muride Brotherhood and Sisterhood had developed such self-reliant agencies throughout the country in such a manner that they provided social services and business entrepreneurship and micro-financial loaning support facilities to its members throughout the country. Followers of the Muride Brotherhood and Sisterhood were encouraged up till this day to donate earnings to a social fund which is used to provide social services and business loans to members for entrepreneurship. The Muride Brotherhood owns plantations which contribute for the production and accumulation of wealth that goes to sustain the entire Muride community.



The Muride Liberation Theology has developed the Muride Spirit of Capitalism which upholds hard work and discipline as the continuation of God's eternal work of creation. Work, for the Muride Liberation Theology, which integrates the Muride Spiritual Capitalism, is not seen negatively as a sign of punishment of humankind by God, after the fall of Adam and Eve from Grace and their chasing out of the Garden of Eden, as narrated in the Bible. Actually Murides see work as Humankind's participation in the Divine act of Creation and reconstruction of the world for its sustainable development.

Mbacke Junior explained to me that his grandfather, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, was able to instil in his Muride followers the pride of an African Islam that has created its own Mecca in Tuba, Senegal, according to the true spirit of the Liberating Theology of Islam. This Liberating Theology recognises the fact that wherever Islam is established that place becomes the centre and home of Islam as the Prophet Mohamed desired and preached. Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke rejected the idea of the supremacy of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, saying that it has reduced Islam to a politicised religion, which becomes another means of colonisation and domination of Africa by Arab culture which considers itself superior to the other non-Arabic Islamic cultures. He explained that the principle of the "Peace of Islam" advocated for the contextual societal and cultural embrace of Islam without destroying the original cultures of peoples who embraced Islam. That is the reason he rejected the Islam that comes with the superiority complex of Arabism, which considers other non-Islamic and non-Arabic cultures as inferior.

This fact is confirmed by Tim Judah (BBC, 2011) who comments on the observations of Cheikh Sene, a Muride scholar from nearby Bambey University, highlighting that:

"In a quiet corner of the mosque men sit chatting, while in a nearby room younger men are busy, hunched over computers working on the mosque's website. A constant stream of people come to the mosque to pay homage at the tomb of Amadou Bamba - a Sufi mystic and founder of the Mouride Brotherhood. For true believers, says Mr Sene, the path laid down by Bamba is nothing short of "the real practice of Islam". It is also a path of which many other Muslims in the world strongly disapprove. "They think we are nothing," says Mr Sene, referring to many Arab Muslims, whom he says have done much to rid their own countries and east Africa of Sufi traditions. "They think we are crazy. They think they are superior." However, without a flicker of a doubt, he adds that if they come to Touba, "they will be dazzled by the light of Amadou Bamba".



Photos 185 (e) & (f): Prayer And Pilgrimage Time At Tuba, Senegal; Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke The Founder Of Murid African Cultural Peace-Building Islam

Before the transition of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke's transition in 1927, his Muride Brotherhood had grown so big and powerful that it became the point of reference for the African Islamic Liberation Theology that had taken deep roots in Tuba and Senegal. Ever since his transition, Muride women have made great strides in the field of education and entrepreneurship just like the men in all fields of business and sustainable development.

This egalitarian gender construct in Muridism makes the West African Islam a very liberating institution as compared to the kind of Islam practised in other parts of the world, especially in the Middle East and Arab world, where women are still restricted to gain access to public spaces and are still confined to the repressive systems and structures of permanent subordination to men. This is what makes the Islam in Senegal and in some parts of Africa, to be classified as Islam with a difference, where traditional Islam is practised, like among the Bamums and the Mbum of Cameroon. Muride teachings stress on peace and non-violence as the main driving force of the religion.

Today, more than a million Murides make the pilgrimage to Touba each year to pay their homage and tribute to Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke. Among the best-known followers of Muridism is the Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour who has become one of the prominent advocates of Ahmadou Bamba Muridism which he defends categorically. According to Tim Judah (BBC, 2011) Youssou N'Dour does not hide his criticism of the Western Powers of Europe and American who have gone out indiscriminately for a mental war against Islam and its followers:

"When I met him in the television station he owns in Dakar, he talked about his 2004 Grammy award-winning album Egypt, which celebrated Amadou Bamba and Mouridism. He argues Mouridism is a counter to the post-9/11 stereotype of Muslims. "In the West, you read all about terrorism... we're all lumped together. But those of us

who understand that it's a religion of peace, love and sharing mustn't give up. "Mouridism is for me two paths - one is the way to God, the other path is the doctrine of work and dignity. Because if you don't work, you hold your hand out and lose your dignity." Amadou Bamba was exiled by the French, the colonial power in Senegal during his lifetime. So as well as preaching the virtues of hard work, N'Dour says Bamba inspired his followers to travel. Of course, like other migrants from poor countries, many Senegalese go abroad because they are looking for work and because they want to send money home to their families, but Mourides have an additional spiritual motivation. The Mouride motto is "Travail et Discipline" - Work and Discipline Abroad and at home, Mouridism not only preaches self-help, but also the responsibility to look after others within the Brotherhood. One of the things that distinguishes Sufism from other branches of Islam is the role of spiritual guides, known in Senegal as marabouts. These marabouts help their followers make business deals and introduce their followers to important contacts."



Photos 185 (g) & (h): Wife Of Amadou Bamba Mbacke The Activist Of Women's Rights In African Muridist Islam

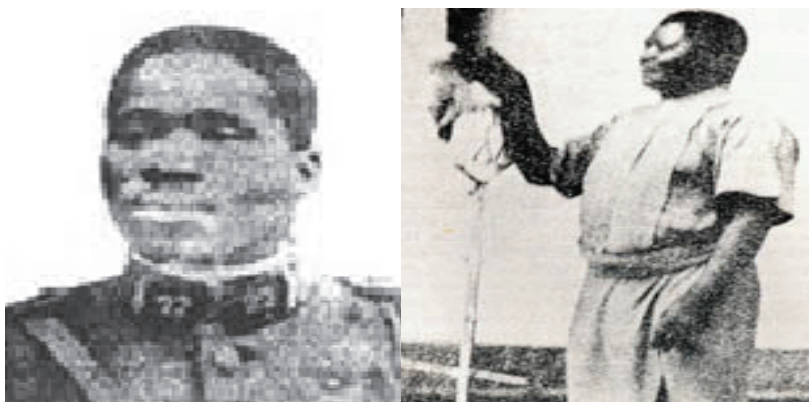
The Muride concept and practice of the Divine Spiritual Capitalism has enabled the Murides of Senegal to develop very high entrepreneurial skills and strategies of networking for the accumulation of the social and the economic capital for the benefit of the community. This has made Murides to become power brokers and economic brokers in the Senegalese society and in the diaspora; a characteristic that has contributed to their political and economic clout. Tim Judah (BBC, 2011) confirms this hypothesis while narrating:

"After fighting through the choking traffic on the outskirts of Senegal's capital, Dakar, I visit Oumar Fall, the commercial director of Diprom, a major oil and gas firm. It owns a chain of petrol stations called Touba Oil, whose logo is an image of the

tallest minaret of Bamba's mosque. He tells me that the firm has done well with contacts made through marabouts. Marabouts will even help negotiate and settle disputes, he says. And if a business deal is successful, a marabout can expect financial compensation, and followers will usually donate money to the Brotherhood. Ninety five per cent of Senegal's population is Muslim, and the vast majority belong to one Sufi brotherhood or another. Mouridism is the youngest, and said to be the most dynamic, not least because it is organised in a strict pyramid structure headed by the Caliph."

Another story of colonial repression and deprivation of Africans of their culture and religion is that of Simon Kibangu of the Kingdom of Congo. Simon Kibangu was a revolutionary Pan Africanist who believed in the Africanisation of the Christian religion. He became an icon of the Liberation Theology who used his non-violent persuasive skills to fight colonisation by the Belgians. His strict and rigorous ascetic life gained him thousands of followers. He was gifted with the power of healing the sick and the maimed. His evangelisation which was focused on serving the poor, the deprived, the abject and miserable, went contrary to the colonial deprivation and exploitation of Black people as instituted by slavery and colonialism.

Kibangu actually proved King Leopold right who entreated his Missionaries not to preach about God to the Congolese and Africans because as he confirmed, they knew and worshiped God more than the Europeans; that they should teach the Congolese how to obey and be servile to the King of Belgium. Thus he became not just a threat to the Missionaries and their evangelisation trash but a real rival of imperialist colonisation policy whose original intent was to exploit the human and natural resources of Africa for their greedy slave-driven capitalist economy and mode of production for their sole advantage and interest.



Photos 186 (a) (b): Simon Kimbangu: September 12, 1887 - October 12, 1951

The dread of Kibangu came from the fact that just like Christ the Messiah whose salvific coming was predicted in the prophesy of Isaiah and John the Baptist, Kibangu came as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Mama Kimpa Vita who, during the slavery onslaught and ravages that laid waste the land and the human resources of the Congo which had lost a great bulk of her able citizens to the Slave plantations of America, prophesied about a coming Congolese Messiah.

In actual fact the Missionaries were not evangelists, but rather were the harbingers of colonisation and repression of the Congolese people as Professor Come Kinata, Senior lecturer and researcher in History at the University of Marien Ngouabi of Brazzaville confirms. He affirms that:

“Fondée au 13ème siècle par L’INDOMPTABLE NE-NIMI LUKENI, le royaume Kongo connut une première pénétration européenne en 1482 par le portugais DON DIEGO CAO, membre de l’ordre du Christ du PRINCE HENRY LE NAVIGATEUR. Des documents historiques stipulent que ce dernier était à la recherche d’une route pour les indes, pourtant certains murmurent que les explorateurs portugais de l’ordre du Christ (une branche de la franc-maçonnerie) étaient en possession d’un miroir à travers lequel ils ont découvert la plupart des terres. Donc de la même manière que les rois mages découvrirent la naissance du Christ par une étoile, c’est aussi de la même manière que les explorateurs portugais découvrirent le royaume Kongo sur lequel brillait une très grande étoile. Les portugais furent surpris et étonnés de l’organisation social et politique de ce royaume et surtout du raffinement de la cour du roi. Le royaume Kongo établira une relation avec le Portugal, cette relation débouchera à des échanges commerciaux. Le Kongo reçoit des produits manufacturés, tandis que le Portugal importe des esclaves et des denrées exotiques, Ensuite le Portugal imposera sa religion, le christianisme, en envoyant des missionnaires, alors que les KONGOS croyaient déjà en un Dieu, NZAMBI-A-MPUNGU. En réalité les Kongo croyaient en une trinité qui forme un, à savoir LUKANKANSI, Dieu suprême du ciel, NZAMBI, Dieu de la terre, KALUNGA Dieu des eaux et des choses cachés comme ont dit chez les catholiques, le père le fils et le saint esprit. »

“By the time the Portuguese navigators were exploring for another sea route to India, under the leadership of Don Diego Cao, a member of the order of Christ of Prince Henry the Navigator, a branch of the Free-Masons, who possessed a mirror which facilitated the discovery of most parts of the world; they penetrated the Kingdom of Congo in 1482, the Kingdom of Congo was already a flourishing affluent State. He explains that the Portuguese were very fascinated and surprised by the social and political organisation of the Kingdom especially the refinement of the Court of the King. The diplomatic relations which was honed by the exchange of manufactured goods from

Europe and natural and exotic resources as well as slaves from the Congo and Africa was soon transformed into an occupation and imposition of Portuguese Religion, Christianity which ushered in the importation of Missionaries, even though the Congolese people believed already in a supreme God called Nzambi-A-Mpungu. Actually the Congolese people believed in a Divine Trinity of Unity namely: Lukankasi, /the Supreme god of the Heavens, Nzambi, God of the Earth, Kalunga, god of the Waters and the hidden things; and these constitute the Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit among Catholics.



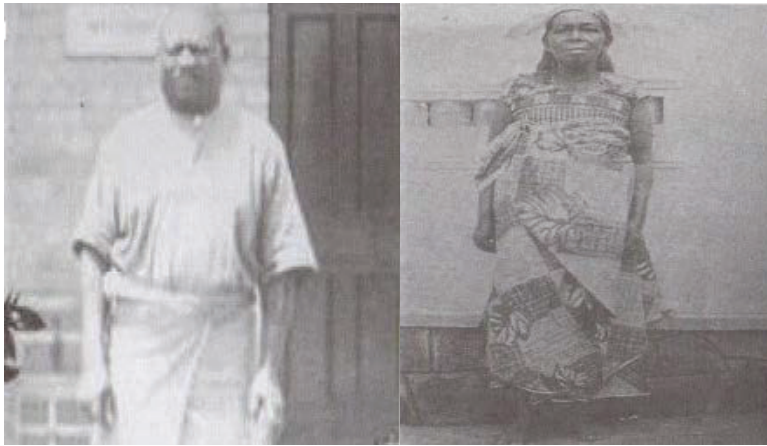
Photos 186 (c) Simon Kibangu at the age of 34 he was arrested by the Belgians on 12th September 1921. (d) Kibangu chained at the neck, at the wrists and ankles after his arrest by the Belgians on 12th September, 1921

Professor Come Kinata, goes on to demonstrate the ravages Christianity and Colonisation did to the entire Kingdom and region of the Congo basin. He insists how it destroyed the ancestral divine teachings and their philosophical and theological import saying:

«En imposant le christianisme au KONGO, les portugais commencèrent à détruire les coutumes ancestrales, disons mieux les enseignements divins transmis par les ancêtres depuis des siècles. Selon Le Professeur COME KINATA, MAITRE ASSISTANT D'HISTOIRE A L'UNIVERSITE MARIEN NGOUABI DE BRAZZAVILLE < la christianisation ne fut qu'un fourrier du colonialisme, les missionnaires portugais ne furent que les vrais artisans de la colonisation européenne qui débouchait sur la traite négrière afin d'agrandir le commerce de leurs pays et préparer la source de nouvelles richesses>. Les missionnaires, particulièrement les capucins, qui sont les pionniers de la christianisation du royaume Kongo, furent tout puissant à la cour du Mani Kongo, LE PERE BERNARDO DA GALLO fut conseiller du Mani Kongo, le ROI PEDRO IV ; il était en quelque sorte son directeur de cabinet. Il contrôlait le pouvoir royal. Bernardo da Gallo fut un grand bastionner et un brûleur

de village, se comportant comme un vrai colon. La traite négrière instaurée par les blancs va opérer une gigantesque ponction démographique et déstabilisera considérablement les entités politiques et la société Kongo. L'arrivée des blancs n'aurait été que le début d'une ruine économique et social. Plusieurs chefs de province se disputèrent le pouvoir pendant trois décennies. En 1694, LE ROI PEDRO IV pourtant légitimé et reconnu par l'ensemble des dignitaires se retirera au nord de SAO SALVADOR, laissant la ville à l'abandon. C'est dans un climat de souffrance et de désordre social qu'à la fin de l'année 1703 à KIBENGA, une vieille femme au nom de MAMA APOLONIA MAFUTA eu une vision de MARIE , MERE DE JESUS, elle alla annoncer à la population de sa vision de la vierge marie " J'AI VU LA VIERGE MARIE, ET SON FILS JESUS, ILS SONT NOIRS, ILS SONT ENTOUREES DE SAINT NOIRS.»

"On imposing Christianity the Portuguese destroyed the entire ancestral customs and the divine teachings transmitted by the ancestors which has lasted for centuries. According to Professor Come Kinata, ... Chistianism became the harbinger of colonialism and the Portuguese Missionaries were the artisans of the of European colonialism which started with the Slave Trade of Black People, whose aim was the enrichment of the colonial countries and to prepare the way of increasing and expanding the source of their new found wealth. The Missionaries, especially the Capucines, who were the pioneers of Christianity in the Kingdom of Congo, became the most powerful in the court of King Mani Kongo. Father Bernado da Gallo became the counselor of King Main Kongo, who was none other than King Pedro IV; he was somehow his director of cabinet. He controlled the royal power. Bernado da Gallo was the great bastion, a fortifier and a village burner who behaved more like a true colonialist. The slave trade introduced by the Whites contributed to a great demographic function and considerable destabilisation of political and social entities of Congo. The arrival of White people saw the beginning of the destruction of the economic and social power of the Kingdom. The Chiefs of the various provinces had been disputing the political power for thirty years. In 1694King Pedro IV even though recognised as the legitimate ruler by the assembly of dignitaries withdrew to the north of Sao Salvador, leaving the city in the state of abandonment. It was in this climate of suffering, distress and social disorder that at the end of 1703 in Kibenga, that an old woman named Mama Apolonia Mafuta had a vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, and she went to announce to the entire population her vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary saying: "I saw the Blessed Virgin and her Son, they are Black, they are surrounded by Black Saints."



Photos 186 (e) Photo of Kibangu in prison at Lubumbashi taken by Kibangu's follower Nsumbu Nsakala Emmanuel in 1934. (f) Photo of Kibangu's wife Muilu Kiawanga Zitani after the arrest and imprisonment of Kibangu who became the Head of the Kibanguist Religion and Movement from 1921 to 1959.

Kibangu was this African nationalist who in an age of ruthless repression and dispossession of a people stood up to defend the rights of his people. He was so visionary and chosen by God to liberate his own people from the falsehood of a double dealing band of Missionaries whose main objective was to promote the colonisation of his people. What was fascinating about Kibangu was that he stood his ground to defend his people even at the cost of his life and all the torture the Missionaries and the colonial establishment had decided to give him. It was this adamant self-determination of the believer in God for whom time is meaningless, and for whom no amount of suffering would endure as God's infinite Grace and Love that convinced the followers of Kibangu that he was the chosen messiah of his people by God.

From testimonies and commentaries generated from an article by Mbote Kulutu Messenger (2013) <http://www.mbokamosika.com> certain contributors, namely: Samuel Malonga, (02/03/2013); Serge - Kongo na biso (03/03/2013), Musa May (04/03/2013), highlight certain facts that confirmed that Kibangu was an envoy of God chosen to save his people from bondage. According to these testimonies there were certain facts surrounding Kibangu's liberating theology and redemptive evangelical mission that cannot be just thrown away as unfounded or unreliable. For instance they raised the problem of the message and the messenger arguing that:

« C'est vrai que les Eglises transmettent toujours un message qui a, partout et en tout, comme objectif de déifier leur prophète, ou mieux de lui donner une origine divine. Cela vaut autant pour le Kimbanguisme que pour le Christianisme. Combien parmi

nous ne pensent pas que Jésus était Dieu lui-même ? C'est d'ailleurs, le point central ou le dogme de l'Eglise Arménienne. Mais, nous ne discuterons pas de sujet. »

«It is true that the Churches always transmits a message which has, everywhere and in everything, as objective to deify their prophets, or better still to give him a divine origine. This is also very true of Kibanguism as it is of Christianity. How many among us do not think that Jesus was himself God ? After all this is also the central point of the dogma of the Armenian Church. But, we do not discuss this subject.»

As regards the other story about invisible forces spiritual midget fighters, the commentator argued that “the existence or not of this image of the miniatur soldiers had nothing to do with the Messianic message of Kibangu. But if the photo of the Lilliputian soldier is true, then it is obvious that they existed. The disturbing fact is that in the beginning this photo was not known. If the photo of the prophet after his arrest is coming from the Royal Museum of Tervuren, what about that of the miniature soldier?”



Un des deux soldats d'Amageddou ou de l'armée céleste mesurant moins d'un mètre apparus le 04 janvier 1959 au Congo pour mettre fin à l'emprise coloniale belge et ce, conformément à la prophétie de Kibangu du 27 juillet 1921 dans la forêt de Mboma



Les cinq relégués kimbanguistes en attente de déportation Habillés en tenue de prisonnier et enchaînés au cou par une longue chaîne, ils furent emprisonnés dans le camp de concentration de Belingo dans la province du Bandundu

De gauche à droite : Todli Edouard, Mpaka Joseph, Mantuidi Jean-Désiré, Diaswa Stéphane et Kina Paul

Photos 186 (g) & (h): One Of The Amageddou Soldiers, One Metre Tall, Of The Extra-Terrestrial Army Who Appeared On 4th January 1959 In Belgian Congo To Bring To An End The Belgian Colonialism; Five Prisoners Of Kibangu Awaiting Deportation To concentration Belgian Camps In The Province Of Bandudu

Quant aux petits soldats, c'est la deuxième fois que j'en attends parler. Si l'image présentée est véridique, alors c'est qu'ils ont existé. L'ennui c'est que

l'origine de cette image n'est pas connue. Si la photo du prophète après son arrestation vient du musée Royal de Tervuren, qu'en est-il de celle du petit soldat ?

The miracles that Kibangu performed alongside with his preaching and rigorous ascetic life testified that only a supernatural power could intervene in his favour bearing in mind that he was just a simpleton with no regular education with just superficial knowledge of the Bible. It baffled even the colonialists that even a no-person with so very little education like Kibangu could stand up to challenge the colonial masters, as well as would accept to go to prison for thirty years along with 120 lashes, for his belief in what he stood for as a messenger of God.

It was due to this consternation and perplexing incident the Missionaries and the colonialist feared to kill him. He was the incarnation of those great prophets before him like Mama Mafuta and Mama Kimpa Vita who had stood firm to fight material and religious colonialism and imperialism of the African people.

«Mais, qu'à cela ne tienne ! L'existence ou non de ces soldats n'enlève rien au caractère messianique de Kimbangu. Malheureusement, pour beaucoup, Simon n'était qu'un de ces prophètes autoproclamés comme ceux qui pullulent nos villes. Rendons-nous compte : en ce temps reculé, un petit nègre n'ayant pour toute instruction que l'étude du catéchisme non seulement se proclame envoyé de Dieu, mais aussi maintient cette attitude défiant l'autorité coloniale et accepte trente année de prison à vie avec, en plus, 120 coups de fouet ! Simon était bel et bien un grand prophète, et cela reconnu par les blancs eux-mêmes. C'est pourquoi, ils ne l'avaient pas tué ! Seulement, il était un Noir et un Colonisé. Grand, il était comme l'avait été avant lui une certaine Kimpa Vita et, dans une certaine mesure, Mama Mafuta. Aujourd'hui, une dame m'a fait cette 'révélation' : « le Bas-Congo c'est la province qui n'avait jamais eu de guerre, et l'entrée de l'armée Angolaise l'avait en quelque sorte dévirginisée » Sur place, je me suis demandé si la rébellion muleliste n'avait atteint cette contrée. A vous de vérifier.»

What was more surprising to observe about the colonialists and the Missionaries was the fact that Kibangu was that he was in control of all situations regulating his life and that of his followers till his departure from this paltry world of materialism. Kibangu's spiritual force was so transcending that the day he transited from this visible world, he immediately went to inform his son Diangenda. That explains the defiance Diangenda had for the colonial administrator who came to him to deliver the message of Kibangu passing away ; but was informed by Diangenda that Kibangu was with him just

five minutes before the Administrator came with his message. Kibangu had announced his transition himself to the yonder world of eternity.

«Pour terminer, voici un fait que beaucoup d'entre vous tiendront pour légendaire mais qui est pour moi un fait : le 12 Octobre 1951 quand Simon s'éteint, un télégramme arrive à l'administrateur de la ville où Diangenda se trouvait. Mr. L'administrateur s'en va annoncer la nouvelle au fils : « ton père vient de mourir il y a cinq minutes ». « Je le sais » répond Diangenda tout calmement. Etonné, le monsieur lui demande comment il le savait. « il était ici et venait de sortir quelques instants avant votre arrivée.»... »

Of the many tributes paid to Kibangu, that of Norbert C. Brockman stands out tall in the annals of the liberation history of Africa and African peoples; when he confirms that:

"If the Belgians thought that this would silence the movement, they were mistaken. During his trial, Kimbangu assumed the stance of the martyred Christ during his passion; in detention his figure took on iconic proportions. Even traditional Christians admired his acceptance of his fate, his obvious prayerful piety, and the evidence of his deep personal holiness. Although he could not preach in prison, his demeanor was patient and loving, and he shared his meager food rations with other prisoners. His followers begged him to use his miraculous powers to escape but continued to build his movement without him. The Belgians cracked down on Kimbanguists, but the church went underground, led by Kimbangu's son, Joseph DLANGIENDA. Several related sects soon appeared, all acknowledging Kimbangu as their spiritual father. Kimbangu also became a symbol of Congolese nationalism, and Kimbanguism fostered group cohesion. By diminishing the power of magic and witchcraft, it helped to develop mutual trust and community. It also challenged the authority of the local chiefs, who were seen - quite rightly - as the lackeys of the Belgian authorities. A church council was established in 1956, five years after Kimbangu's death, and his three sons, led by Diangienda, took over. In 1991, President MOBUTU Sese Seko, who had legalized the church, posthumously amnestied Kimbangu and awarded him the National Order of the Leopard."

Ruben Um Nyobe was one of those home-grown continental Pan Africanists who later turned Freedom Fighter for the liberation of his enslaved and colonised people of Cameroon. Initiated in his early life by his father to his Basa culture and later by the Missionaries to the Western European culture, he was able to compare and come up with the conclusion that colonization was nothing but the indentured form of slavery and the abuse of

human rights. Thus he started his leadership and militant career for the liberation of his people very early when he started agitating against colonial laws in school.



Photos 187 (a) & (b): Ruben Um Nyobé : 1913 – 13 September 1958

This made the authorities and the Missionaries to put an eye on him as a trouble shooter ready to stand in opposition and defence of the rights of the voiceless and fearful. Much has been written by historians, historians and literary gurus like Mongo Beti about this great enigmatic sphinx of Africa, who gave the French colonizers of Africa a hard nut to crack. One of these commentaries testifies (Humility Joy, 2011) that:

“Ruben Um Nyobé was a Cameroonian freedom fighter, and an anti-imperialist leader. Born in Song Mpeck in 1913, Um Nyobé was a stellar student raised in a modest family of farmers. Initiated to the culture of the Bassa by his father who was well-versed, Um noticed early all the crimes committed by the colonial administration on the indigenous people, crimes such as indentured servitude, forced labor, dehumanization, spanking, beating etc... This made him later write: “la colonisation, c’est l’esclavage ; c’est l’asservissement des peuples par un groupe d’individus dont le rôle consiste à exploiter les richesses et les hommes des peuples asservis” (“Colonization is slavery; it is an enslavement of the populations by a group of individuals whose role is to exploit the riches and the men of the enslaved populations.”...”

Um Nyobe was a member of the Cameroonian branch of the RDA party whose original objective was total independence of the African colonies from France. When the main Bamako RDA party members decided to modify their original objective and settle for the attainment of independence as a part of France, according to the Brazzaville Conference which extended the French

Territories overseas including the colonies of Africa, and according to the Fouccartian Treaty of 1958 which arranged that the African colonies acquire independence as integral part of France, the Cameroonian wing was more radical and opposed to negotiating with France for what Um Nyobe and his Cameroonian followers called the “independence of total dependence.” That is how the RDA branch party of Cameroon had to break away and create the much radical Union de Populations du Cameroun – UPC, the Cameroon People’s Union party on 19th April 1948.



Photos 187 (c) & (d): Ruben Um Nyobé with his family/L-R: Ernest Ouandié, Marthe Moumié, and Abel Kingue in Geneva after Felix Moumié's death

This party was first led by Leonard Bouli, and Um Nyobe was later elected as Secretary General of the party. The immediate goal of the UPC was to attain immediate independence for the United Nations Trust Territory of Cameroon under the French administration and the subsequent unification with the English-speaking territory of Southern Cameroons. Um Nyobe was an eloquent speaker and a man of the people. He knew how to rally people and to sensitise them in his ideologies and philosophies. But one thing that marked Um Nyobe apart from the others was his stubborn nationalism which did not settle well with the French colonial administration which was bent to maintain the reins of power in French West Africa and in French Equatorial Africa. The narrative and testimony of Boris Tcheunyim (2006) brings out this nationalist spirit in Um Nyobe:

“On April 10th, 1948, the Union des Populations du Cameroon (Cameroon People’s Union or UPC) was founded and was first led by Leonard Bouli, and later Um Nyobé was elected general secretary. The main goal of the party was the independence and reunification of both (British and French) Cameroons. Its symbols were a red flag with a black crab on it: red for the blood of patriots who lost their lives, the crab as a reference to the reunification of Kamerun, and black to symbolize the color

of the Black continent, Africa, the cradle of humanity. The party was at first the Cameroonian branch of the RDA, of which Um Nyobé became one of its vice presidents in 1949. However, the RDA of Houphouët-Boigny chose to cooperate with the French colonial administration, while UPC of Um Nyobé refused to join in this treason and chose to continue the fight for the immediate recognition of the nation of Cameroon (independence), and its reunification. Um Nyobé, the leader of UPC, was particularly charismatic, courageous, and a very good orator. For the Cameroonian intellectual youth of those days, he was without any doubt the leader which embodies Cameroonian patriotism, and for the masses, he was the hero who will bring a new dawn. His aura was such that his name travelled into the country in rural areas. He was affectuously known as “Mpodol” or “celui qui porte la voix ou qui défend la cause,” “the one who carries the demands; one who stands to defend the general cause.” He was particularly active, wrote political articles, held meetings where as much as tens of thousands could be seen, met the masses, and moved across the country.”



Photo 187 (a): Dr. Felix Moumie Companion Of Um Nyobe Assassinated By Ahmadou Ahidjo And France Through Poison By A French Hired Journalist In Geneva; (b): Ruben Um Nyobe And Members of the UPC

This made the authorities and the Missionaries to put an eye on him as a trouble shooter ready to stand in opposition and defence of the rights of the voiceless and fearful. Much has been written by historians, historians and literary gurus like Mongo Beti about this great enigmatic sphinx of Africa, who gave the French colonizers of Africa a hard not to crack. One of these commentaries testifies (Humility Joy, 2011) that the party of Um Nyobe was banned in 1955 and it was obliged to go and operate underground. Um Nyobe and his followers became hunted men throughout the country and in the international arena. The crime of Um Nyobe was that he dared the French colonial administration by asking for “immediate independence for Cameroon. He tabled his objective at the United Nations Assembly demanding that the

French grant independence to Cameroon and withdraw completely. His sin was the challenging of the French colonial authority in Africa.

The French army went out on an all man-hunt of Um Nyobe and his followers tracking them down like wild animals. In an underground war that would last almost twenty years, from 1955 to 1970. Boris Tcheunyim (2006) paints for us this tragic picture of the history of Um Nyobe and her followers which the Cameroonian government has for over half a century ignored and repressed from the public stage. He narrates:

“L’engagement nationaliste de Ruben UM Nyobe pour l’indépendance du Cameroun est la cause principale de sa liquidation par le colon français soutenu par le régime naissant de Abidjo. C’est le principe d’indépendance et de réunification du Cameroun soutenu par l’Union des Populations du Cameroun et porté par son Secrétaire générale qui dérange Paris. Alors que André Marie Mbida, homme politique proche de la France clamait : » Nous ne sommes pas prêts pour l’indépendance. » Dès lors, UPC est considérée comme « personnes non grata » sur la scène politique. Du maquis de Boumyebel au siège des Nations unies, Um NYOBE fait entendre les aspirations profondes du peuple camerounais. Il fait imprimer son texte présenté aux Nations Unies: « Que veut le Cameroun? » Le 13 juillet 1955, le gouverneur Roland Pre interdit l’UPC de toute activité sur le territoire national. Félix Roland Moumié , le président de l’UPC ,Abel Kingué ,UM NYOBE, Ernest OUANDIE se réfugient dans la clandestinité. La petite localité de Boumyebel devient l’épicentre de la lutte nationaliste. Le 13 Septembre 1958, avant le retour des éclaireurs, Um Nyobé entend un bruit de pas et signale à son entourage la présence des militaires. Aussitôt, des coups de feu éclatent. Son compagnon Yem Mback est tué à bout portant ainsi que les deux femmes qui l’accompagnent. Um Nyobé est identifié par les indicateurs qui accompagnent la patrouille. Il est sans arme, il tient à la main un cartable qui contient ses documents et son agenda personnel. Paul Abdoulaye, soldat d’origine sara (Tchad) enrôlé par l’armée française, ouvre le feu sur lui. Il est atteint au dos et meurt. Le corps de Um Nyobé est enroulé dans un drap puis traîné jusqu’à Boumyebel où il est exposé en public. Quelques jours après, le corps de Um Nyobé est accompagné dans sa dernière demeure par le pasteur Song Nlend. Près d’un demi siècle plus tard, l’ombre de UM NYOBE et les autres martyrs planent sur les régimes issus de la complaisance de Paris.”

The French succeeded in killing over 500,000 people during the raid against the UPC insurgents. The Basa and the Bamileke people paid the highest toll. After the French had succeeded to suppress all opposition to its imperialist policy of expansionism in Africa, they put Ahmadou Ahidjo, a postal clerk and a “Breveté Technique,” a “Form Four” Secondary School

Leaver, at the head of dynamic nation. He became a handy puppet in the hands of the French. The French deliberately excluded the French Cameroun highly educated intelligentsia who formed the strong opposition Parties to France's imperialism in Africa, like the UPC Party of Um Nyobe and the Social Democratic Party of André Marie Mbida. France continued its policy of eliminating members of the intelligentsia and leaders of these opposition political Parties through poisoning or deliberate incarceration and physical torture (Albert Mukong, 1985). Unfortunate victims included political leaders like Abel Kingue, Dr Felix Moumie, Dr. Eyidi Bebey. France assassinated others in cold blood and war crimes, like Osende Afana, in the forest of Dja-et-Lobo; and Um Nyobe, at Bum-Yebel. Through the help of France, some opposition leaders were sentenced to death through trumped-up charges of non-patriotism and treason like Arch Bishop Albert Ndongmo and Ernest Ouandie in 1971.

Richard Joseph in *Radical Nationalism in Cameroon* (1979) testified to this heavy crack down on the UPC in Cameroon which was banned in 1955 and went underground into guerrilla warfare. He also discusses on the direct control of France in the policies of the post-independent Francophone states in another book entitled *Gaullist Africa* (1978), where the book reviewer asserted that the aim of Richard Joseph's book was to provide an accurate account, which combined academic critical analysis and polemical writing, of a chapter of Cameroonian history; and to place individual contributions and discussion into a framework which elucidates French/African connections. He went on to elaborate on the various essays that contributed to the book's content highlighting that:

"The essays sketch France's colonial impact in Africa and the complex post-colonial relationship between France and Africa as a direct consequence of Gaullist rule in France. Characterisations of the regime of Ahmadou Abidjo show how it fits into a particular pattern of French neo-colonial polity, and illustrate Cameroon's adopted solution to operating such a system. The editor extrapolates to comment on the social consequences of dictatorial rule in Africa, and the importance of the Gaullist strategy in explaining the pattern of political power in ex-French Africa. He includes writings from the exiled Cameroonian novelist, Mongo Beti, for their relevance to debates about intellectual freedom and expression, and the tendency of the establishment to distort the truth about Abidjo's Cameroon. There are notes on the central role of military tribunals, brutalities and torture, and prisons and concentration camps; issues which were casualties of the belief that they were inevitable concomitants of political integration and nation building."

Through Ahmadou Ahidjo the French succeeded to eliminate all those targeted as the enemies of French colonialism in Africa. After Um Nyobe was assassinated in 1958 near his home town, his body was taken to Bum-Yebel where he was buried. Later his followers were systematically eliminated by the French with the connivance of Ahmadou Ahidjo Babatoure.

Humility Joy (2011) and Boris Tcheunyim (2006) furnish my readers with invaluable facts about the fate of Um Nyobe's followers:

"The independence of Cameroon, under complete French control, was proclaimed on 01 January 1960 and some leaders of the "legal UPC" rallied President Abidjo. However, others in the UPC continued with the struggle within the country and abroad. Félix Moumié, Um Nyobé 's successor, was poisoned with thallium on 3 November 1960 in Geneva by a French secret agent (William Bechtel). Abel Kingue died in Algeria in 1964, while Osende Afana was arrested and decapitated in 1966. A post-colonial struggle by UPC rebels opposing the new Cameroon army (trained and armed by France) continued until August 1970 when the last battalion of the UPC, commanded by Ernest Ouandié, was arrested. Ouandié was sentenced to death and was shot by a death squad in a market on 15 January 1971, in Bafoussam. The civil war, resulting in the destruction of villages and use of napalm is estimated to have resulted in at least 30,000 to 500,000 deaths. It has been conveniently removed from official history, both in Cameroon and in France."

Richard Joseph in his book on Radical Nationalism in Cameroon (1979) demonstrated how the revolt and the request for independence of Cameroon by Um Nyobe and his followers was due to the ruthless monopoly of the thousands of White Settlers in the economic exploitation and production of this very rich volcanic rich lands against the native populations. The very suave mountainous climate attracted a large number of White settlers right from the time of the German colonisation of this part of Africa who were beginning to see Cameroon as their homeland just as they did in East Africa and Southern Africa where the climate was welcoming to Whites. Marc W. Delancey, in his review of the book (1979) poses the question as to what happened to the Northern part of the country which appeared not to have had the same economic competition between the rising local bourgeoisie and the White Settlers. The truth is that the Northern part of Cameroon was still very highly feudalised, with the same characteristics of the "Black Byzantium" described by S.F. Nadel, in Northern Nigeria, (1942), due to the Indirect Rule system which was practiced in the North allowing the Muslim aristocracy to connive with the White Settlers in dominating and exploiting the local population in

the slave-driven capitalist economy introduced by the colonial system in Africa.

Richard A. Joseph, who carried out a detail researched on the UPC paid tribute to its founders and especially to Um Nyobe as a true nationalists and Pan Africanists when he declared that:

“He [Ruben Um Nyobé] was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant political thinkers and organizers to emerge after the Second World War in Africa. Had he survived to lead his country to independence, he would most certainly be ranked today on the same level as Julius Nyerere, and the late Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba.”

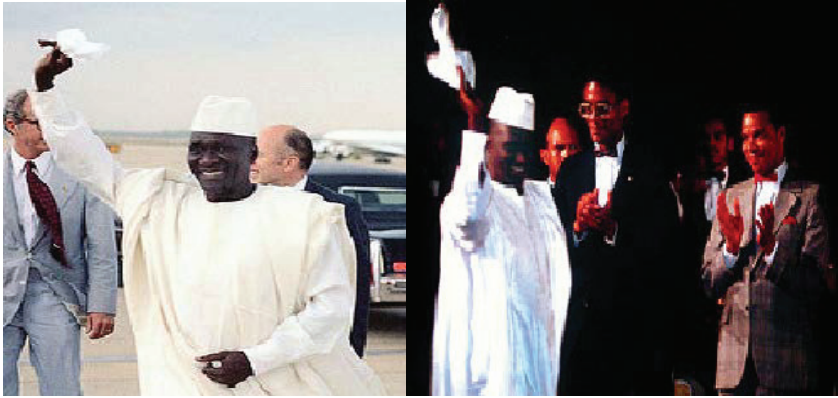
Ahmed Sékou Touré was one of those fire brand founders of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain – RDA, in Bamako in 1946 and life wire of Pan Africanism in French West Africa. He is fondly remembered as the only African President who stood against the French imperial power extension and hegemony in Africa. When after the Brazzaville Conference of 1945, Free France, under the leadership of General Charles De Gaulle, who had formed its Government in Exile in Brazzaville, with the help of the Guyanese Governor of French Equatorial Africa, Felix Eboué, France extended its overseas Territories and Departments to include African colonies. In 1958 France decided by the Foccartian Cooperation Treaty that the French African colonies would gain independence by becoming part and parcel of France, Ahmed Sékou Touré was the only political leader who said No! to this bungled kind of arrangement.

Actually France believed then in 1945, just as Nicolas Sarkozy reiterate in 2007, that Africa could only develop as a part of France, who would enable it to enter history. But irony remains that even after sixty years of neo-colonisation, France was not able to move African countries into equitable distribution of wealth and reduce the induced poverty its slave-driven capitalist economy in Africa is based on.

Ahmed Sékou Touré , is one of those success story due to hard work from the cradle from a peasant humble background to a successful statesman and national leader. Sékou Touré knew what it takes to mobilise and motivate people to build up a revolution when Ahmed Sékou Touré said that:

“To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves. In order to achieve real action, you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an

element of that popular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress and happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is himself not concerned with and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity.”



Photos 188 (a) & (b): Ahmed Sékou Touré : January 9, 1922 - March 26, 1984

Sékou Touré had walked the tight rope to work his way to the top of the political ladder. President Ahmed Sékou Touré became President of Guinea (Oxford Dictionary of Political Biography, 2013) after working in various <http://www.answers.com/library/Political+Biographies-cid-101825> Guinean Workers Trade Unions:

From secretary-general of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Union in 1945,

To the founding member of the Federation of Workers' Union of Guinea; to the position of Secretary-General of the Treasury Employees' Union, in 1946;

To the elected position of Secretary-General of the territorial union of the Confederation Generale de Travail (CGT), in 1948;

Becoming Secretary-General of the coordinating committee of the CGT for French West Africa and Togoland, in 1950;

Member of the Guinea Legislative Assembly in 1950;

Mayor of Conakry in 1955;

Became leader and Secretary-General of the Guinean Democratic Party – Parti Democratique Guinéen in 1955;

Elected President of CGT in 1956

Territorial counselor, Conakry, grand counselor, French West Africa, and vice president of Government Council of Guinea, beginning 1957;

Became vice president of RDA, 1957;

Prime minister of Guinea, 1958-72; and finally to the position of

President, October 1958 - March 1984.



Photos 188 (c) (d): Ahmed Sékou Touré The Nationalist And Pan Africanist Who Had

The Guts And The Courage To Tell The French Colonial Government NO To NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA By Refusing To Sign The Foccartian Treaty Of 1958 That Made African French Colonies To Gain Independence As An Extension Of the French Colonial Empire With Undue Cooperation Privileges Which Laurent Gbagbo Is Fighting Today

Sékou Touré was very close to Kwame Nkrumah whose Pan African Ideology and Philosophy he embraced very ardently and promoted faithfully. He was not only a consumed nationalist; he was also a pragmatic and foresighted Pan Africanist who believed that even if Africa had to be liberated, it must be liberated from its dependence on the former and new colonial masters and build on its self-reliant projects of internal development, conceived and propelled by African people for Africa and humanity. That explains the reason of his breaking away from the French Communist sponsored CGT of Guinea to create an autonomous CGT of Guinea. He believed that if Africa had to be free it had to be free from the influence and interests of Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism. He believed that Africa was capable of creating its own cultural and social revolution in the manner China and the South East Asian countries had created their own without necessarily becoming subservient to and dependent on the Capitalist Western Powers of the Communist Soviet Powers.

After Sékou Touré had seen all French investment dismantled in 1958 after he declared to gain independence out of the French Union, he mustered more courage for forging ahead with nothing and nobody to count on but his own human and natural resources. This how Sékou Touré came to launch the cultural revolution of Guinea whereby he promoted the teaching of Guinean

ethnic languages in Primary Schools, and encouraged the integration of the various African ethnicities in Guinea for the development of an African Identity and Culture.



Photos 188 (e) (f): Sékou Touré And Beautiful Wife In The USA State Visit; Sekour Toure The Nationalist With A Vision For African Liberation And Devoted Pan Africanist

Sékou Touré supported Nkrumah's move for the creation of the Organisation of African Unity. He was among the founding fathers of the OAU and belonged to the Casablanca Group which was strongly for the creation of a United States of Africa as opposed to the Monrovia group who stood for the gradual process of unity based on regional solidarities development.

Even though Toure's Guinea became a neglected state by France and all Western capitalist powers after it declared for African solidarity and self-help, it did not give up to push for the African self-determination with Ghana to prove the vision of African Unity and the United States of Africa doable and necessary as testified by the Oxford Dictionary of Political Biography (2013) <http://www.answers.com/library/Political+Biographies-cid-101825>:

"However, pressures within Touré's own party and the radical unions forced a change, and in September Guinea voted overwhelmingly against continued association. France announced on September 30 that Guinea was independent and cut off all financial aid, withdrew its technicians and advisers, and removed all equipment possible. Guinea entered into independence as a bankrupt nation. No Western power was prepared to help, and Touré concluded four trade agreements with the Eastern bloc countries. Two months after independence, Touré negotiated a £10 million loan from Ghana which enabled him to stabilize Guinea's economy. Touré's government became

more centralized, and he required all Guineans to participate in the economic and social development of the country. The PDG was declared the only legal party, and a system of political committees was established on all levels up to the National Committee to help Touré direct the state. Touré's meeting with Kwame Nkrumah resulted in a declaration of a Ghana-Guinea union in 1959. This association, which Touré hoped would be the beginning of a larger political union, envisioned a gradual uniting of the political and economic institutions of the two states. In July 1961 the union was expanded with the addition of Mali. Despite the theory, no specific changes were made in the political institutions of the member states. The union's major contribution was to provide a base for a common foreign-policy approach. It formed the nucleus of the radical, anti-Western Casablanca bloc of the early 1960s."

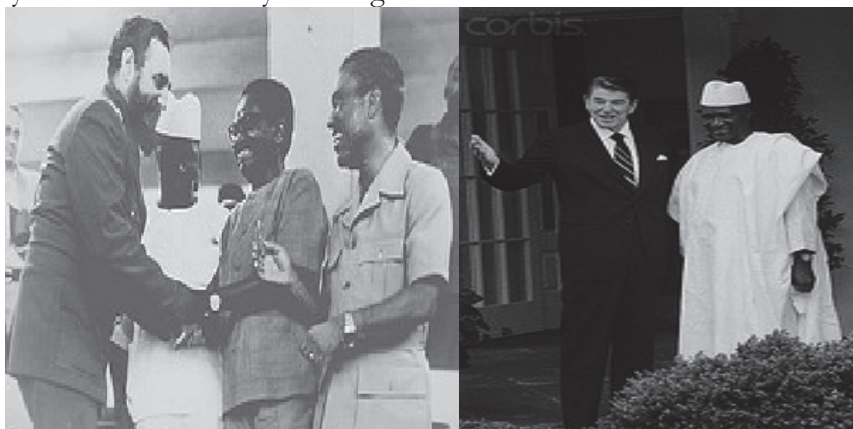
Sékou Touré tried to expound on his idea of African Socialism which he thought was a new alternative for Marxist Communist or Maoist Cultural Revolution socialism. He believed that his socialism theory would allow for a more inclusive African Cultural Integration with all its diversities and common foundation as proposed by Cheikh Anta Diop. This socialism did not prevent Africans from associating with world partners who would respect Africa's socio-cultural interest and needs.

That explains how it was possible for Sékou Touré to attend the Non Alignment Movement Summit of 1979 in Havana, Cuba, where he touched bas with Fidel Castro as well as go to the White House to exchange ideas with Ronald Reagan a staunch Western Imperialist Capitalist.

That also explains how Sékou Touré came to be more concerned to get rid of the more radical Marxist Socialist elements of the PDG, and even severed relations with the Soviet Union for supporting the radical Marxists of the PDG, as the Soviet Ambassador and some Soviet Officials were expelled out of the country. When relations with the Soviet Union were restored after discussions, it was very clear that Sékou Touré did not allow himself to become a captive of the Communist bloc. In 1962 he began seeking more contacts with other African states and also negotiating for increased foreign aid from Western Powers. By this open attitude Sékou Touré was able to prove wrong his enemies of the other Monrovia Group states that he was pro-Communist and Marxist.

But Sékou Touré remained very faithful to his idea with Nkrumah of the United States of Africa. He even showed this by giving Kwame Nkrumah political asylum after his overthrow in January 1966 by a CIA organized military coup d'état. He not only allowed Nkrumah to operate a resistance Radio Station from Conakry to Ghana, namely the "Voice From Conakry"; but also shared his presidency with Nkrumah, giving him all the Presidential

strapping. He became more anti-West because he knew the treachery of the Western Powers and their African allies like Senegal and Ivory Coast to unseat any budding revolution from Africa. But Sékou Touré remained very faithful to his idea with Nkrumah of the United States of Africa. He even showed this by giving Kwame Nkrumah political asylum after his overthrow in January 1966 by a CIA organized military coup d'état. He not only allowed Nkrumah to operate a resistance Radio Station from Conakry to Ghana, namely the "Voice From Conakry"; but also shared his presidency with Nkrumah, giving him all the Presidential strapping. He became more anti-West because he knew the treachery of the Western Powers and their African allies like Senegal and Ivory Coast to unseat any budding revolution from Africa.



Photos 188 (g) (h): Sékou Touré With Fidel Castro; Sékou Touré With Ronald Reagan. Sékou Touré The Smart Pan Africanist And Humanitarian

The Oxford Dictionary of Political Biography (2013) <http://www.answers.com/library/Political+Biographies-cid-101825> gives a good account:

“After the overthrow of Nkrumah in January 1966, Touré became more aggressive in his attitudes toward the West, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and the new Ghana regime. He declared Nkrumah honorary president of Guinea and threatened to restore him to power by force. Houphouët-Boigny replied to Touré’s threats by sending troops to his borders and promising to invoke French aid, and Touré did not follow up his threat with action against the Ivory Coast. In May 1967, on the twentieth anniversary of the PDG, Touré denounced Western missionaries and ordered all foreign clergymen deported by June 1. Touré attempted to end Guinea’s self-imposed isolation in 1968. Nkrumah’s sanctuary was continued, but his public statements and appearances were limited. Touré even moderated the degree and type of denunciation of the Ivory Coast and Senegal. He attended the Monrovia Conference in April; Guinea became a member

of the Organization of Senegal River States; and he restored diplomatic relations with Britain, which had been severed in 1965."

Whatever the controversies about Ahmed Sékou Touré as a dictator are regarding his human rights records, one thing remains that he is undeniably one of the greatest strategist Pan Africanist Africa ever produced. A leader of a country with very little means, he put into practice and experimented what he meant by the creation of the United States of Africa. One of the greatest tributes ever paid to this hero comes from Norman Otis Richmond who gives full details about Sékou Touré's contributions and legacy to Pan Africanism:

"As a youth Toure, along with Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, the Congo's Patrice Lumumba and Algeria's Ahmed Ben Bella were some of the leaders that I and many of my generation identified with. While only a fool would attempt to defend the current regime of President Lansana Conte, only a bigger fool would attempt to denigrate the role that Toure played in the struggle for World African Liberation. Lansana has been head of state of Guinea since the death of Toure in 1984. He took power in a military coup shortly after Toure's death. A professional military man, he actually fought against the heroic Algerian people on the side of the French, during their war of liberation against colonialism. However, he did fight against the French for the independence of guinea after his involvement in Algeria. Today Guinea is one of the poorest countries on earth. Toure helped lead Guinea to independence from French colonial rule in 1958. In Cameroon, an armed uprising began in 1955 when the UPC (Union des Populations de Cameroun) was declared illegal/ UPC had demanded the withdrawal of French troops, an end to Cameroon's status as a United Nations mandate, and a revolutionary land reform with the slogan, "the land to those who till it." Without protest the UN allowed the French troops to violently crush the revolt. Western history books seldom write about the revolt in the Cameroon. A trade unionist, Toure was able to help lead his nation to independence by proclaiming, "We prefer dignity in poverty to affluence in slavery...African people will remember Toure as a great Pan Africanist who attempted to unite Africa and Africans world-wide. It was Toure, along with Nkrumah and Mali Modibo Keita, who attempted to form a United States of Africa in the 1960s. Nkrumah asked the Congo's Patrice Lumumba to join this alliance before his assassination on January 17, 1961. Guinea was one of the first African nation to open its doors to Overseas Africans. Six years after Guinea's independence, a delegation from the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC) visited Guinea on the invitation of Toure. The politically astute Harry Belafonte made arrangements. Belafonte is a direct political descendant of the "tallest tree in our forest," the great Paul Robeson. The Portuguese invaded Guinea November 1970 with the intent to assassinate Toure and Cabral. The Portuguese colonialist made a sensational attempt to

invade Guinea Conakry. They were knocked out in early Mike Tyson fashion. The PAIGC started the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in 1963. But in the following years the Portuguese suffered defeat after defeat. Toure's government supported the PAIGC completely. Mai Palmer, the editor of the book, The Struggle for Africa discussed the aborted invasion. Said Palmberg, "The invasion proved to be a total fiasco, because PAIGC and Guinea's total defence forces were able to respond quickly and drive the enemy out. It was later revealed that West Germany and France supported the Portuguese invasion, and that their representative in Conakry had assisted the invasion forces. While it is true that Toure's relationship cooled with the Soviet Union in his later years, he nevertheless cooperated with them against Apartheid South Africa. When Apartheid South Africa invaded Angola, the progressive forces worldwide united with Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The forces of reaction supported Apartheid South Africa and puppet groups like the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independent Angola UNITA. Washington expressed its disappointment and irritation at Toure's transgression and warned that it would affect relations between the two countries. Toure was defiant, informing the Soviet Union ambassador: "You have permanent and unconditional permission to use Conakry airport for flights relating to Angola." How will history evaluate Toure? I believe the revolutionary forces of the world will hold him up as a person who was on the right side of history. As for Radio Netherlands, they are merely the mouth piece for imperialism and history will reflect that the word "Apartheid" is of Dutch origin."

Boganda's father, a Chieftain and Traditional Healer, was assassinated by the colonial settlers for setting up a resistance to the forced labour practice prevalent in the French colonies for the collection of wild rubber for the colonial government. His mother was also slain later by one of the militia supervising the collection of rubber because of her resistance to forced labour and working for the colonial settlers. Boganda, who became an orphan from his very tender age was taken to the Orphanage at Mbaiki and raised by the Catholic Missionaries.

He was later adopted by one of the Priests of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit Reverend Father Gabriel Herriau who took him to the boarding school at Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Bétou and later transferred him to Saint-Paul-of-the-Rapides of Bangui. That was where he met another mentor, Monsignor Jean-Rene Calloc'h (Pierre Kalck, 1971) who taught him French and other art subjects. He was later sent to the Minor Seminary of Brazzaville. He then grew up in the austerity and serious grooming of the privileged African Catholic elites who were given a good education above those of the common people, in philosophy, the humanities and the arts. That is how Boganda became the first

African in the entire Equatorial French Africa to graduate from the High School run by the French Missionaries. It was here that he encountered and fell in love and admiration of the African Nationalist, Karnou who started the Kongo-Wara War of 1928 – 1931, declaring that he was the Black Christ sent by God to liberate his people from the bondage and slavery of the White people. It was at this moment that the new Apostolic Vicar of Bngui, Monsignor Marcel Grandin, discovered and took interest in him and drew him nearer to understand this ebullient and interesting personality with an African Nationalist focus. He was later, in 1931, sent to the Major Seminary of Saint Laurence at Mvolye in Yaounde, in the French League of Nations' Mandated Territory of Cameroon. That was where he met with Jean Marie Mbida, who was later going to become the first Prime Minister of Cameroon and Fulbert Youlou who was the first President of Congo Brazzaville. He was ordained on 27 March 1938 at the Notre Cathedral of Bangui at a Mass attended by over three thousand people as the first native Priest of Oubangui-Chari.



Photos 188 (i) & (ii): Barthélemy Boganda 4 April 1910 – 29 March 1959

After his ordination, Boganda consecrated his life in promoting education and entrepreneurship and the Liberation Theology of his people to fight colonial injustice and assert the self-determination of the people of French Equatorial Africa. At the outbreak of the Second World War, he continued to work for the education and emancipation of his people. He continued to preach about the colonial injustices in French Equatorial Africa highlighting the human rights abuses raised by Andre Gide in 1927 in his .Mission To

Congo' Journal. After the Second World War he was obliged to join politics, encouraged by the Missionaries, and particularly the Bishop of Bangui his mentor, since he was the only well enlightened person of his region, and won the elections in Bangui to represent the indigenous people in the French Assembly in 1946. On returning to Bangui he immediately founded the MESAN – "Mouvement d'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire – Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa". This movement became very popular among the local people in the villages, the rising local elites and the plantation workers, miners, domestic servants and employees in the private and public sectors.

This was after the Brazzaville Conference of 1945 which established the Gaullist French Empire and extended French Territories Over Seas, 'territoires d'outre-mer' (TOM).

The Missionaries on sensing the radicalism that was growing in the colonies among the enlightened elites of the Africans and indigenous peoples, introduced Boganda to his new political mentor Dr. Louis-Paul Aujoulat, with whom he succeeded to found on 7th June 1948 in Lyon, 'l'association des Amis de l'Afrique noire', the Association of the Friends of Black Africa, which was intended to become the moderate version, or the French Fabianism, to contain and combat the radical self-determination of the African Peoples of French Equatorial Africa. Boganda became the Vice-President of this French Fabianism movement.

But Boganda did not mince his words in criticizing the colonial injustices perpetrated his people and other people of French Equatorial Africa. That is how on 1st July 1948 he founded the Journal titled: 'Pour sauver un peuple', 'For The Liberation Of A People' wherein as sole Editor in Chief, he produced and sold 2000 to 3000 copies in the first printing and publication. This Journal which was very virulent in exposing and castigating the atrocities and injustices of the colonial administration in Equatorial Africa drew the attention of the French extreme leftist Communist Journal 'Humanité', the mouth piece of the French Communist Party, which reproduced it integrally and republished it in special Nos. 5 and 6 of its editions thus giving it a much larger coverage. This publicity did not please the French Government and the Missionaries who thought Boganda was overstepping his bounds.

As if that was not enough, Boganda wrote a long memoire to the Vatican in 1949 condemning the Catholic Celibacy programme of the Priesthood as incompatible to African traditions and the danger that this programme run into in the African Roman Catholic Church. When he informed his superiors about his intentions to get married to his Parliamentary Secretary Michelle Jourdain, his superiors did not spare the time to get rid of him. On 25th

November 1949 he was immediately suspended by Bishop Cucherousset, the Bishop of Bangui who banned him from wearing the soutane. On 13th June 1950 he was officially married to Michelle Jourdain at Montmorency.

But the popularity of Boganda grew in French Equatorial Africa where he settled with his new family and withdrew from the Parisian French African Deputies of the French National Assembly whom he considered playing to the gallery and to the interests of French colonialism in Africa. He also refused to join the RDA even though invited by Felix Houphouët Boigny who offered him the position of President of the Great Counsel of French Equatorial Africa, with the hope of fusing Boganda's MESAN with the RDA. Boganda declined to join the RDA, just like Um Nyobe who quit to create its more radical wing, because he thought it was more accommodating to the colonial policy of reinforcing French colonial domination of Africa.

His popularity in French Equatorial Africa became very uncomfortable for the Missionaries (Appiah, K. Anthony; Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., 1999) who found his popularity among his people disconcerting and frustrating. To make things worse Baganda, who had not only consolidated his position as the mouth piece and advocate of his people, given the fact that not only was he married to a White woman, a social asset for a Black man in those days; but also the fact he was the son of a respectable traditional high priest and traditional healer; would invoke the ancestors during all his political campaigns in the colonial territory. This is how is people came to identify him as the re-incarnation of the Liberation Theology nationalist Kanou, the Black Christ proclaimed as the Messiah of Africa. He used to confirm this identity by his proclamations as the ordained Messiah of Africa as he used to admit that: « Libérer l'Afrique et les Africains de la servitude et de la misère, telle est ma raison d'être et le sens de mon existence[] ». « My life mission and reason for my existence is the liberation of Africa from all forms of servitude and misery.»

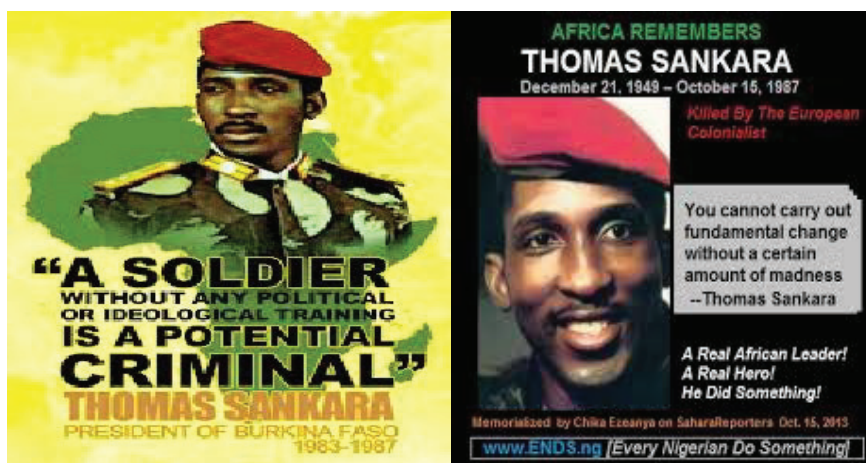
Boganda was a very refined pragmatist who played the fine line of a reformed revolutionary within the French community. He proposed the founding of the United States of the Latin African States to include the French, the Portuguese and Spanish Colonies so that these colonial states gain independence on a stronger platform. He realised the balkanisation of the lilliputian States of Africa would weaken Africa instead. This proposition could not be achieved because of the rivalries of the African elites who wanted to maintain the succession of the colonial states in Africa. His efforts to build a stronger and liberated Central Africa failed when his plane crashed on 25th March 1959 just a few months to the independence of the territory. A

sabotage was suspected since explosives were later found in the wreckage of the aircraft.

Thomas Sankara, also known as “Africa’s Che Guevara” was the true young Turk Pan Africanist who tried to put into practice the philosophy of African liberation and Self-determination in the manner it should. Sankara was a real revolutionary who, in the Toussaint L’Ouverturean principle and practice wanted to put an end to the post-independence neo-colonialism and bad governance that the leaders of Africa had plunged Africa into, without shame, without remorse of conscience.

His coming to power through a military coup d’état, at the age of 33, was an indicator of the end of the mismanagement of the state and resources of the people of Africa by the neo-colonial African heads of states who had taken the place of the colonial masters to continue with the exploitation of the colonial masters at all levels of society.

One understands why on his assumption of power as head of the “Upper Volta” state he settled for the immediate change of the colonial name to the rename it “Burkina Faso,” “Land Of A People Of Integrity.” His main and original objective was to transform the bastardised neo-colonial state into a land of people with integrity, who would stand tall above the rampant corruption that African States were plunged into.



Photos 189 (a) & (b): Thomas Isidore Noël Sankara: December 21, 1949 – October 15, 1987

Most critics of Sankara accused him of being too fast for the liking of the corrupt political class and for the middle comprador class that depended for their livelihood on the handouts of the neo-colonial masters, France especially.

Sankara’s revolutionary programme was said to be facing a very strong opposition from the “traditional” power which he ignored and marginalised as

well as from the small middle class was very powerful despite its insignificant number.

Sankara was quick to retort that: “You cannot carry out fundamental change without a certain amount of madness.” He was convinced that one has essentially transcend the fear of having to shock or hurt the feelings of those who are comfortable in their acquired privileges; or the fear of the risk of one’s life even to the point of death. For it really takes a degree of Toussaint L’Ouverturean madness to launch a revolution to liberate one’s people, subjected for a long time to slavery, colonialism and senile exploitation.

Sankara saw himself as that promethean Toussaint L’Ouverturean revolutionary of the new era who had the duty to purge Africa of her accommodating leaders who, after learning their lesson well from the colonial masters, had become more colonial and neo-colonial against their own people whom they have plunged into the state of very dehumanising servitude and deprivation. Sankara was determined to snuff out from the nooks and crannies of Africa those gluttonous leaders who had confiscated the state, and gagged their own people to near strangulation as he intoned the war cry against these heartless leaders, insisting that: “Woe betides any leaders who gag their own people” depriving them of the necessary freedom to their capacity building and choice of the kind of development that they want for the sustenance of their livelihood.



Photos 189 (c) & (d): Thomas Sankara The Pan Africanist Fighter For Liberation Of Africans From Ignorance And Corruption

It is for reason that Sankara said that: “A soldier without any political or ideological training is a potential criminal.” This is because instead of protecting the people and their interest he would protect the same leaders who are strangulating their own people and making profits of the misery and

servitude they plunge them into. At the time Sankara seized power in Burkina Faso to transform it into a land of people with integrity, Africa was at its heights of corruption and 'laissez-faire' slave driven capitalist economy and means of production. General Rawlins had brought in a new revolution that had set Ghana back on its rails of sanity and good governance as he was working hard for the "beautiful ones to be born" to Ghana and Africa.

When Sankara told his followers that: "We must invent the future," he was making allusion to the lost post-independence years of Africa when Africa failed to emerge from the trappings of colonial states to create their own progressist freedom states with a mission to harness Africa's productive forces together for the sustainable development of Africa. Sankara believed in the African saying that: "When the time for banana to get ripe is attained, even if one puts it under water, it will still get ripe". But he also knew that if one would only wait for time to take its course Africa would never come out of its colonial underdevelopment to project itself in the new era of self-determination and globalisation.

Sankara was aware the productive forces of Africa would not be complete without the contributions of women. Like Cheikh Anta Diop he knew that women who were the backbone of all socio-economic and cultural development, were able to tap from their matriarchal heritage which was the foundation of African Civilisations and Proto-Industrialisation efforts. But the neo-colonial state had so relegated women to the background of this hyper patriarchal society in such a way the their voices were never heard; nor were their opinions asked whenever there were any decisions taken for national development that affected women. Sankara was quick to remark therefore that "I can hear the roar of the women's silence;" to indicate that it was high time women were given a voice and a representation in their own affairs and in state and national affairs affecting them. That explains Sankara's determination to place women at the forefront of his revolution when he reiterated that:

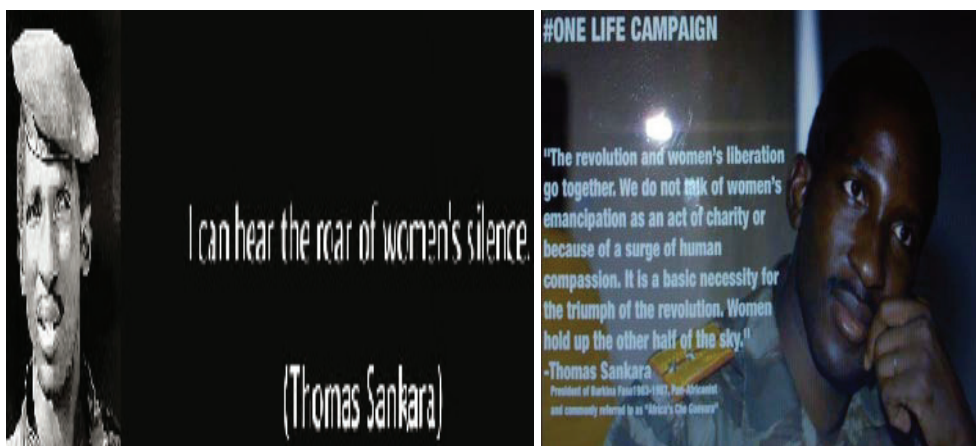
"The liberation and women's liberation go together. We do not talk of women's emancipation as an act of charity or because of a surge of human compassion. It is basic necessity for the triumph of the revolution. Women hold up the other half of the sky."

Thomas Sankara's revolution was very suspicious to the Western Powers who considered it as inspired by Communism. Neighbouring African states were also very afraid and suspicious of the kind of revolution that could sweep neo-colonial Africa under its feet, given that Tomas Sankara became very popular throughout Africa among the youths and among some traditionalist

Pan Africanists. This was also because Sankara declared that there will be no state succession as he reiterated that “we must invent the future.”

This hypothesis is confirmed by Bruno Jaffré (2013) who elaborates that:

“Since then, little by little, the outlines of an international conspiracy however began to emerge. Simple political analysis of the international situation and the increasingly important role that Thomas Sankara was playing inside impose it as a more likely hypothesis. Although Burkina Faso was a small country, Thomas Sankara was becoming more and more popular among the youth of the continent, to the extent of worrying leaders of neighbouring countries that he did not hesitate to publicly challenge. Thus, they began refusing to receive him in the capitals to prevent demonstrations of support for this young leader who was increasingly becoming an essential and uncontrollable figure. Better still, Thomas Sankara had even infiltrated managers of some inter-African international institutions, who were untouchable so far, so that they could be prosecuted in Ouagadougou by revolutionary People’s Courts. His relentless fight against corruption, the momentum he had managed to inspire his people with, the fact that he quickly convinced them of his sincere commitment to build the country, and his integrity, and that he massively put his people at work were several examples that things could have been different in neighbouring countries had they been ruled by upright leaders.”



Photos 189 (e) & (f): Thomas Sankara Hearing The Roar Of Women’s Silence And Fighting For The Liberation Of African Women

Whereby, he decreed that corrupt states could not impute the outcome of their bad governance and corruption on the succeeding states, and therefore could not be held responsible and accountable for the debts they incurred. Like Moshun Abiola a few years after him, he believed that if there were any debts incurred by the preceding states that were the affair of the succeeding

states. Instead he held that there were the colonial state governments had to pay colonial debts to Africa for promoting slavery and colonisation with all the ills that entailed. Sankara was very adamant when he declared that:

“Nous ne pouvons pas rembourser la dette parce que nous ne sommes pas responsable...We cannot reimburse the debt because we are not responsible...If we do not pay the capital lenders will not die; if we pay we will die. We cannot pay; and we don't want to pay.”

It would seem Sankara believed that to put an end to this vicious circle of rampant corruption that had taken a stranglehold on African states he had to put a stop to the colonial and the neo-colonial state succession with all the debt it incurred from its previous mandate of mismanagement and bad governance. By the time Sankara came to power, Africa was at its peak of corruption. Sankara was certainly inspired by Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlins of neighbouring Ghana who had purged Ghana of its corrupt ministers. Sankara wanted to break away from the dictatorship of France in Africa which was engendered by the signing of the Foccartian “Cooperation Treaty of 1958.

It was Sankara who said that if African states had to have relations with France or any other country, it had to be on the basis of the United Nations Charter of the equality of all States. He said that France had to desist and stop treating African states like second class states, depending on the dictates of France. He demonstrated this policy when he came to France during one of those state visits where President Francois Mitterrand sent a Secretary of State to receive him at the airport instead of coming to the airport himself. Sankara remained in the plane and refused to alight since Mitterrand refused to come and receive him; and made a U-turn back to Burkina Faso.



Photos 189 (g) & (h): Thomas Sankara The Revolutionary With A Focus And Determination to Affect Change

This behaviour created the strained relations between Sankara and Mitterrand who was suspected and even accused to be the commanditator of his assassination in retaliation to this open confrontation. Being a die hard as he was in his beliefs and determination to succeed, Sankara believed that he would lead his followers to accept and apply his theory of rigour and transparency. Like Julius Nyerere he lived a very simple life identifying with the people. Apart from his military fatigues, he dressed very simply like the common folks and drove a simple Renault, refusing the extravagancies and luxuries that go with power.



Photos 189 (i) & (j): Thomas Sankara Assassinated Martyr And Nationalist Of Africa

It was Sankara's objective to see through the revolution which will bring happiness to every Burkina Faso citizen irrespective of ethnicity or gender. According to Aziz Fall, Sankara in his own words used to declare that:

"Our revolution will be of value only if, looking back... and ahead, we are able to say that the Burkinabe people are a little happier because of it. Because they have clean drinking water, because they have plenty to eat, because they are in good health, because they have access to education, because they have decent housing, because they have better clothing, because they have the right to leisure, because they have greater freedom, more democracy and greater dignity... Revolution means happiness. Without happiness we cannot speak of success."

Sankara somehow believed that he had to sacrifice his life for the revolution to work; that he had to make enormous sacrifices even to the cost

of his life. Nevertheless he lived his full revolutionary life and burnt all the trails consulting and gaining experience from the likes of Muammar Gaddafi and Fidel Castro who admired this young dynamic new breed of African Liberation Fighters of Neo-Colonialism.

The Western powers did not take this new revolutionary lightly as they feared the jeopardy it would cause to their vested imperialist and slave-driven capitalist interest in Africa. They then plotted to eliminate him. Principally these were France, the United States of America, However it would seem that Gaddafi was implicated in his assassination due to some misunderstanding and misinformation.



Photos 189 (k) & (l): Thomas Sankara In The Footprints Of Fidel Castro; Thomas Sankara Concerting With Muammar Gaddhafi

Aziz Fall furnishes us with details of Sankara's enemies and the great role played by the Western Powers and their African colonialised hit men to eliminate Thomas Sankara with very graphic details that make the blood run cold in one's veins. When he vividly narrates in the section titled "A Danger to Imperialism and Comprador Bourgeoisie "must" die!... The Treacherous "Friend"..." he goes on to highlight certain facts:

"Imperialism (and their Third World henchmen) has killed even less radical and much less consequent politicians, and this even in the West. Especially US Imperialism has always followed the principle of "Killing Hope" (as is the title of a brilliant book by William Blum – <http://killinghope.org/>) and decided to do so in this case as well. Part of the machinations was the notorious Liberian Charles Taylor who "escaped" from a prison in the US. Well informed people have no doubt that Taylor was under CIA "guidance". The greater "concept" aimed also at Samuel Doe, then the President of Liberia (and in whose government Taylor served as head of Civil Services), at the beginning very much disliked by the West but after some time incorporated into the

Empire's (US) frame before he was finally "to be dropped" by "Big Brother". Incarcerated twice in Ghana but finally released by Jerry John Rawlings Taylor made his way astonishingly to Libya. Here the story becomes quite multi folded since it seems also Libya's Gaddafi (<http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/45420>) was "tricked" into the sketch obviously believing he could use Taylor (who on his side also had to spy Gaddafi's activities with "troublemakers" in Africa). Another important part of the plan (mainly by the US and France) to get rid of Sankara was his longtime associate in the revolution and old friend of his family, Blaise Compaoré. Compaoré became more and more hostile to Sankara's policy and was in touch with the French supported regime in Ivory Coast and he probably introduced Taylor to Gaddafi (<http://thomassankara.net/spip.php?article1055>). In a "joint venture" with Taylor an armed gang dropped in a meeting Sankara was holding with twelve other officials and killed all of them. Information indicates that Compaoré was among the killers and possibly Taylor with them. Sankara's body was dismembered and buried at night. Compaoré claimed a "natural death" of his former friend."

Sankara seemed to have had a premonition that he would not live to see the fruits of his revolution and worked tirelessly to fulfil that mission. He was able to predict his death when he reiterated that: "While revolutionaries as individuals can be murdered, you cannot kill ideas."



Photos 189 (m) & (n): Thomas Sankara The President Of Africans With Integrity

This is true because the legacy of Sankara lives after him. Sankara knew that his ideas about the revolution were unpopular to the Western capitalist powers and their African henchmen who would connive to eliminate him. But he did not for once suspect his best friend, Blaise Compaore who was to take part in his assassination. Bruno Jaffré, confirms Aziz Falls hypothesis of an international conspiracy to do away with Thomas Sankara because they found

him very uncompromising and too honest for their liking and their convenience when he admits that:

*“The first journalistic investigations already evoked the conspiracy theory. Journalist Sennen Andriamirado, now deceased, who closely followed that revolution and a personal friend of Thomas Sankara developed this thesis in his first articles following the assassination before stating the opposite in a book he was to publish a year later. Moreover, from 1993 academic studies by Anglophone researchers had reported the presence of Liberians in Burkina Faso at the time. They hypothesized their involvement in the assassination of Thomas Sankara, something that would be confirmed in other works in English thereafter. In 2000, François Xavier Verschave, then president of the association SURVIE (<http://www.survie.org>) in his voluminous book *Noir Silence (Les Arènes)*, writes on page 346 about the “paradoxical” Franco-Lybian relationship : “The elimination of Burkina Faso president Thomas Sankara is undoubtedly the founding sacrifice ... Foccart and the entourage of Gaddafi agreed in 1987 to replace a leader too honest and independent to the point of being annoying by one Blaise Compaore much more willing to share their plans. The Ivorian Houphouët Boigny was associated in the conspiracy.” Since then, different sources have confirmed the hypothesis of an international conspiracy, including an Italian documentary by Silvestro Montanaro aired on RAI3 in July 2009 (see the film and the translation of certain passages at <http://www.thomassankara.net/spip.php?article794>). Several former companions of Charles Taylor claim to have been present at the scene, but also talk about the participation of the Ivory Coast, Libya, France and the American CIA”.*

The story of Thomas Sankara teaches us one great lesson with its several ramifications:

that all great revolutionaries are like messengers and prophets of God sent to initiate the liberation of their people when they have lost all hope in life and living;

that all revolutions are contagious because they reveal up in other territories the repressed voices that never have true outlets for grievances against bad governance of a people and a country;

that all oppressors of people and those who govern badly will always try as hard as possible to foil or repress all kinds of revolution, because they know its contagious and addictive force;

that all oppressors know that revolutions are never easy to come by because it takes a lot of courage and conviction about the divine calling by those who initiate them, who also sacrifice and lay down their lives for the cause they stand for;

that it is difficult to oppress revolutions even though bad governors would oppress them knowing fully well that it is only for a time; for the revolution will always resurface as long as there is bad governance and discontent of the people.

That no amount of repression will stop any revolution; and all revolution will grow and grow as long as bad governance and corruption and injustice grow within a system; and no amount of arms and logistics for repression will work effectively and efficiently.



Photos 189 (o) (p): Thomas Sankara The Nationalist Entertainer; Thomas Sankara The Loving And Caring Father

Thomas Sankara was a revolutionary who understood the challenges of his difficult mission in a land and continent where the majority of the people are still colomentalised and chickenhearted to take any surgical action to solve the problem of inhumane repression and exploitation of the majority of people by a few people who have confiscated and privatised the state.

The truth of the pending revolution is that Africa's revolution is coming sooner than expected. With the fast growing population, which is young and dynamic, as well as educated and determined to enter the global culture and economy.

A time is coming when Africa's dynamic children, in the spirit of Sanakara, will refuse to be water carriers and wood cutters and wood splitters, nail trimmers and hair cutters, shit carriers and garbage scavengers of the affluent societies, bush-fallers and 'junk-civilisation' and the decadent European and American societies' safety valves and bridge-builders. They will sit put in Africa to ask for a fair share of the commonwealth of Africa as inscribed in the true human rights and corporate social responsibility for every African child, African woman, African man for the entire continent of Africa. They will leave no stone unturned until Sankara legacy would have been fulfilled.

A Lasting homage is paid to by Bruno Jaffre (2013) who recounts that:

“The violent murder of Burkina Faso’s President Thomas Sankara on October 15, 1987 is commensurate with the relentlessness of his killers to dishonour and erase him from the memory of his countrymen. By the same token, attempts to make known the circumstances of his assassination seem to encounter powerful forces. It must be said that the hypothesis of an international conspiracy is slowly making its way. Whatever the case, Thomas Sankara now belongs to the Pantheon of revolutionary figures. He is not only widely adopted as a model by a large segment of African youth, but he is also a source of inspiration for artists of various disciplines.”

It was this inspiration and hope that Sankara gave the youths of Africa and Pan Africanist like me that inspired me to compose this poem and song in his honour and that of Bamuni, my Burkina Fasoan Friend who graduated from the University of the Sorbonne in Journalism and mass Communication, and was invited by Thomas Sankara to go home and become part of his new revolutionary government, who was also assassinated with him titled:

Thomas Sankara The African Nationalist

*The sun revolted to shed its light on BoBoDiLaso Cold Morning
The Land of the Integral People wore the Sack-cloth of mourning
The Great Son of the Warrior Queen Yennenga Bravely Towering
The Skyline of the Mosi-Empire refuses Condolences Inspiring
The Warrior Cavalries of Dagomba, Yatenga stampeding, raging
In Anger to reclaim the Crowned Prince Thomas Sankara’s Ring
From the finger of a treacherous truant-friend turned quisking
Of Neo-Colonisation, Blaise Campaore, the New Seed of Evil...*

*Bamuni’s Exposition to Me awaken my Great Expectations in
The New Revival of Our Ancestral Heritage of Integrity
Despoiled and robbed, as Our Dignity and Pride of Living
Searching for the Life Umbilical Cord to Our Sovereignty
In this neo-imposed Balkanisation of our Self-Determination
Fails us from attaining the Independence of our Destiny
To forge the brain-driven weapons of our Liberation
From the Old-Time Slavery of Imperialist Colonisation...*

*As I weep for the Loss of the Liberator Prophet Sankara
Your consoling voice encourages me not to give in to the Masquara*

*Of futile Prophets of Doom who hold Africa to the Fourcatian tether they call
Development
Which is nothing short of Neo-Exploitation and Poverty-Development...
When will Burkina Faso, Original Land of the Garamantes Horse-Drawn
Charioteers,
Who colonised Carthage reinvent the Wheel of Creativity to
harness Africa's Resources
For the unborn generations of African Youth as Who will rise as one voice to say:
NO! to the New Slavery!...
NO! to the New Colonisation!...
NO! to the New Dependency!...*

*Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 19th August 1988 (In Honour Of Thomas Sankara
and My Friend Bamuni, the Information Minister of Thomas Sankara, Assassinated
Along With Him)*

The Great Role Played by America and Comintern Russia in Boosting Radical Pan-Africanism after the Second World War

Andrew Young, when he was U. S. Ambassador at the United Nations under President Jimmy Carter, at the same time as Cyrus Vance, that great erudite refined humanist ever of the American State Department, many people did not seem to understand the Chemistry that which united these three people who were peace lovers and peace-builders of the world.

As Cyrus Vance pushed for the thawing of the Cold War and the establishment of economic ties with Russia, the facilitation of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks – SALT II, as well as the Camp David (Peace-Building) Accord agreement between Egypt and Israel, Andrew Young was busy breaking grounds with African States for more bilateral agreements with the United States of America.

America refused to seize the opportunity these three great personalities gave them on a platter of gold after the humiliating defeat of the United States in the shameful iron and boot power in Vietnam, as well as the shameful Napalm bombings that devastated innocent people, women and children especially, in the Vietnam War and in Cambodia provoked by the policies of Henry Kissinger under President Nixon before them; bombings which could only be compared to the shameful nuclear-durst of Hiroshima bombings which had not yet settled.

Had America with this Triumvirate Policy Makers continued holding out the Jimmy Carter hand of Peace with the Olive Branch he tried to give the world, and has continued to hold out to the world, and not resorted to the strong fisted hand of the United States' self-arrogated Police Power of the World as projected by the Reagan and the Bush father and son regimes; we could have pre-empted 9/11.

The world would not have had to be strangled today, by the American crass Ignorance and short-sightedness of its wayward leaders who seem to always want to prove that might for might is always right. Or to project to the world that America is still the Lion and Policeman of the world; even though it is in the last stage of its dyeing power and decadent civilization; refusing to accept that there are now other new emerging powers in the global security and economic scenes.

We would not have ended today with the dehumanising and conscience blaring wars of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the assassination of Osama Bin

Laden without habeas corpus and due legal process, and the assassination of Muammar Gaddafi by US-NATO-Driven Forces; and the shameful dehumanising Obama Drones today which can indiscriminately kill civilians in Pakistan and Afghanistan and are laying waste not only material habitats and economy of innocent people, but also killing in the thousands innocent women, children and men in the name of fighting “Terrorism”.

We would not have ended up with Malala today who represents all the gagged voiceless peoples of the world, who because they are refused the luxury of the open space and stage to air their views to the world, revert to what is popularly known today as “Terrorism,” which is also the other face of coin of “Imperialism” and “Deprivation” that America and the exploitative liberal capitalist world has been imposing on the world for centuries.

U.S. UN Ambassador Andrew Young, suggested that the US had to use less force and more dialogue and mellow treatment of African radical Heads of State like Kerekou, Sékou Touré , Amilcar Cabral, Muammar Gaddafi, Sam Nujoma, Robert Mugabe, Samora Marchel, Augustinho Netto, ANC liberation fighters and others, instead of boot force and investing in violence and supporting despotic leaders like Joseph Mobutu Sesse Seko and Jonas Savimbi in the civil war that ravaged Angola for years and transformed the country-side of helpless villagers into a quagmire of land-mines, and Apartheid South African Afrikaner Broederbond regime which received lots of American tax payers billions of dollars under the pretext of fighting Communism in Africa.

Andrew Young’s argument was that the US Policy and Mission behavior in Africa, which invested in force and corruption of Dictators and in Apartheid South Africa than in real dialogue and Human Rights and Human Development and Material and Social Development of the People for their sustainable livelihood, was forcing the deprived peoples and States of Africa to fall into the hands of the Marxist-Leninist Comintern Russia and their allies like Communist China and North Korea.

Andrew Young was talking from real life experience as a youth and former Civil Rights non-violent activist in Rosa Parks’ and Martin Luther King’s Civil Rights Movement of the USA in the 1960s and 1970s.

Mindful of the fact that it was the persistent deprivation of the Black people of America, with its WASP and Ku Klux Klan ideologies of White racist supremacy; and the repression of Black people and the serial human rights abuses and lynchings and murders perpetrated against Blacks by their White oppressors; that the Rosa Parks, the Martin Luther King, the WEB Du Bois and the Malcolm X, the Black Panthers and many other Black radicals

were born because of the intransigencies of Racist White America in their treatment of Black People as a whole.

It is also true that it was due to the ruthless colonial deprivation of the human rights abuses of the people of the colonies and the systematic abuses of their rights to self-determination, that the radical Marxist-Leninist African Intellectuals, political and social class leaders like Modibo Keita of Mali, Sékou Touré of Guinea Conakry, Sylvanus Olympio of Togo, Oum Nyobe, Felix Moumie, Ernest Ouandzie, Osende Afana, Iyidi Bebey, of Cameroon, Patrice Lumumba of Congo Democratic Republic, Kerekou of Benin (Dahomey), Mariam Ngouabi of Congo Popular Republic, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissao, Augustinho Netto of Angola and Samoa Marchel of Mozambique, as well as Sam Nujoma of South West Africa, were born.

The committed, even though with its own kind of racism as criticized by George Padmore, other Black leaders like WEB DuBois of the African Diaspora, and finally Aimé Césaire, contributed greatly in its own little way, in the open support it gave to Black liberation movements in Europe, America, in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia.

It could be argued or testified, with what is happening today, as neo-colonialism is taking roots in Africa, that had it not been to the great support given by committed of Russia, China and even North Korea to the black liberation movements and to the decolonisation process of the colonies, that the so-called independence of self-determination of peoples of the colonised world would not have been realised as early as it came, or it would never have been realised at all.

It was thanks to the support of the committed in the Americas and the Caribbean, that the new awareness of African people all over the world to unite was spearheaded and fostered by the Black intellectual class and the new pro-active young revolutionaries, which took a very revolutionary turn.

African Diaspora in the world started focusing on Africa for answers to some of their identity issues and the systematic discriminations and repressions that Black African peoples were subjected to in America and throughout the Western dominated world. Quite a number of leading Pan-Africanists began researching more into African history and Black African literature and Africa's contributions to world history.

Some like Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and WEB DuBois advocated for original theory of "Back to Africa" and finally returned to become African citizens in Ghana in 1957 and 1963, under Kwame Nkrumah. Others like Alex Haley carried out research which retraced not only his origin in Africa, but actually retraced his family to the Gambia, confirming with his books:

“Roots”. Roots opened up the avalanche of the quest of Black people of their genealogies and original families and regions of Africa.

Since Alex Halley ground breaking connection of African American back to Africa, many African-Americans have been busy carrying out research on Africa and finding their roots in Africa. Alex Halley made the Marcus Garvey’s dream of the African Renaissance Exodus for African Americans come true. Alex Halley’s Pan Africanism theory of going back to trace their indigenous African heritage, through the eyes of his land mining historical book “Roots” has paved the way and opened new DNA and genetic road maps for homecoming African Americans who are now able and proud to trace their Ethnic families in Africa.

We all owe a recognition to Alex Halley’s historical and humanitarian legacy to Africans and African Americans. Alex Halley took the historical initiative and started the healing process that will bring Africans and their estranged and enslaved brothers and sisters dispersed over the harsh Semitic Arab and European-American world of slavery and discrimination. Every year thousands of African Americans now trace their DNA genetic ethnic roots and visit their homelands to commune with their blood relatives in Africa and their African Ancestors.

9.1. The All-African People’s Conference – AAPC - In Accra, 5-13 December 1958

After Ghana became independent in 1957 Kwame Nkrumah seized the opportunity to organize an All African People’s Conference in Accra. This was not only timely, but it marked a symbolic break with the colonial past of Pan-African Congresses, which were all organized, infiltrated and masterminded by the rising superpower stakeholders’ interests of Europe and America.

At the time of the convening of this conference, apart from Liberia, Ghana and Guinea who were the only Sub-Saharan nations that had attained independence, the others were still under the colonial yoke. Some of the other colonised countries were still struggling to gain independence through violence, by applying the Marxist and Malcolm X’s theories of armed struggle for their liberation. After Ghana’s independence, as it became the role model and yard stick of freedom promoted by the “High Life” Jazz song titled: “Ghana the land of Freedom” the independence fever had caught up with all Africa.

There were trade unions, political parties and organizations of civil society and some liberation movements that were in attendance. Notable among them was the presence (Fongot Kinni, 1976) of the radical nationalist party Union

des Populations du Cameroun - UPC - from Cameroon, that had been banished in 1955, by the French colonial Government and had gone underground in guerrilla warfare. Ghana and Guinea were the first independent countries to grant political asylum to members of the UPC and other revolutionary movements in Africa. That was also true of members of the African National Congress – ANC of Southern Africa – Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

A Preparatory Committee preceded the Conference. This was composed of representatives from eight independent African States: Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana and Libya. South Africa was boycotted because of its Apartheid system. There were more than three hundred delegates representing more than two hundred million people of Africa. The Secretary General of the Kenya Federation of Labour, Tom Mboya, was elected Chairman.

The Marxist-Leninist Russian based revolution had prevailed, as the conference approved the legitimacy and desirability of the use of violence against the colonial powers and oppressors of Africa. It was agreed upon that violence was inevitable in certain cases, like in Algeria where full support was given to the recently proclaimed Provisional Republican Government, *Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne* – GPRA. Regarding the UPC, the Conference demanded full amnesty and UN sponsored elections in the UN Trust territory of Cameroon under French Administration. Among the prominent personalities who attended, was Patrice Lumumba, who headed the Congolese delegation.

Unity and solidarity among African peoples and Nations were considered as the fundamental tool to fight colonialism and imperialism. The Conference therefore called for the establishment of African-wide organisations including trade unions, youth groups, and a Bureau of Liberatory Movements. The decision was taken for the establishment of a permanent secretariat at Accra. George Padmore, then living in Ghana, was appointed the first Secretary General. He died the following year in very suspicious circumstances, most probably from the hands of the CIA, and was replaced by Abdoulaye Diallo, Guinea's Resident Minister in Ghana.

Even though it could be said that the impact of AAPC could really be measured, one thing is very certain, it opened doors to many future liberation endeavours in Africa. The AAPC brought many African political leaders and nationalists together for the first time and gave them the platform to establish future relations and strategies for the liberation of the rest of Africa. It also gave Africans and their new Heads of State the opportunity to come to the help of each other.

The AAPC Conference made certain specific demands and strategies which they outlined in the following terms: The Conference...

Demands the immediate and unconditional accession to independence of all the African peoples, and the total evacuation of the foreign forces of aggression and oppression stationed in Africa;

Proclaims the absolute necessity, in order to resist the imperialist coalition more effectively and rapidly free all the dependent peoples from foreign oppression, of coordinating and uniting the forces of all the Africans, and recommends the African states not to neglect any form of co-operation in the interest of all the African peoples;

Denounces vigorously the policy of racial discrimination applied by colonialist and race-conscious minorities in South and East and Central Africa, and demands the abolition of racial domination in South Africa, the suppression of the Federation of Nyasaland and Rhodesia, and the immediate independence of these countries;

Proclaims equality of rights for all the citizens of the free countries of Africa and the close association of the masses for the building up and administration of a free and prosperous Africa;

Calls on the peoples of Africa to intensify the struggle for independence, and insists on the urgent obligation on the independent nations of Africa to assure them of the necessary aid and support; . . .

9.2. The Second All African Peoples Second Conference In Tunis: 25-30 January 1960

The Second AAPC started with a hitch due to the tension that developed between the conservative and the progressive members of the AAPC. This showed up after the first AAPC Conference in Accra. This led to the firing of Tom Mboya from his position as Secretary General of the AAPC. Tom Mboya was suspected of playing to the gallery for the interest of the CIA and the Western Superpowers intelligence that had infiltrated the Pan Africa Congress and the Organisation of African Unity. He was absent from the Tunisian AAPC. The Algerians and the Moroccans seemed to be the of the progressive branch of the AAPC. They proposed that an International Corps of Volunteers be created to go to fight in Algeria in the manner the International Brigade had gone to Spain in the 1930s.

The AAPC of Tunis had taken very expressed disturbing decisions concerning their concerns over neo-colonialism. This had to do with the tendency of the nominally independent states that were obliged to actually remain subjected to the imperialist powers because of the economic

dependency and factors and had signed French Jacques Foccartian bilateral cooperation treaties for military and even political dependency. The Foccartian Treaty gave France the privilege and prerogative of preferential treatment in trade in imports and exports to up to 65% of African raw materials into the French market and French manufactured products into the African markets.

It was this progressive stand which made the AAPC of Tunis to take very stringent positions concerning the Economic and Social Relations between African States and their former Colonial Masters.

Regarding the Economic and Social Resolutions the AAPC delegates enacted the following:

Considering the underdeveloped state of African economies which is a result of the colonial system and foreign domination;

Considering the tendency of the colonialist countries to substitute economic for political domination and thus rob the newly won independence of the African states of its true content;

Considering also the departmentalisation and lack of harmony existing in the African economies and the inadequacy of technical cadres and finance;

Considering that economic growth and development constitute the surest guarantee of the freedom of the African continent; Considering that foreign Powers sometimes use their economic aid as a means of endeavouring to divide the African territories and isolate the Independent States from territories that are still under colonial rule;

The Conference

Affirms the absolute necessity of turning the economy of the African countries to the profit of its peoples, and of acting with unity in the economic field, as in the political and cultural fields;

Proposes therefore the creation by all the Independent African States, of common organisations for the conduct of finance and commerce, and of centres of social and economic research, for the purpose of studying the forms of technical assistance to Africa and of training the technicians whom Africa needs to ensure her economic development and her social progress;

Proclaims finally the irrevocable character of the movement towards African independence, liberty and unity; . . .

The Conference was particularly critical of the French government for taking measures to limit the sovereignty of its territories in North Africa that were being decolonized by imposing the Foccartian Bilateral Treaties.

Considering the existence of the French Community, a new form of imperialist domination, and the present attempts of the French Government to impose upon countries associated with this community and on the

threshold of independence, bonds of a kind which would deprive them of true national sovereignty;...”

9.3. The Third All African People Conference: Cairo, 25-31 March 1961

The Third AAPC turned out to be more militant than the second conference. Some of the conservative groups had withdrawn from the Conference. The Congo crisis also prevented delegates from attending. In his address the Secretary General, Abdoulaye Diallo raised the issue of the Congo crisis. He reiterated the fact that there were two factions in the Congo vying for power. He insisted on the fact that the Imperialist power was supporting one of the forces to thwart the Congolese people's self-determination and aspirations for independence. This was the wing led by Messrs. Kasavubu and Moise Tshombe. The other wing was led by Mr. Gizenga, who was a pro-Lumumba and had the support of the greater majority of the Congolese people.

The Conference later adopted a very strong and radical resolution on the Congo. The resolution was stated in these terms:

“The Conference denounces the role played by General Kettani in the degradation of the situation in the Congo and demands the dismissal of Dag Hammarskjöld equally responsible for the murder of Lumumba.”

The Conference went further to condemn Kasavubu, Tshombe, Mobutu and Kalonji who were denounced for their roles in destabilising Congo for the imperialist interest. Lumumba was proclaimed a “Hero of Africa.”

The issue of neo-colonialism was further raised in its four page Resolution on Neo-colonialism which could be said to be a landmark in the collective decision of the AAPC for the liberation of the entire Africa. A full description of the features of neo-colonialism was given in this Conference.

It would not be wrong to say that these clauses and features were taken again in one of Kwame Nkrumah's books titled: “The Last Phase of Neo-colonialism,” which was published when Nkrumah was in exile in Guinea Conakry.

This third AAPC of experienced much conflict of ideology and ultimate strategy to be used for the liberation of Africa.

Immanuel Wallerstein, (1967) describes the AAPC set up at the time of the third conference very succinctly:

“The AAPC had become the meeting ground of three groups: African nationalists in non-independent countries, whose revolutionary ardour was

often tactical and hence temporary; leaders of the so-called revolutionary African states, whose militancy was often tempered by the exigencies of diplomacy and the reality of world economic pressures; African radical-nationalist opposition movements in independent states, which states were considered by these opposition movements as clients or “puppets” of the West. This latter group (which included the UPC, the Sawaba of Niger led by Djibo Bakary, the Moroccan Union Nationale des Forces Populaires [UNFP] represented by Mehdi Ben Barka) was perhaps the most genuinely and the most persistently militant. It also had the least real power. Therefore, while this third group often dominated the conferences and gave the tone to the resolutions, it was the second group (the governments) that dominated the structure and held the purse strings.”

The differences that reigned between the radical progressives and the moderates were going to create a kind of atmosphere of mistrust between the two groups of States with divergent Ideologies and approaches.

The AAPC was caught in between the strategies of the Progressive and the Moderate groups and this situation of mistrust and suspicion did not go well with the evolution of the relations between the newly independent States of Africa.

I would agree with Immanuel Wallerstein when he states that this is what could be said to cause the set back of the AAPC:

“The difference between the two groups was to prove fatal to the AAPC, as radical pronouncements by the Conference began to pose difficulties for its governmental members in their diplomatic relations with the more conservative African states. Although it was decided at the 1961 Conference that a fourth Conference be held at Bamako, Mali, in February 1962, that meeting never took place because the host government, Mali, and the Secretary-General’s government, Guinea, were reluctant to proceed with it... ‘The Casablanca governments were content to let the AAPC disappear quietly in their attempts to come to terms with the other African governments’.”

The problem of the failure of AAPC due to the conflict which ensued stems from the fact that the colonial powers were not ready to walk the talk of decolonisation. That is why I have said that at the San Francisco Peace Conference, which culminated with the United Nations Charter of Human Rights and Self Determination, (Fongot Kinni, 1988) the colonial powers found themselves on a tight rope. However they used the rope of the United

Nations to tighten their grips on the colonies. Granting full independence to the colonies was quasi committing suicide, especially when Europe was still under the Marshall Law Plan and was still recovering from their economic loss and retardedness after the Second World War. And so this idea of true independence could not be possible. Africa had to find a way of going round and out of this situation of neo-colonialism at all cost.

It was not very easy for Africa, even though it was given the playing ground for self-determination and the claim of its sovereignty. Africa still had to fight the war of liberation and self-determination of the different colonised states as some colonialists and Apartheidists Colonial Powers like Portugal and Southern Rhodesia of Ian Smith minority White Government and South Africa Afrikaner Broederbond minority were very reluctant to cede power to the Black majority in the various countries of the Southern African region.

Motsoko Pheko (2009) summarises the problems post-colonial Africa was facing in terms of making Pan Africanism a liberating tool as well as a road map for sustainable development of the continent, when he explains that:

“In the postcolonial era, the nature of Pan-Africanism and the problems facing Pan-Africanist projects changed dramatically. For the first time, Pan-Africanism became a broad-based mass movement in Africa and enjoyed its greatest successes as an international liberation movement in the first two decades after the war. Through his rhetoric and, most importantly, his example as president of independent Ghana, Nkrumah dominated this period in the history of Pan-Africanism. The context of the Cold War profoundly shaped the struggle for independence in Africa, as it did global politics in general, but in spite of his commitment to Marxism, Nkrumah avoided taking sides in the East-West Cold War and, instead, emphasized African unity. As some historians have noted, the All-Africa People’s Conference at Accra in 1957, attended by some 250 delegates, established the basic tenets of Pan-Africanism for decades to come: the attainment of political independence, assistance to national liberation movements, diplomatic unity between independent African states at the United Nations, and nonalignment. As Nkrumah asserts in I Speak of Freedom, “a Union of African states will project more effectively the African personality.” In 1963, due primarily to the efforts of Nkrumah, President Sékou Touré (1922–1984) of Guinea, President Modibo Keita (1915–1977) of the Republic of Mali, and Haile Selassie, the emperor of Ethiopia, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in the midst of decolonization and the euphoria of independence in West Africa. However, economic neo-colonialism and the limits of political independence quickly extinguished the optimism of the immediate postcolonial period, leading Pan-Africanist scholars like the Trinidadian historian Walter Rodney (1942–1980) to reevaluate the long-term repercussions of the Atlantic slave trade and European imperialism for

Africa. The 1960s also witnessed a number of intra-African disputes between newly independent states, many of which were precipitated by border issues inherited from colonialism."

Pan-Africanism and the Organisation of African Unity – OAU

10.1. The Preparative Ground Work for the Launching of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU

When one rehearses the outlined facts with regard to the contextualized situations and the stand point of protagonists or the actors involved in the building of the image and the personality of Africa, one realises that the Organisation of African Unity was already land-mined before its creation. The various camps which resurfaced were just the consequence of the trend of affairs before convocation of the AAPC and the laying of the foundations of the organization.

The factors that led to the OAU generation of the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group, are as fascinating as they are revealing. At the founding of the Organisation of African Unity – there emerged the progressive radical Casablanca group led by Kwame Nkrumah and the moderate Monrovia group led by Léopold Sédar Senghor. Analysts have always wrongfully attributed the failure of the Organisation of African Unity to these two divergent groups.

The problem was not as simple as it is narrated. The basis of the disagreement stems from the differences of intensity of the self-determination of the leaders and actors of that epoch. Algeria was just coming out of a War of self-determination and liberation from the coloniser, France that was defeated by the Republican Revolutionary Forces of Algerian Independence. Ahmed Sékou Touré, the President of Guinea Conakry, was just recovering from saying No! to the French who had asked the African States to sign an undertaking of the Foccartian Treaty in 1958.

According to the Foccartian Treaty, all the French colonies, after the Conference of Brazzaville in 1945, which inaugurated the extension of the French Empire to include the Overseas Territories, would gain their Independence while preserving their “privileged” partnership with France. This Foccartian Treaty laid down the rules for long term of cooperation with France which covered certain domains of importance like trade where France as a preferential partner was given the right to import sixty five per cent of all French African natural resources and raw material exports, and in return to export sixty-five percent of her industrial products to the African re-colonised “Independent” States. France, apart from signing bilateral treaties with African

French colonies for military defence, exercised the preferential right over matters of defence, installing military bases in countries like Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire and Gabon. France was also to control the Educational systems and institutions in the post-colonies; and also held the reins of cultural relations under the Cooperation Clause. To seal it all, the French Treasury had to control the monetary transactions of African Independent States which it has done till this Third Millennium day. This Foccartian Treaty of Cooperation was envisaged to last for ninety-nine years renewable. You can see for yourself that France was not ready to quit its African colonies and will never do so without committing economic suicide.

Britain had also initiated a milder form of re-colonisation of the world through the institution of the Commonwealth Treaty, enacted in 1948 with the first British colonies of India and Pakistan, whereby Independent states “freely chose” to be yoked to the colonial master for some preferential treatment in trade, education, and Culture. This Commonwealth Treaty also formulated tacit military intelligence, police security and information pacts with member states. Biafra secession became the test case for British military solidarity with Nigeria and her intervention in her support of the Federated State of Nigeria to crush the Biafran rebellion. Through the Commonwealth Organization, Britain intervened in the military coup in Ghana that ousted Kwame Nkrumah from power; as well as it initiated the military coup in Uganda that ousted Milton Obote and brought the unpopular dictator Sanhurst trained boxer Idi Amin to power.

Britain's managed Military Coup was intended to remote control Idi Amin to do the British dirty neo-colonial work in Uganda where Britain remote controlled the Buganda hegemony masterminded by the Kabaka and the Ugandan Royalty and aristocracy which Milton Obote was bent on dislodging.

But Idi Amin turned out to be a boomerang for the British because the power drunk British groomed monster Idi Amin turned against the very British and made a caricature of them when he asked four British military officers who had been his trainers to carry him a palanquin the way Africans had been reduced and humiliated to carry the Whiteman in Africa. Idi Amin also dislodged the British Indian minority which created the economic hegemony in Uganda for the interest of British neo-colonisation of Uganda.

The Independence that Failed Africa at the O.A.U.

The fact is that the Master went out of the Front Door, just to turn around and recolonise Africa at the Back Door. With this Back-Door Colonisation syndrome of the French and the British, African so-called Independent States

still tied to the apron strings of the colonial masters, how then could one envisage a truly progressive ideology of liberation like that of Algeria or Guinea Conakry who had radically ousted the colonial masters with all strings severed.

That is why in my research (Fongot Kinni, 1976) I asserted that with these types of arrangements between the colonial masters and the so-called independent colonial states, it was not possible to talk in reality of any true progressive ideology after Independence. Major Gott and Warner (1960, 350) put it wryly:

“The Conference was particularly critical of the French government for taking measures to limit the sovereignty of its territories in North Africa that were being decolonised. Considering the existence of the French Community, a new form of imperialist domination, and the present attempts of the French Government to impose upon countries associated with this community and on the threshold of independence, bonds of a kind which would deprive them of true national sovereignty; . . .”

Immanuel Wallerstein (1960) seems to hold similar views about the dilemma of the so-called Independent States that were still tied to the apron strings of their former colonial masters, or their new colonial masters:

“The difference between the two groups was to prove fatal to the AAPC, as radical pronouncements by the Conference began to pose difficulties for its governmental members in their diplomatic relations with the more conservative African states. Although it was decided at the 1961 Conference that a fourth Conference be held at Bamako, Mali, in February 1962, that meeting never took place because the host government, Mali, and the Secretary-General’s government, Guinea, were reluctant to proceed with it...”The Casablanca governments were content to let the AAPC disappear quietly in their attempts to come to terms with the other African governments’...”

One of the demise of African Back-Door Colonised Independent States is that they could not be too radical at independence, since they still needed the colonial masters to lean on for their budgetary economic, political and social needs.

Many nations had come to independence without doing their homework, especially on the policy to adopt in order to maintain sustainable development in their countries.

For most of them, Independence was to oust the colonial master and settle in his place (Fongot Kinni, 1976, 1988); but they never had a clear vision and

focus on how they would develop their countries after taking the place of the colonial master, moving into his house, re-arranging the furniture, sitting and eating at his table, using his utensils and lying on beds and using his beddings. They had come into independence empty-handed and from grass to grace, like poor beggars, who could only go bowl in hand on their knees to get the crumbs that the colonial masters allowed them to scavenge on.

As I described in a stolen novel I wrote titled “The Broken Bridge” (Kinni, 1978) which I proposed to Heinemann African Writers Series, London, most African ministers or call them political leaders were moving from grass to grace, or as we popularly say in Pidgin, from “grass houses to zinc houses”.

To put it very crudely most of them were seeing electricity and flush toilets for the first time; or sleeping in beds with mattresses and sheets with electric blankets for the first time, since the colonial masters left for Great Britain and France just for a summer holiday leaving behind the house in tact with the stores, refrigerators packed with canned colonial food, and what was worse but a good blessing for these poor opportunists, with all the stewards, cooks, washer men, yard-boys and nannies still in place; and all of them along with the “New African” Front-Door Leaders and Ministers paid from the coffers of colonial masters, and it was the case with France, since the so-called independent African States were all extensions of the Imperial Gaullist France.

The episode of the New African Front-Door Ministers of State for Public Works who was only interested in occupying the house of the colonial Master but not having a clue on maintenance and upkeep. Some Ministers did not have a clue on what their obligations were, like in the case of Central Africa, where most Ministers who were interviewed like when General Colingba took over power from Bokossa, and they were asked to define what their portfolio job descriptions were. These were also those who were popularly described in Pidgin as “Money-miss road” or “Come for Country” who came to power as the unschooled “Chop-Chair” or “Successors” and the New “Junior’s of the colonial Masters who were still the Back-Door-Colonial-Prompters of African States.

Most African Back-Door-Prompted Colonial Independent Leaders lacked the vision and determination like the Chinese and the South East Asian leaders, who invested more in their indigenous knowledge and technologies and strengths first, as well as their Cultural Revolutions like Mao Tse Tung did in china, before collaborating with the Liberal Capitalist West for alternative insights for alternative strategies in sustainable development. This can explain how China and the South East Asian countries that in 1960 were at the same level like African States developed faster than the African States. And today, African States are 50 years behind the Chinese and South East Asian States.

This situational distance is the result of the systematic State mismanagement and bad political and economic governance that have brought Africa to its knees and reduced it to the crotch-support walker and bowl-in hand beggar for assistance for the neo-colonial status quo survival not to talk of development. This discrepancy in African political economic management as well as the shortcomings in governance to building up its economic self-reliance explains how African States have become the most Highly Indebted Poor Countries - HIPC - of the world.

African leaders have always preferred choosing the easier means of political and ideological prostitution, whereby they abandoned one colonial master to embrace another, as was the case with Guinea Conakry, Mali, Benin, and the Popular Republic of Congo of Jean Marian Ngouabi who just chose Marxist Communism without true schooling; or like Julius Nyerere with his African Socialism tailored from a Chinese jacket and cloth.

These countries, instead adopted empty revolutionary Marxist-Leninist slogans without adequate indigenous structural clout and basis to give support to their very myopic visions which did not go beyond themselves and their political kitchens.

The French Radical African States like Guinea Conakry, Mali, Benin and Popular Republic of Congo adopted the Russian Master's Communism, while thinking that by using radical mouth wash catch-word slogans, like "Camarad," "Prêt pour la Revolution," as was the case in Benin that the magic for sustainable development will follow.

While Russia was building an ice skating bowl in Conakry, or bringing in snow shovelling caterpillars to Guinea, it did not matter the energy cost to keep these white elephants alive, or the fact that they were inadaptible and incompatible to the sustainable development needs and aspirations of Africa.

The so-called moderate and docile Westernised and Capitalist African Childishized States, and also Anglicised States or Frenchified States like Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya and Uganda were transformed into what was popularly and colonially known as the "Whiteman's Burden" and reduced to these bowl-in-hand so-called International Conferences "Beggars" where their corruptive "Per-Diems" were paid for by the Back-Door-Colonial Masters.

And they were always dressed up like the real puppets they were regurgitating empty slogans at the United Nations Conferences, when they were not sleeping when the long speeches were being read, only to wake up half was and clap sporadically. Actually living in Europe made me to realize how sick and ignorant and unprepared most African so-called leaders were. They spent time sleeping in conferences only to wake up and clap, and then

ask their orderly what was decided in the conference. Then rushed in buying the papers to acquaint themselves of what was actually said or decided in the conferences they penned their signatures to.

The African leaders were very expert on begging and corruptively telling the gallery how “Africa needed more loans from the also corrupt exploitative International Monetary Fund - IMF and the World Bank,” to buy new performing chemicals to improve needed seedlings types, to improve on the cultivation of its colonial cash crops like banana, cocoa, coffee, tea, rubber, groundnuts, cotton and palm oil to catch up with their balance in trade vouchers.

But nobody talked of creating food sufficiency for Africa as René Dumont always lamented and became a lone and lost Prophet for the food programme for Africa.

African leaders were even wont to say under the inducement of the World Bank that colonial “Agriculture is the key to development” and panacea for Africa, when they did not even as much as sent their children to study and specialise in Agriculture.

They could not as much as think of setting up all kinds of industries in Africa as Kwame Nkrumah suggested, like starting with agro-industries in their countries to create surplus value of their products which they exported raw just like the timber, hard tropical woods and rich minerals that they bartered with the Western Capitalist world for Western made products including even the milk and butter, tea, coffee and Nescafé and Neslait, Ovaltine which became their daily staples, like the second-hand cars, second hand clothing, second-hand shoes and even second-hand pants, second-hand bras and all the unwanted junk that the Western countries are sending to Africa in the name of foreign aid till today.

And what is sad and disgusting is that “Bushfaller” Africans today take delight in sending back home in large containers all the second-handed junks starting from second-hand cars, even right to second-hand pants, bras and old discarded plates and pots and even smelling old discarded shoes and socks that have transformed Africa into a regular dustbin dump of the polluting European countries and hyper polluting junk-driven America.

After all, Africa needed and still needs aid. And a beggar has no choice. That is why after 50 years of cuddling, whether in the conservative colonial master’s arms, or in the progressive revolutionary master’s arms, these neo-colonial relations and cooperations have brought no sustainable development to Africa after 50 years of the Back-Door-Colonial Independence.

Africa, by the turn of the twenty first century, is still as dependent and poorer as ever on foreign handouts of contextually irrational and inadequate

strategies to fight poverty and underdevelopment. Foreign Aid to Africa is either in polluting junk of all consumable types, or in hyper military and arms-driven provision for maintaining the securities in the stealing and raping Africa of its natural resources and wealth that is currently going on today unperturbed, as long as the Front-Door-Leaders of Africa are well paid and the future of their children and family reassured in America, and Europe, or in Africa in high state jobs or international jobs.

Africa Trash Can Of The World?

*Stenching heaps of rubbish dump talk
Of the dead future hopes of the world
Just like the shit we passed out this morning
Struggle to celebrate the Climate Change
Designs we billboard for pro-action
To replace the brain trust trash cans
We carry as our heritage of foolishness
To invest in a past that has nothing new
To endow than the old raiment we parade...*

*But the birds warn us as they shed their
Plumets for new wardrobes in scorn for the
Secondhandlets we scavenge to crowd up
Our environment with unwanted trash from
Euro-American rotten and stinking bins...
They fly to China and India for latest technologies
To de-scam the scammers of African Development
For centuries of unproductive Garbage Experiments
On Biological Weapons Experiments in Lake Nyos
That crowned the HIV/AIDS Biological War Weapon
The Mad-Cow Laboratory Human-Eating Monster
The Bird-Flue Economic-War Weapon on China
Fostered to re-feed Starving Somalians and Sudanese Refugees...*

*So Africans wake up from your slumber and day dreaming
Why Don't you go to learn from China and India?
They were worst off and more deprived than You
In the 1960s but through their dint skills, determination
And hard work they have arisen to rule the world
God did not curse You: instead You are most Blessed among*

*Humankind! So rise up and take Your Envied Place
In World Leadership and Re-invent the Wheel
To set the Time and Scale-Balance of Power Right
To Rebuild Africa!
The United Africa!
The Humanitarian Africa!*

*Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, 22nd April, 2012, 9:30 am,
Bnea, CHARIOT HOTEL GYMNASIUM.*

Meanwhile a Professor from the University of Moscow was teaching us at the Sorbonne (Fongot Kinni, 1981) that Africa had not yet attained the stage of Proletariats, and therefore must be indoctrinated and drilled in the Marxist-Leninist Ideology, get industrialized, before arriving at the Marxist stage of Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

This reminded me of what the Heinemann African Series Books project told me about my novel after evaluation by the Lagos and Nairobi editorial boards. I was informed by Heinemann that my book had jump-started the logical procedure of the African Writers series because it introduced the main personage in the book who cut off links with the colonial masters' systems and introduced a more revolutionary inward-looking do-it-yourself personality and leader. What was more the main leader who called the shots, was coincidentally, like in Sembene Ousman's film "Cedo," a woman who took up the new leadership for African Renaissance, devoid of all colonial attachments. In 1993, when I was about to board the plane for New York in Lagos, Nigeria, I perceived a book in the Mutala Muhamed's Airport Bookshop titled just like my Heinemann rejected book: "The Broken Bridge". I did not have time to get the book and read since I was rushing to catch the flight. When I returned two months later I landed in Douala Airport and never had the time to go back to Lagos to verify on the "Broken Bridge" to see what the story was all about; if my book was plagiarized or completely stolen by an impostor.

This incident made me to reflect seriously on why Africa had never come up since Kwame Nkrumah, with a more jump-starting blue-print for Africa's development. Why was it that Africa has been going round and round its development process in a kind of remote-controlled system where the colonial masters dictate the themes, the strategies and the playgrounds for Africa's development and its progress? I became convinced that it was this Neo-colonial Back-Door-Prompting Independence of listening and executing "His Master's Voice" that Africa was perpetually controlled and dictated to as to what to do and how to do and when and where to do.

That could explain why despite all the millions of International Conferences Africans have been attending to gargle their mouths and throats about Africa's development, has produced no tangible fruits for over fifty years. So nobody has ever asked how many International Conferences it would take to develop Africa. Yet the Chinese who never attended any of these neo-colonial conferences are now teaching the Western Powers and America, what development entails.

At the so-called Independence, post-colonial African States were much concerned with sustaining the acquired legacy of colonialism, with all the strapping and windfalls the artificial boundaries brought with them as they were fortified by the "Uti Possedetis Jus" clause of the Colonial United Nations Charter, which upheld that the Colonial boundaries of Africa as Back-Door-Prompting-Neo-Colonial Independence must remain intact.

That is why the African leaders at Addis Ababa, (Fongot Kinni, 1976) at the launching of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU, were more preoccupied with the maintenance of the colonial status quo of the artificial colonial boundaries and their newly acquired "Chop Chair" and "Britain-Junior" or "France-Junior" neo-colonialized sovereignties.

Kevin Shillington describes this situation which held African leaders spellbound at Addis Ababa in 1963:

"Other emerging African leaders were not as keen as Nkrumah to subsume their newly won national power under a continent-wide union. Radical leaders who supported Nkrumah formed the Casablanca Group in January 1961, consisting of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Egypt, and Algeria. In response, most of the other African states, seeking a looser, less-radical style of union, formed what was known as the Monrovia Group in May 1961. Irreconcilable differences between the two, combined with a distrust among many of Nkrumah's personal ambitions, led to the compromise formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on May 25, 1963."

The Vision of Nkrumah for Unity that was Betrayed

At the time when Kwame Nkrumah settled down with President Toure, along with President William Tubman of neighbouring Liberia as the vanguard to create the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which has now been transformed into the African Union (AU), they were hoping that Africa would take the bull of colonialism by the horns for its own final liberation's sake.

This was at a Special Head of States Meeting held in the northern Liberian city of Sanniquelle, Nimba County, which is often referred to as the "birth place" of the OAU (now the AU). They had thought their enthusiasm and

sacrifice would pay off as the elder men in the Pan-Africanist struggle to reset the time clock and set the tables right for Africa.

Kwame Nkrumah succeeded to have had a clear long term vision of what sustainable development for Africa would entail. He was the only head of State who came to Addis Ababa with a blue print for African sustainable development for the last four decades of the twentieth century. His manifesto carried the following strategic plan (Fongot Kinni, 1976) for Africa:

- A common free market for all Africa;
- A common currency;
- A common military force;
- A common plan of development projects for Africa;
- Regional specializations for African development;
- Common system of education and All-African University;
- Construction of various African infrastructures, especially roads, airways, train and seaways;
- Harnessing of Africa's energy resources; for the
- Industrialisation of Africa; and
- A Federal system to handle the Federated States of Africa, just like the United States of America.

The rest of the African leaders present at Addis Ababa who came empty handed, or with speeches written for them either in London or in Paris, as the case was and still today, felt that Nkrumah was leading them to sign their death knell, since they had not even enjoyed their newly acquired colonial heritage of "Back-Door-Colonial Independence and neo-colonial "chop-chair" and "Junior-ship" sovereignties.

It is true that the story of most post-colonial leaders in Africa was more of a fairy tale story of rising – from grass to grace – or like Alice in Wonderland for many of them, as the "Money-Miss-Road" proverb goes; and so they did not dare dream of someone snatching this privilege of assuming the role of the neo-colonial 'master' and 'neo-sovereign' from them.

Actually, it has become the trend in Africa that one embraces politics, not to contribute to the development of the State, but rather, to make money out of their functions, and to render his or her family rich.

That explains why even if Nkrumah's vision for a sustainable development for Africa was rational and clear, it did not interest the African leaders who did not see themselves as playing any fruitful roles to their self-interest and profit.

In 1963, Kwame Nkrumah, the visionary was seen as an over ambitious legendary visionary who wanted to run faster than his shadow.

It is the same accusation that was levied against Muammar Kaddhafi when he proposed the creation of the African Union.

But today, the facts of Africa's underdevelopment, after fifty years of Independence and inconsistencies, are there to vindicate this visionary and "avant-guard" African.

Kevin Shillington (2005) makes these remarks and justification in this regard:

"To Nkrumah the OAU was a pale shadow of the effective union he had sought. Two crucial elements of its constitution were non-interference in internal affairs, which allowed governments to ignore dictatorial atrocities in neighbouring countries, and the retention of the political boundaries inherited from colonial times. For 30 years the OAU was largely ineffective as African international politics became embroiled in the wider complexities of the Cold War. Since the end of the Cold War a new determination has entered the Pan-African scene, with the formation of the African Union (AU) to replace the OAU in 2002. In the spirit of Nkrumah, the AU is intended to develop towards a full-scale economic and political union. As with the European Union, on which it is partly based, the process is likely to be long and painful."

Actually, the founding fathers of the OAU were not very certain of what they really wanted for Africa which they had taken hostage and privatised for their self and family interest as Ogonda Ochola (2004) intimates. Each State was allowed the free hand to come up with whatever programme for development it wanted, if at all it thought of development.

Most African leaders ran to the corruption-driven IMF and the World Bank for ready-made "White-Elephants" projects for funding where the corruptive fringe benefits accrued to them, their families, their friends and the provided World Bank and IMF corruptive handpicked experts who were paid fabulously stunningly lucrative sums for good-for nothing projects.

If not so, why has Africa, after 50 years of IMF and World Bank interventions still remained the poorest of the poorest continent with over 60% of the world's natural and mineral resources, and with a highly trained human resources bank since 59 years? The IMF and the World Bank should be called to answer for the damages in the planning and mismanagement of African resources for the past 50 years, because this is an abuse of Trust and Trusteeship according to Common Law and International Law.

It is very interesting to note that very few successful or little development projects were developed in Africa and by Africans and the World Bank and all the Brettonwoods subsidiaries. Most of the White Elephant projects were

proposed and tailored by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Plan – UNDP, the Organisation for European Economic Development agency - OECD the economic agents of the imperialist Western liberal capitalist slave-driven economy, or by the various United Nations’ satellite agents in the world which were primarily catering for the vested interests of the Western Imperialist Powers of the United Nations Organisation.

Even though Africa was and still is a member of the United Nations, Africa does not weigh a feather as compared to the imperialist powers that call the shots at the General Assembly and at the Security Council. There is no way Africa could compete with the super powers as a divided entity, as it still remained under the dictates and control of the colonial heritage.

But Africans fail to see certain facts that:

The entire Western Europe is just the size of the Democratic Republic of Congo; and that

The USA, Europe, China, India and Australia can enter Africa and there will still be more space left; that

Africa has the third largest, fast growing and young population of the world.

The African market, if united, is the third largest in the world.

Africa controls the most geo-strategic position of the world and disposes of over 60% of the natural and mineral resources of the world.

Nkrumah reminded African leaders at Addis Ababa that Africa alone was hosting sixty per cent of the world’s minerals. That Africa, with the natural resources it possessed and the diverse clement climatic zones and geo-physical positions and zones it has, could nourish herself and the rest of the world. He reminded his peers at Addis Ababa that development, as we all know, is intellectually-driven and not just from the production of raw materials. Nkrumah had foreseen and forecasted how Africa would become a great power by uniting and pooling its forces and resources together for the industrialisation and sustainable development of Africa if only Africa invested in industrial, scientific and technological education of young Africans.

But the founders of the OAU thought Nkrumah was too ambitious. They all said Nkrumah was in a hurry to unite Africa and have a common plan of action of development for Africa for his self-aggrandizement.

They all feared Nkrumah would declare himself President of Africa if they all agreed to have a common United States of Africa with a common action plan for Africa’s development.

So they all agreed to create a secretariat with a Secretary General, without clout, without any real portfolio for decision-making on the development of Africa.

They then settled for a round robin Conference of Heads of States where each year they took turns to annually preside over the Conferences of Heads of States and other ad hoc conferences as the needs called for to decide for the fate of Africa's development.

This plan would have borne fruits had Africa been consistent in its policies for a common policy for African development. But each country instead went its own way to make policies for its own development. That is why the round robin Heads of State Presidential Conferences transformed the Organisation of African Unity to a mere "Club of Dictators" and Autocratic heads of state.

Vision Of Malcolm X For The Need For A More Radical Pan Africanism

Radical Pan-Africanists like Malcolm X planned to link the Organization of Afro-American Unity through Pan-Africanism to internationalise the human struggle of African people. Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panthers in the United States also planned to link the Black Power Movement to the Pan-African struggle for Africa's liberation and the international liberation of Black people all over the world. Malcolm X argued that Blacks should focus on improving their own communities, rather than striving for complete integration, and that Blacks had the right to retaliate against violent assaults with similar calculated violence.

Malcolm X like the Black Panthers believed in Self-Reliance Strategy for African Development and not in what he considered as the imperialistic arm and subterfuge of the imperialist Western European and American countries to apply in the underdevelopment of Africa, as Walter Rodney rightly demonstrated in his book, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa." Malcolm X, and Shokley Carmichael, as I gathered from Miriam Makeba, did not believe in any wishy-washy talk of the IMF and the World Bank, which for them were imperialistic money making machinery of the Western Imperialistic Capitalist world. They did not see how the World Bank could undertake to develop Africa, when its main interest was and still is on how to make the maximum optimum profit to its creditors and trustees who are the Western imperialistic Powers with their capitalist slave-driven economy. They were very critical of African States for naively thinking that they will gain development by getting under the umbrella of the World Bank, to which they gave all their confidence and surrendered the management of their resources to these marauding economic Vultures who like to feed on corpses and carcasses without any regrets, because they believe that burying the dead is a vital waste of resources. Africa was very naïve and foolish to have confided its natural

resources bank and its development projects in the hands of the World Bank and the IMF.

Thus the World Bank became the decision-maker for the various bogus developments experimented in Africa and the heavy loans that went with them. The results were the duplicity in African development projects that were sponsored by the World Bank or the United Nations Development agencies like the Food and Agriculture Organisation – FAO; United Nations Development Plan – UNDP; and the United Nations Conference for Tariffs, Trade and Development – UNCTAD, and so forth. Other international organisations like the United States Assistance for International Development – USAID, of the Organisation for Organisation for European Economic Development – OECD took over the reins of pseudo development for Africa, which consisted mostly in the development of cash crops for export like banana, tobacco, rubber, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, cotton, timber, which all contributed to the deforestation of Africa.

Due to the fact that UNCTAD unilaterally determined the prices at which African produce was sold to Europe and America, Africa could not balance up its annual trade with Europe and America which was always at a deficit of returns. Thus the vicious circles of African loans from the World Bank continued to create the Highly Indebted Poor Countries – HIPC, of Africa that holds the record in highest share of poverty which we all know today.

But Africa had believed and still believes that Europe and America with their so-called Foreign Direct Investments – FDIs, or Foreign Aid – FA, would develop Africa.

But the question is: if Europe and America did not develop Africa during the quasi five hundred years of Slavery and colonization; and after the fifty years of post-colonial (neo-colonial) experimentation; is it now that they will develop Africa?

It is true that Africa has had its share of failures in leadership and decision-making. As compared to the South East Asian countries, and China that were at the same level of development in the 1960s (Fongot Kinni, 1991) when Africa gained independence, Africa has failed drastically.

The instability that Africa had been through since independence, especially due to socio-ethnic conflicts and military coup d'états, might have partly contributed to this failure.

But most socio-economic analysts blame this to Africa's poor leadership, poor development policies and mismanagement of its natural resources. Bad Governance, due to lack of democratically elected governments and the ambition of heads of states to prolong themselves in government at all cost, and the continued Human Rights abuses of citizens rife in many African

countries who were protected by the clause of non-intervention in the territorial affairs of sister States and the respect of territorial sovereignty. This is why many observers and political analysts often described the OAU as a club of dictators and Presidents for life.

O.A.U. Vision and Policy to fight Colonialism

But if there is one thing Africa did right since the founding of the OAU, it has been its concerted policy and action in fighting colonisation and Apartheid.

For many years, Africa sponsored the various Liberation Movements in Africa, especially in Angola, Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South Africa, and South West Africa (Namibia). In so doing, African countries also contributed to the buying of arms and funding of Revolutionary Liberation Movements in Africa, the granting of asylum to political prisoners and refugees, granting of health, employment and scholarships for schooling to all refugees. Political prisoners and refugees came from countries like Southern Sudan, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia (South West Africa – SWAPO Liberation Movement), South Africa – ANC Liberation Movement, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, Biafra, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and today Ivory Coast.

Apart from the humanitarian aid and involvement and support systems set up by African countries to facilitate the fighting of Liberation Movements and accommodation of refugees, African countries put pressure on Apartheid South Africa to dismantle the Apartheid regime. Africa boycotted South Africa in all aspects. Africans were not allowed to visit South Africa. South African ships could not anchor or dock in the harbours of African countries member States of the OAU. South African Airplanes were not accepted at Airports of AOU member States. There was total trade boycott with South Africa.

But after all these Liberation Movement Wars were successful and independence achieved, Africa had nothing more to show or to fight for. Africa lacked vision and clout to convince the world that the OAU was still relevant and not just a Club of “Chop-Chair” leaders and autocrats of Presidents for life.

OAU-UNESCO Success Story Of Rehabilitating African History

The only other sporadic headway for Africa, sponsored more by the single initiative of Mokhtar Mbaw, the Director of UNESCO and indirectly by OAU, was adopted as Africa’s historical contributions to humanity and

common vision for development, consisted in rewriting the history of Africa from the version of African intellectuals.

It was felt that a contribution in resetting Africa's civilizations and contributions to the social and material history of humanity right would help change the negative world image and the identity concept of Africans and their leaders. This intellectual contribution had started since after World War II by revisiting Blyden's efforts and philosophy of reinvestigating and reconstructing African historical ideas perpetrated by historians, like the radical Senegalese historian, Cheikh Anta Diop. Kevin Shillington (1995) admits that:

"Blyden, Diop, and others like them felt that a truly Afrocentric version of African history was an essential prerequisite to the future successful development of Africa in all spheres of life: intellectual, social, political, and economic. Out of this Pan-Africanist concept grew the UNESCO history project, launched in the 1960s, which culminated in the publication between 1981 and 1993 of the eight-volume General History of Africa, edited and written almost exclusively by Africans."

Others who felt like Cheikh Anta Diop influenced intellectual research and creation of the African awareness were Molefi Kete Asante who was strongly influenced by Kaiwada philosophy and wrote his treatise on Afrocentricity. This greatly influenced Pan-Africanists in the late seventies and eighties. Another contemporary Afrocentric movement leader was Professor Chinweizu Ibekwe (known simply as Chinweizu), a scholarly Nigerian anthropologist who has become in his own research merit a beacon of Pan Africanism.

Mention must be made of Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi, who was an active organizer of African unity and the proposed, like Kwame Nkrumah, the formation of a United States of Africa, based on Gamal Abdel Nasser and Kwame Nkrumah's dream.

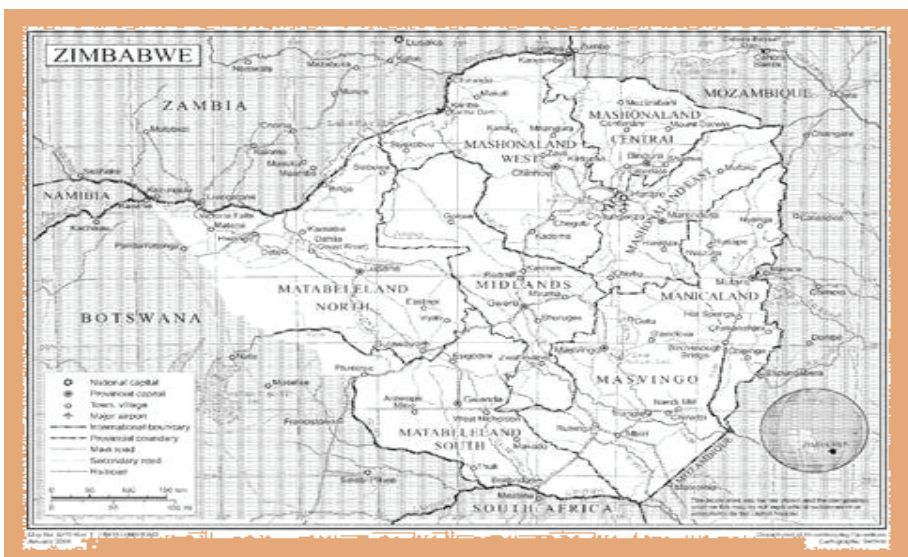
Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe who has ruled for more than 28 years has been an active Pan-Africanist in the core. Actually he has become an Oracle of Pan Africanism in practice. He has this idea of restitution of the African identity and African economic power through what he calls the restitution of African lands seized during the colonial invasion of Africa to Africans. This is what he is practicing in Zimbabwe as "Indigenisation" which is bearing positive fruits.

10.2. OAU'S Questions How Right Is Human Rights In The Face Of Colonial Imperialism?

OAU's Support For Robert Mugabe's Revolution And The Right Of Retribution In Apartheid Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

Mugabe's strategies had been vehemently criticized and Mugabe bastardised by the Western Imperialist Powers and media who criticize Mugabe of the abuse of Human Rights of the White Settlers in Zimbabwe. But they blatantly fail also to tell the other truth that the White Settlers in Zimbabwe did not only seize the lands from indigenous Zimbabweans during the Cecil Rhodes epoch, but the "Ghost of Cecil Rhodes" just like the "Ghost of King Leopold in the Congo" ran riot. The White settlers did not stop just at confiscating land belonging to the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia. They even went as far as hanging and lynching indigenous Zimbabweans (Rhodesians) of whom Ian Smith, the first self-imposed White President of Zimbabwe, just like Cecil Rhodes who said that he cared more for land and not for the native Zimbabweans, said he had no regrets for the Human Rights abuses his ancestors perpetrated in Rhodesia.

When a man like Ian Smith has no remorse for the injustices and human rights abuses committed against the Zimbabwean people who stood up to defend their ancestral land against the British settler communities, then I wonder what kind of human rights we want to advocate for humanity.



Map 10.1: Colonial Map of Southern Rhodesia – Zimbabwe.

The horrors of the lynching of black people to unjustly possess their land are still fresh in the minds of Zimbabweans. Then for Ian Smith to stand up and say he had no regrets whatsoever only shows how haughty and callous he was. His inconsideration for the black native people of Zimbabwe does not

merit any consideration from them about the White settlers in their country. But they still went ahead to consider them after independence as Zimbabweans with equal rights like any other Zimbabwean. So whose Human Right is Right?

International Crisis group (2000) alludes to these human rights abuses and racism that paved the way to the land seizure and land use conflict in Zimbabwe, insisting that:

“Gross racial discrimination during the colonial and pre-independence periods inflicted an enormous toll on Zimbabwe’s population. The inequitable distribution of land, dating back to colonial times, sowed the seeds of discontent that became the first rallying cry of liberation movement in the 1970s. Later these same inequities provided the rhetorical justification for President Mugabe’s fast track programme that began in the 1990s. The origins of Zimbabwe’s land problem trace directly back to the earliest colonial settlement. In 1889, the British South African Company, under the direction of Cecil Rhodes, was given a charter by the British government to develop commerce and settlements in the territory that would later become Zimbabwe...White settlers were offered substantial land, regardless of whether blacks were already living in it. The view of settlers towards the indigenous population was nakedly racist, as a newspaper item from 1895 made clear: ‘For the Rhodesian it was absurd, for the untutored savage, accustomed as he is from time immemorial to superstitious and primitive ideas of law and justice, and suddenly try to govern him by the same code of laws that govern a people with many centuries of experience and enlightenment.’ Much of the land was claimed by companies engaged in speculation, and the most fertile tracts – particularly in Mashonaland – were usually the first preference. The British asserted sovereignty over all land in 1884 under the Matabeleland Order in Council.”

OAU’s Support For ANC Liberation Movement Of Apartheid South Africa

The OAU support of the ANC Liberation Movement against Apartheid in South Africa was not only for the independence of the indigenous people of South Africa only, but for the restitution of indigenous lands seized from the original people of South Africa. As International Crisis Watch (2000) elaborates:

“Redressing colonial and Apartheid land dispossession was always a central principle of South African liberation movements. From the mid 1950s and the establishment of the Freedom Charter...the African National Congress (ANC) argued that nationalization could serve as a mechanism for righting decades of dispossession and destruction of Black property rights. In 1986, anti-apartheid activist

Joe Slovo argued: 'The redistribution of land is an absolute imperative of our conditions, the fundamental national demand. It will have to be done, even if it involves some economic cost, in order to continue to mobilise the people whose support has brought the democratic forces to power. The Freedom Charter set out the manifesto the African National Congress and defined its objective as the establishment of a multiracial democratic state. The preamble declares that: 'South Africa belongs to all who live it, black and white.'

It is very pertinent to realise that there was always a note of Humanism, no matter the sufferings, injustices and Human Rights abuses suffered by Black Africans from the hands of the White racist settler communities.

Just like the OAU Charter of 1963, ANC Freedom Charter envisaged and designed the freedom of all humanity, irrespective of race, origin, religion and preferences and choices in life.

This is why it could be seen that as far back as 1955, an excerpt of the ANC Charter (International Crisis Watch, 2000) reads:

"The land shall be shared among those who work it! Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and hunger. The state shall help peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers. Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work the land. All shall have right to occupy land wherever they choose. People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished."

Despite this goodwill and friendly handshake given by the ANC to the Apartheid land owners, progress has not been made to realise this nation of freedom and democracy, as well as the Human Rights enhancement of its citizens.

This has been due to the fact that the rich land owners do not want to equitably share the land and have made it too expensive for the government of Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma to procure land for the disinherited Black people of South Africa.

Despite the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – TRC of Arch-Bishop Desmond Tutu, it has been observed that since the presidency of Mandela South Africa has been able to purchase only 3% (per cent) of the land from the wealthy White landlords who constitute just 11% of South Africa, and own as much as 87% of the land.

And even though one might be vehemently opposed to the obnoxious racist pronouncements by Julius Malema, the leader of the African National

Congress Youth wing, when he declares openly and believes, according to Genocide Watch (2012) that:

“...bloodshed will help him get South Africa’s land and mineral resources... Malema was in Harare on Saturday to attend a wedding ceremony and address Zanu-PF youth, the Zimbabwe Herald reported. He said the youths in South Africa were calling for whites to surrender land and mineral resources they hold because “when they came from Europe they did not carry any land into South Africa”. “What we are asking is for them to surrender our minerals because they did not come with any mineral. We want that land and those minerals for free because they never paid for those minerals.” Malema said whites committed murder to get land. Bloodshed “Actually they killed people to get that land and those minerals. We are not going to give them money when we take the land back because it will be like we are thanking them with money for killing our people. “We will never do that, little did they know that we are not scared of blood. We are scared of defeat. We don’t want to be defeated but seeing blood is not what we are scared of as long as that blood delivers what belongs to us we are prepared to go to that extent.” Malema told the youth he was in Zimbabwe to gain inspiration and wisdom, so that when he returned home he could “double the spirit of fighting against imperialist forces”. He said Zimbabwe was an inspiration to Africa, in that it is now wholly independent and has divested itself of external control. .”

One remains flabbergasted that the South African Government is not taking pro-active measures to ensure the White land-owners so that equitable land distribution policies should be enacted and applied. And as long as the equitable redistribution of land remains a “taboo” issue in South Africa, the problem of the unjustly disinherited peoples of South Africa will remain unsolved. And it is regrettable that if this injustice continues, it would not be long before South Africa will be taken by the Zimbabwean syndrome of land seizure by the use of force.

South Africa and South African White landlords and land owners must be warned that the post-Mandela and the post-Tutu South Africa might not become the envisioned Rainbow land Mandela and Thabo Mbeki had wished to build if equitable justice on land redistribution is not carried out systematically and quickly.

If the report of Genocide Watch (2012) is true then I think it is high time South African Government sits up and uphold the Freedom Charter of the ANC, in order not become an accomplice of this accusation that:

“Over 3000 white farmers have been murdered since 1994. The South African police have not made investigation and prosecution of these farm murders a priority,

dismissing them as crimes by common criminals. The government has disbanded the commando units of white farmers that once protected their farms, and has passed laws to confiscate the farmers' weapons. Disarmament of a targeted group is one of the surest early warning signs of future genocidal killings. A recent outbreak of violent farm invasions has led to casualties among white South Africans. The farm invasions are direct results of calls by Julius Malema and his Deputy, Ronald Lamola for whites to give up their land without compensation, or face violence by angry black youths "flooding their farms."..."



Map 10.2. : Colonial Map of South Africa and Northern Rhodesia

I think it is also high time the White South Africans rethink their policies derived from the Apartheid and racist regimes. They should be made to understand that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu, gave them peace and security on a platter of gold. Let them be careful not to abuse this humanitarian gesture from the part of the native South Africans who have tried to forgive the past and move forward with the future of building a sustainable South Africa.

The fact that Black South Africans, in the spirit of “Ubuntu” did not ask for any compensations and retributions from the Apartheid regime for injustices of over two hundred years of exploitation and racism, was good

enough sign that the Black people are not the “Savages” their White ancestors used as a pretext to discriminate and look down on the Black people, even to perpetrate the abuses of their Human Rights.

In the original spirit of the Humanism of Pan Africanism, a peaceful negotiation of contiguities and the arrival at peaceful solutions must continue to be the guideline to all conflicts in Africa today and hereafter.

The Uncelebrated Contributions Of Pan African Musicians To The Cause Of Pan Africanism

If OAU had to celebrate its Humanism and the fostering of that cause, we must duff our hats to all those Pan Africanist musicians who have used the non-violent tool to foster Pan Africanism and Peace Building in Africa.

These musicians have stood their grounds in different ways like the Great Ambassadors of Peace Builders and Humanism of Pan Africanism. They have never been celebrated, nor invited by the African Heads of State to participate in any of the decision making sessions of the OAU. They have been reduced to pariahs of entertainment and the politicised corruption of Africa. OAU has refused to celebrate and promote the Pan African Artists, of the continent and in the Diaspora, harbingers and Great Ambassadors of the Arts and Cultures of Africa for the cause of Pan Africanism.

This is because these African leaders of today forget or are ignorant of the force of music as the most appropriate non-violent arm of sensitizing and promoting Pan Africanism. The Musical School constitutes the open University of the masses can constitute the productive forces of Africa and Pan Africanism.

Greater contributions have also been made by these musicians and Artists to keep the Pan-African dream and its humanism alive. These are visionary musicians just like Bob Marley the Jamaican born musician whose music reflected Pan-Africanist thought, ideology and philosophy; Fela Anikulapo Kuti: The founder of Afrobeat music, and a dare daring Pan African political/human rights activist. He promoted Pan-Africanism through his music; Alpha Blondy from Cote d’Ivoire, Sonny Okunson from Nigeria, Salif Keita, Youssour N’Dour, Hugh Masekela and Lucky Dube from South Africa, who was recently assassinated in Johannesburg South Africa, were all pro-Pan-Africanist musicians who sensitised many people about Africa, its people, its history and common culture.

It is time the African union corrected this aberration it has created for many years by neglecting to promote and see the Artists and Musicians as having a rightful place in the halls of fame and in the decision-making process of the Organisation of African Unity, and the African Union, especially their promotion of Pan African Humanism.

Pan Africanism in Africa and the Birth Throes of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU

11.1 The Comedy of Errors

Unlike in the Caribbean and in the Americas where Pan Africanism was a well thought out philosophical discourse as well as a well-tailored ideology for the re-affirmation of the self-awareness of Africans for the liberation of Africans and Africa; Pan Africanism in Africa came in shreds and in disjointed spasms of paradigmatic strains from some African intellectuals and First and Second World War veterans who had rubbed shoulders with African-Caribbean and African Americans in Europe; as well as Asian thinkers in Europe and Asia.

As Ayodele Langley (1974) testified, the First and the Second World Wars were an eye openers for many Africans and war veterans who saw the need for Africans to unite and fight, not only for their liberation, but for the unity of Africa and Africans.

France had recruited over 200,000 “Tirailleurs” Senegalese during the First World war, and more than twice that much during the Second world War. African troops recruited by the British and French colonial powers fought not only in Europe, in Germany and Italy, but also in Indo China, India and Burma and in Algeria. These veterans realised that if they had to fight to liberate the Whiteman (France and England) from the Whiteman (Germany, Italy), it was their prerogative to fight for the liberation of Africa from the yoke of the Blackman where the Whiteman had become the Blackman’s Burden just as Europe and America had been the Blackman’s burden; and the Burden of Africa and her children, men and women put together for centuries.

The few African students who had the opportunity to study in the United States of America, like Kwame Nkrumah and Nandi Azikiwe; and in Europe like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, in England; and Léopold Sédar Senghor, in France; were able to gain some inspiration on Pan Africanism from the Black Diaspora in the Caribbean, the USA and Europe.

But their impact in Africa was not very much felt all over Africa, where colonialism, apartheid and ignorance took its toll on the brain bank and human resources of Africa. The few veterans of the First and Second World War, who returned from Europe, India and Burma as well as the Middle East, who also raised some consciousness about Pan-Africanism, after their encounter with African-Americans, African-Caribbean and Africans from

other colonies, could not make their impact felt (Ayodele Langley, 1972), because they were not even invited at the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity.

That could explain why at its inauguration at Addis Ababa on 23 May 1963, the Organisation of African Unity, could only boast of a paltry representation of Africans who could really be called Pan Africanists, if one has to consider them in terms of their political and ideological awareness.

If one could compare say President Ahmadou Ahidjo, who was just a “Brevetier” (Middle Four Cambridge West African School Certificate) in Post and Telecommunications, in those days; with say Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the “Osagifo” and trail bearer of African Pan-Africanism from Ghana, then one realises how far remote was the meeting of the minds of the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity, on the objectives and ideology of Pan Africanism; not to talk of how to go about the policies and strategic plans and their application for effective production in Africa.

It is the same with comparing the Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria a feudal Lord, and teacher without much insight on the ideology and philosophy of Pan-Africanism, who was at the launching of the OAU 1963 to debate African Unity with the likes of Kwame Nkrumah, instead of the versatile Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the erudite Pan-Africanist of Nigeria.

One could also imagine the difficulty a pragmatic nationalist and diehard Pan-Africanist like President Sékou Touré had in upholding the African Unity ideology and convincing someone like President Léopold Sédar Senghor who had just signed the Foccartian Bilateral Treaty with France to gain independence as an extended part of the French Empire with all the preferential treatment of importing up to sixty to seventy percent of French products and exporting to France alone up to sixty to seventy percent of raw materials from African territories of the French colonies.

This was not because there were no enlightened Pan Africanist in Africa. The reason was that the colonial government both in the English and French colonies side-lined the Progressive enlightened elites and intellectuals of Africa, and substituted them with handpicked yes-men whom they made presidents of African States.

At the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity on May 23, 1963, up to over half of the African countries were independent. Most of their leaders were yet unschooled in Pan-African ideologies and strategies. The disparity in ideological experience and construct between the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group was enormous. The Casablanca Group was constituted by leaders with very erudite innovative as well as revolutionary in their ideologies concerning Africa’s Unity. The Monrovia Group was mostly

constituted by African leaders who held to the colonial status quo for development in Africa. A roll call of some of the leaders can explain the disparity better.

The Casablanca Group

The Casablanca Group or Bloc as it was called, was founded in 1961, and its members were described as “progressive states”. It was led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who wanted a federation of all African countries in the union. He was really a Pan-Africanist schooled in the American and British Diaspora struggle for the emancipation of Black people and Africa from the yoke of colonisation and exploitation.

Through Kwame Nkrumah’s struggle and fight to sensitise his people of Ghana, he succeeded to lead his country Ghana to independence from colonialism. Ghana became a pace setter and a role model for African independence with the endeavour and enthusiasm Kwame Nkrumah put in it.

Apart from vibrant Ghana, the Casablanca Group of Bloc comprised also Algeria which had just come out very victorious in a War that ousted the French colonialists and imperialists. It also comprised of Guinea who was bold enough to say “NO” to France on its Neo-Colonial Policy for African Colonial States for French expansionism and the maintenance of the French hegemony in Africa after the attainment of a freakish independence. As for Morocco, a special Casablanca group member, it had withstood as a monarchy, the arbitrary colonisation by France. The former rulers of Morocco had fiercely and fearlessly withstood French domination and defended the sovereignty of their people.

Egypt had expelled the British and the French from the Suez Canal in the battle of 1952 under President Abdel Nasser who held high the sovereignty of Egypt over the Suez Canal.

Mali under President Modibo Keita was the country that had hosted the founding of the famous French African ideological and political movement in 1954: the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* – RDA – the “African Democratic Assembly,” which initiated the revolutionary paradigm for French African liberation from French colonialism and imperialism.

As for Libya, known as the Kingdom of Libya, literally known as, the Libyan Kingdom or in Italian as: *Regno di Libia*, was originally called the United Libyan Kingdom, the situation was a bit different with regard to Pan-Africanism. This Kingdom came into existence at the achievement of its independence on 24 December 1951 from Italy, which lasted until a coup

d'état led by Muammar Gaddafi on 1 September 1969 who overthrew King Idris of Libya and established the Libyan Arab Republic.

Even though the Kingdom of Libya was considered a conservative country as far as its foreign policy was concerned, since it belonged to the conservative traditionalist bloc in the League of Arab States, of which it became a member in 1953, it was all the same considered progressive because of its stand to eliminate colonialism and all forms of neo-colonialism.

The Monrovia Group

The Monrovia Group or Bloc, which was led by President Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal, the French Terrier of Africa, was identified as conservative because it felt that unity should be achieved gradually, through economic cooperation.

It was adamant in its position of maintaining the post-(neo)-colonial status quo of "uti posedetis jus" which propounded the maintenance of the colonial boundaries in Africa. It did not support the notion of a political federation of a United States of Africa, under the pretext that a United States of Africa as proposed by Kwame Nkrumah was very too hasty.

It is very interesting to note that President Léopold Sédar Senghor was leader of the faction that became the "Moderate Group" of the RDA, the French African Colonial Pan-African movement which was created to fight colonialism and French imperialism in Africa (Fongot Kinni, 1976) in Bamako in 1945. The "Radical Group" of the RDA led by Oum Nyobe and some more radicals like Modibo Keita and Sékou Touré of Guinea, split from the RDA in 1948 and established its base in Cameroon under the new brand title of Union des Populations du Cameroun – UPC – Union of the Populations of Cameroun, in the part of Cameroon which was United Nations Trust Territory under French administration.

It would be recalled that that the RDA from its inception was radical in its objective because it had support and financing from the COMMITTED – Communist International, through the French Socialist labour union the SFIO – Section Française International Ouvrier – French Section Workers International; and the French Communist labour union the CFGT – Confédération Française General des Travailleurs, "French General Confederation of Workers".

The French rightist Gaullist government had infiltrated the RDA and gained some candidates like Léopold Sédar Senghor and Houphouët Boigny who, along with the so-called "Moderates," who also embraced the objective of the "Brazzaville Conference" of 1945, of expanding the French Empire

overseas; and signed the Foccartian Treaty of 1958, which stipulated that the French African colonies of Africa would attain independence as part of the French Empire. This Foccartian Cooperation Treaty, as established in the Brazzaville Conference (Laurent Gbagbo, 1967), stipulated on the neo-colonial strategies of rebuilding the post-World War II devastated economy of France.

In true economic plan, it was the new French Marshall Plan based on the neo-colonial exploitation of the French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa after the Second World War economic slump of Europe and especially France. The Foccartian Cooperation Treaty stipulated that all African colonial and post-colonial countries were to give France a preferential treatment in exporting up to sixty to seventy per cent of their natural resources and raw materials to France and importing up to sixty to seventy per cent of French finished products. The Foccartian Cooperation Treaty also included French Military protection and the creation of French Military bases in Africa to protect French interests. It also included the control of French African Education, the monetary system, the health system and all forms of Technical Cooperation.

Léopold Sédar Senghor, and leaders of all the other French colonies, and UN Trust territories of Cameroon and Togo under French administration, had signed this Cooperation Treaty with France, and so could not really embrace the very progressist blue print of sustainable development for a United States of Africa, as propounded by the “Progressive Casablanca Group/Bloc” of the founding fathers of the OAU.

The other members of the Monrovia Group/Block could be said to have had their hands tied by the neo-colonial system of independence. A country like Nigeria, whose leader Tafawa Balewa and founding father of the OAU came to power through the rigging of elections by the British (Harold Smith, *How Britain Rigged Nigeria's Elections before Independence*, British Declassified Documents, New African, May, 2005) before Nigeria's independence, was nothing but a Bull Dog that could neither even bark nor bite. Nigeria and the other Monrovia Group members behaved more like onlookers and watchdogs for the colonial masters and could not dare to be progressive to support the master plan of Kwame Nkrumah to fight colonialism and neo-colonialism and establish the road map and strategies for the sustainable development of Africa.

Liberia, led by Sir Goldie Tubman at that time, was a colony of the USA which has maintained the status quo of the domination and exploitation of the indigenes by the Freed Slaves caste of Monrovia. It was unthinkable that an old crony of human rights abuses like Sir Goldie Tubman could dare embrace

Kwame Nkrumah's progressive ideologies and strategies, at a time when he so much needed the status quo to maintain his power of command.

This is also true of Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie, who had reined singlehandedly over Ethiopia before the Second World War, who patronised his people and established a feudal state and fed fat on the proceeds of tributes contributed by helpless people in a country where every citizen was at his beck and call. Haile Selassie who could feed his lions chunks of beef when his people starved, was so brain-worn-out that he could not imagine embracing Kwame Nkrumah's progressive blue print for the United States of Africa based on the sustainable development objectives and strategies for Africa.

That is why the only common ground where the founding fathers of the OAU agreed was that fighting for the total independence of Africa. This was an easier option because the colonial scapegoat was targeted as the common enemy.

But the real liberation fight, which consisted in breaking with the colonial mentality or the feudalised system practiced in Africa, as Africans became the colonizers and slave drivers of their own people, was never fought.

And so today, Africans who have "...tasked the blood of the White Colonial Meat, can no longer resist consuming the Meat itself..." as the African philosophical proverb goes, which confirms this communion and Voodoo or Nyongo pact with the slave-driven liberal capitalist economy of the Whiteman has transformed the African into cannibal that preys on his/her kith and kin without remorse for Nyongo-Money.

And this new Nyongo or Voodoo money-making club based on witchcraft consisting of vampirism and cannibalism is the new Whiteman's Individualism of greed and profit at all cost introduced into Africa. This Nyongo-money-making club which reeks of acute individualism is even boosted by the capitalist-slave-driven Christianity which preaches that "a man shall leave his father and mother and create his individualism with his only wife and children" as opposed to the African Communitarian Philosophy of the extended family system where the Individual takes care of the Community and the Community takes care of the Individual as Mwalimu rightly puts it that the African was raised up to know and put into practice the maxim that "I am because we are."

The National Liberation Movements

Most of the colonially dominated countries, especially the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and Cape Verde Islands, South Africa under Apartheid, South West Africa (Namibia),

Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), were identified and earmarked as OAU's Liberation Movement countries which needed financial and military support from the OAU.

Credit must be given to these countries whose citizens were determined at all cost to liberate their countries from colonialism and imperialism. If they had not fought with all determination, their countries would not have been liberated. And no amount of aid and support from OAU would have solved the problem of colonization and perpetual domination.

And if one considers the fact that it took almost 33 years, with the defeat of the South African Apartheid regime in 1993, for Africa to be completely liberated from political colonization and imperialism. Then one can fully understand how difficult the battle was for the Pan-African Liberation Movements and to shift the focus of the OAU from war programs to its sustainable development issues after the liberation of all African countries.

The Non Representation Of The African Diaspora

One could also imagine the great mistake and loss that was caused the OAU by the non-representation of the vibrant African Diaspora which had been the forerunner of Pan-Africanism. By not inviting the African Diaspora as an essential and coherent partner of the Organisation of African Unity, was a lack of foresight. This attitude could have been because Africa being a late-comer into Pan-Africanism wanted to impress the world that the OAU was now an African public affair. But this lack of foresight by the founding fathers of the OAU contributed to reduce the inauguration of the OAU a mere shadow of itself.

That could explain why the debate on the strategy to apply for Africa's sustainable development, whether as propounded by the Casablanca Group or the Monrovia Group did not make much impact because most of the participants did not quite understand the bigger picture for Africa and what was really at stake for the common interest of Africa and her peoples. Actually the initial problem was not between the moderates and the progressives, as some analysts have tried to paint the picture.

The dichotomy between the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group was actually what one can call a comedy of errors, than really a difference in ideologies. This was so because most of the participants came to the OAU Conference without any ideological focus or master plans and strategic plans on how to attain the objectives of the OAU objectives in the short and long term for Africa.

When the Monrovia Group came up with the idea of regional integration before African Unity, this was not because they had already figured out with a pointer plan and road map on how they projected to go about the regional integration process. The Monrovia plan came up rather as a reaction against the detailed outlined road map presented by Kwame Nkrumah about the Casablanca Group's master plan of the details which the neophyte Organisation of African Unity would eventually take.

The truth is that judging from the preparedness of the participants at the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity, it would seem that it was a meeting of titans on a hunting spree where each hunter was more interested in the type of game he would catch than on the ideological, political, legal and socio-economic issues that underlay the achievement of African Unity for the sustainable development of Africa and its peoples.

That is why every other member of the Monrovia Group came in rather with spears than with coolheaded ideas to negotiate on how a level playground for African founding fathers and subsequent leaders and heads of States that would eventually lead Africa through the tortuous road to a viable unionist sustainable development for Africa and her peoples.

And so when Kwame Nkrumah outlined the blue print for the prerequisites for a liberated unionism for African liberation as consisting of the creation of an African Army and Security System, an African Currency and Monetary Fund, an African Industrialisation process with regional specializations, an African Educational system and Pan-African University for capacity building process, an African Market for free movement of people, goods and services, only the Casablanca group bought the idea. The Monrovia Group opposed it not because they had had a fully thought out process like Kwame Nkrumah had done; but because they were only thinking of the personal gains they would each reap from such a venture.

That is why the members of the Monrovia Group expressed their apprehensions which even went as far as accusing Kwame Nkrumah of proposing a unionism in which they thought he would eventually become the leader, while they would eventually lose their Neo-colonial Lilliputian State Independence and Sovereignty.

Some African leaders and their Western capitalist and imperialist sponsors even went as far as accusing Kwame Nkrumah of advocating for Marxism and Communism just because he opposed neo-colonialism and advocated for a liberated political and an economically emancipated Africa.

This is exactly what has happened with the creation of the African Union under the initiatives and sacrifices of the betrayed and slain President Muammar Kadhafi of Libya.

One can therefore conclude that at the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity, there was virtually no match and virtually no outlined blue print for African Sustainable Development and her people.

Once more the initiatives and endeavours of the Diaspora Founding Fathers of Pan-Africanism, like Toussaint L'Ouverture, Marcus Garvey, Henry Sylvester Williams, Booker Taliaferro Washington, William Edward Bourghardt DuBois, Edward Wilmot Blyden, was betrayed by the founding fathers of AOU because of their selfish interest.

11.2. The Long Drift From The Revolution Of OAU And The Rise From Grass To Grace Politics Of Unionism

As I have tried to explain above, the lack of any outlined blue print for African Sustainable Development and her people, reduced the launching of the OAU in Addis Ababa, to practically a non-event for observers.

It was very easy for heads of State to settle for the support-driven actions of the Liberation Movements because by so doing, it distracted the focus of attention on the performance of State Leaders.

Since all the Liberation Movements in Africa were counter colonialist, anti-capitalist, they were derogatorily branded as Socialist Marxist and Communist States. Actually most of them received financial and military aid from Socialist Marxist and Communist organizations and countries like the Soviet Union, Cuba and China; and also from socialist and Communist organizations like the CFGT of France, the Socialist and the Communist Parties in France.

This is how some members of the Monrovia Group decided to become lackeys and mercenaries of the imperialist powers of the West under the pretext of fighting Communism in Africa.

Africa was now experiencing the American McCarthyism or the Second Red Scare that had characterised the USA socio-political landscape between 1950 to 1954, where the fears of Communist infiltration and influence on American Institutions had developed not only to witch-hunting, but to an aggressive subjection of thousands of Americans to unfair and unscrupulous investigations and questioning before government or private-industry panels, committees and agencies; which led to the loss of jobs, imprisonment, and suspension of educational pursuits for many suspected citizens, especially Black Americans.

Actually the Cold War was faith more in Africa where the Western powers started targeting Africans who were suspected of sympathising or collaborating with Communism. Sanki Maimo (2012) even testified that in the 1950s the

American FBI and the British Intelligence infiltrated the African academic institutions to track down pro-Communist Africans.

The Head of State of Zaire (Democratic DRC), President Mobutu Sese Seko, took upon himself to be the CIA and American agent to fight for the liberation Movement - UNITA of Angola. Mobutu Sese Seko, who had previously been hired as the henchman of the CIA and Belgium who assassinated Patrice Lumumba under the pretext that Lumumba was Marxist Communist, made a lot of personal wealth from the Americans by also supporting Jonas Savimbi who was sponsored by the United States of America's CIA to fight the Marxist government of Augustinho Netto of Angola.

Angola under Augustinho Netto had gained its independence from Portugal through the support of the Liberation Movement by Cuban troops. The Cuban troops also helped the South West Africa People Organisation – SWAPO to oust imperial Apartheid South Africa out of the region. This ideology and pretext of fighting Marxist Communism in Africa gave the leeway for the Western powers to sponsor destabilizing autocratic agents and leaders in Africa who promoted bad governance, corruption and the “Neo-Colonial Western Mercenary Repressive Autocratic Democracy in Africa” in the name of fighting Communism in Africa. And these Western sponsored African Mercenaries heavily supported by Western Arms created all forms of Repressive Democracies, like what was shamefully called by their Western allies “true Democracies”; like in the case of the “Democratic Republic of Zaire/Congo” and many African States supported by the Western Powers.

This also perpetrated the repression and torture of opposition leaders and the reign of Machiavellian political terror and the incarnation of despotic regimes in Africa, under the pretext of fighting the spread of Marxist Communism in Africa.

Thus after the launching of the OAU, and the outlining of the objectives and ambitions of the organization, it was not possible for any sustainable development to take roots in Africa because of the Cold War and the vested interest of the Western Capitalist and Eastern Socialist Marxist Communist Super Powers in Africa.

The Western imperialist countries of USA, Great Britain and France, decided to sponsor and eliminate all Liberation-directed projects and leaders in Africa. While the French Secret Agents of DGSE - General Directorate for External Security - Direction Générale de la sécurité extérieure, the British and the American Secret Services, especially the FBI and the CIA, were hard at work to destabilize the various forward-looking Liberation-directed leaders of Africa.

This is how before the end of the first decade of independence in Africa, Africa witnessed over four military take overs. Progressive President Olympio of Togo under the pretext of harbouring Marxist Communist sentiments was replaced by Nnasingbe Eyadema, a lackey of the Western imperialism in Africa who ruled Togo for almost forty years. Nigeria experienced two military take-overs and a civil war: the first military coup masterminded by Chukwuemeka Nzeugwu, which overthrew the civilian government, followed by the assassination of the new Military leader, Agui Ironsi, and the Civil War declared by General Gowon against General Odumegwu Ojukwu the leader who declared free Biafra. The military take-over of the government of Kwame Nkrumah masterminded by the American CIA because he was accused of advocating Socialist Marxist Communism in Africa. The same fate followed Jean Marian Ngouabi of the Popular Republic of Congo who was replaced by Denis Sassou Nguesso, who is still supported today by the Western powers and France as head of State of the Congo Popular Republic for over thirty-five years of reign.

Much later in the 1970s, the fate of Abdel Nasser was not different from the political cleansing meted by the Western capitalist imperial powers on those identified as propagating Socialist Marxist Communism. President Milton Obote of Uganda was overthrown by the British Secret Service who replaced him with the British trained boxer turned soldier, the despotic monster president Idi Amin, because Milton Obote nursed ideas of Socialism and sympathized with the Tanzanian experience of Julius Nyerere's "Ujamaa," "Villagisation" inspired from the Chinese Maoist Socialist Marxist Cultural Revolution.

By the 1990s Africa had been transformed not only into a quagmire of domestic conflicts. It had become a precarious continent of military coups d'états that reached the simmering heights of over thirty times in about twenty African countries. The post-colonial states of Nigeria, Ghana and Mali topped the list of countries bridled with recurrent coups d'états of military despotism in Sub-Saharan Africa sponsored by the Western Powers in the name of fighting Communism.

This combined situation of political cleansing of the pro-Socialist Marxist leaders of Africa by the Western powers, coupled by the sporadic military coups d'états incapacitated the OAU; and made it impossible for Africa to develop a consistent master plan for its efficient sustainable governance and sustainable development.

It is a shame that the Western Powers and Israel supported and sponsored the repressive Apartheid regimes of South Africa, Southern West Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) under the pretext of fighting Communism in Africa.

That explains why the Western Powers and Israel boycotted the World Conference in South Africa to discuss the Colonial Crimes against Humanity and Africa through slavery and repressive colonisation.

It would seem that all the Western Powers of NATO and non-NATO powers put aside their political differences and agreed on one Mission, the subjugation and exploitation of Africa according to their whims and caprices. That is the reason why the Western Powers supported very notoriously despotic presidents who were attached to their apron strings and carried out the exploitative Mission of Africa and its people for their vested interest.

The OAU, even though it embraced all the wishy-washy Charters of the UN highly controlled by the Western Powers under the Police and Military Boots of the United States, became emasculated and reduced to a lackey either of the Western Powers or the Eastern Powers.

That could explain how, while it could be said that:

On the one hand the OAU contributed to the creation of despotic autocratic-democratic regimes of Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, of Sékou Touré of Guinea, of Houphouët Boigny of Ivory Coast, of Jomo Kenyatta and Arap Moi of Kenya, of Moussa Traore of Mali, of Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya of Cameroon, of Omar Bongo of Gabon;

On the other hand it also produced recalcitrant autocratic military warlords like Nnasingbe Eyadema of Togo, Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Hussein Mubarak of Egypt, Gaafar Huamed an-Nimeiry and Oumar Bashir of Sudan, Yuweri Museveni of Uganda, Melenes of Ethiopia, Mobutu Sese Seko of Democratic Republic of Congo, Claude Compaore of Bourkina Fasso, Denis Sassou Nguesso of Popular Republic of Congo Brazzaville, Sani Abacha of Nigeria, and Jerry Rawlings of Ghana.

Alongside this Cold-War-driven agent based systems was the creation of very corrupt systems in Africa; where most of the African Machiavellian despotic autocratic powerful political warlords and the military warlords amassed unaccountable wealth furnished the corrupting Western and Eastern Governments.

The truth is that many African Heads of State have since become very corrupt Autocratic Democrats, where the so-called Republican Presidents have risen from grass to grace in their forged autocratic corrupt careers of Western or Eastern mercenaries, amassing wealth which they cannot account for.

It is this seething corruption which has contributed to the poor governance and irresponsible management in many post-colonial African in

the so-called Democratic Republican States that are never accountable to the people and citizens they are supposed to represent.

This explains why by the close of the twentieth century and the advent of the twenty-first century, the Organisation of African Unity was really at a loss as to the kind of structural sustainable development to adopt. Instead it allowed itself to be foxed into adopting the Structural Adjustment Policy of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund - IMF, which sapped them dry of their natural resources, advocated for privatization of the few viable parastatal companies which the liberal capitalist companies of the neo-colonial powers turned round to buy and raise the prices and interest for the same services that were rendered by the parastatals before privatization. The bled Africa to death and the poor were made poorer and poorer.

Africa, at the beginning of the 21st Century, was still at the crossroads and still undecided as to the kind of structure for its sustainable development.

That is why Muammar Gaddhaffi took up the initiative to think of an alternative strategic plan of governance for Africa to create a viable structure for its sustainable political, economic, social and cultural development in the twenty first century.

11.3. The Success Story Of The Organisation Of African Unity – OAU

It would be unscientific and even dishonest to think that the Organisation of African Unity was a total failure. It must be remembered that not long after attaining independence, even though a number of African states expressed a growing desire for more unity within the continent, not everyone agreed on how this unity could be achieved, or how it should actually be applied in a much practical manner for the sustainable development of the African continent and her people.

However it is possible to carry out an evaluation of the OAU policies if we take into consideration the fact that the main objectives of the OAU consisted in:

- Promoting the unity and solidarity of the African States;

- Co-ordinating and intensifying cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;

- Defending the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and independence of member states; Eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa;

- Promoting international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- Ensuring the enjoyment of human rights by all Africans;

Raising the quality of life and living standards of all Africans;

Settling conflicts and all forms of arguments and disputes between member states – through pre-emptive diplomacy, peaceful negotiation and constructive peace-building strategies.

In order to achieve these goals Member States pledged themselves to harmonize their policies in the following fields.

Political and diplomatic cooperation;

Economic cooperation, including transport and communication;

Educational and cultural cooperation;

Health, sanitation, and nutritional cooperation;

Scientific and technical cooperation; and

Cooperation for defence and security.

The OAU Charter outlined the main principles that are also stated in Article II of the CHARTER as follows

The recognition of the sovereign equality of all Member States;

The non- interference in the internal affairs of States;

The respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence;

The peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration;

The unreserved condemnation in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other States;

The absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent;

The affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

It must be stressed here that in proclaiming the OAU principles and objectives, the Founding Fathers of the Organization of African Unity envisaged clearly a unity “that transcends ethnic boundaries and national differences.”

But as the years progressed it was realized that ethnic conflicts and even trans-national conflicts started to betray the original objectives of the OAU. Much of this could be attributed to the fact that the leaders failed in promoting national representation and good governance in their respective countries.

Instead ethnic-driven politics, whereby one or two ethnic groups were propelled by the neo-colonial strategy to dominate the rest of the political and

economic minorities in the country like Kikuyu in Kenya, or the Hausa-Fulani in Nigeria, or the Buganda in Uganda, the Tutsi of Rwanda and Burundi, the Shona in Zimbabwe, the Baule in Ivory Coast, the Beti in Cameroon, and the list goes on.

These politics of bad governance contributed to the failure of the OAU. The failure of the AOU was also attributed to some of its very unpopular policies and practices like supporting heads of states with poor records where bad governance and human rights abuses prevailed; which contributed to the stalemate in forging a coherent sustainable development policy for Africa during the OAU life span of its 39 years of existence.

One of the policies which militated against the practical application of the objectives of maintaining human rights for the African people, was the policy of non-interference in the affairs of member states which also limited the effectiveness of the OAU.

Thus, when human rights were violated, as in Uganda under the monster regime of Idi Amin in the 1970s, or in Cameroon where political prisoners were serially imprisoned and tortured, (Albert Mukong, 1984) the OAU was powerless to stop them.

Actually and rightly too, critics argue that the OAU in its 39 years of existence did little or nothing to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens from their own political Machiavellian leaders.

Agonda Ochola (2007) affirms that the ineffectiveness of the OAU derived from the fact that after independence many African states privatised the State and used them to promote their personal interest and those of their families. That is why the OAU was often dubbed and branded by critical observers as a “Dictators’ Club” or “Dictator’s Trade Union”.

The OAU was also widely criticised and derided as a bureaucratic “talking shop” with little power and little clout. Everything the OAU tried to do as regards its members’ highhandedness and abuses of their people’s rights fell hollow because it had no army nor police to enforce its policies. And when it struggled to enforce its decisions, its lack of an armed force made intervention exceedingly difficult. This is why the Nigerian civil war and the Angolan civil war continued unabated for years, and the OAU was helpless and could not intervene to stop them.

It was Cuba, under Fidel Castro, who had to send troops to fight the war of liberation of Angola and also maintain peace and security in the country.

As already mentioned, the history of the OAU was not wrecked with failure. The OAU was, however, successful in some respects, due to the efforts it made in spite of the difficulties it faced. All the OAU member states were also members of the United Nations Organisation which is that

International Talk Shop heavily controlled by the Imperialistic Powers of the World.

One elemental behaviour which stood out clear, according to Augustine Konchou Komeigny (1977) was that the members of the OAU stood together in all transactions and decisions of the United Nations to safeguard African interests. They all took a very unanimous stand in voting with the member countries that constituted the Non Aligned Organisation, mostly African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia. They stood together as one voice especially in respect of decisions which touched on lingering colonialism. That is why it could be said that the OAU in its pursuit of African unity, therefore, was in some ways successful.

And so when the Ghanaian former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan praised the OAU for bringing Africans together, this was not out of sheer diplomacy but out of genuine appreciation and recognition of the efforts of even providing a talk shop for the leaders of Africa. Actually OAU could also be labelled mildly as the only political school which provided the African Heads of State to meet and exchange ideas and get some schooling from the more experienced ones.

Some of the outstanding achievements of the OAU were the admission of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic as the government of Western Sahara and member of the OAU in 1982.

The OAU stood its ground on the case of the recognition of Sahrawi Arab Republic even though it had to lose a member state status. Morocco who was claiming sovereignty over Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic backed out of the OAU when Sahrawi was admitted as a special member into the club. Actually, Morocco left on 12 November 1984 following the decision of the OAU to recognise the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

11.4 OAU Policy and Success Story in Decolonization, Governance and The Rule Of Law

The various achievements of the OAU can be highlighted in order of importance and of the impact it had on the mission of the organisation as follows:

One of the achievements the OAU has always prided itself during its 39 years of existence is the pivotal role it played in eradicating colonialism and minority rule in Africa. In this field, the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, organized diplomatic support and channelled financial, military and logistical aid to liberation movements.

The OAU also provided weapons, training and military bases to colonised nations fighting for independence or majority rule. Tanzania played a big role in providing training grounds for the Southern States of Africa. Nigeria, Libya and many frontline countries and all OAU member countries contributed financially for the Liberation Movement Groups such as the ANC and PAC, fighting apartheid; and ZANU and ZAPU, fighting for the independence of Southern Rhodesia; SWAPO fighting for the liberation of South West Africa.

South Africa remained one of those bastions of colonisation that had exploited Africans to the doldrums of inadmissibility of her human rights abuses and deprivation of her citizens who were denied a home in their own country of origin. As attested by Gareth Evans (2000), South Africa had rendered the indigenous Black people of South Africa very poor due to the ruthless land seizure practiced by the settlers and supported by the law as he goes on to elaborate on the what he calls “The Legacy of White Rule” in these terms:

“During the colonial period and under Apartheid, native South Africans were subjected to a level of dispossession unparalleled in the region. The right to own land, rent or even sharecrop land in South Africa depended upon person’s race. And millions of Blacks were forced from their ancestral lands and resettled in overcrowded and environmentally degraded reserves where they served as a source of cheap migrant labour for white-owned farms and mines. As one recent study concluded, “The extent of the impact of this policy on the whole social, economic, and political fabric of South African is impossible to measure. The resentment it caused is too deep to fathom; its scars too sensitive to touch.” Colonial occupation, dispossession and racial discrimination lasted longer in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. More than 250 years of Dutch and British conquest and settlement, deprived native South Africans of most of their original territory.”

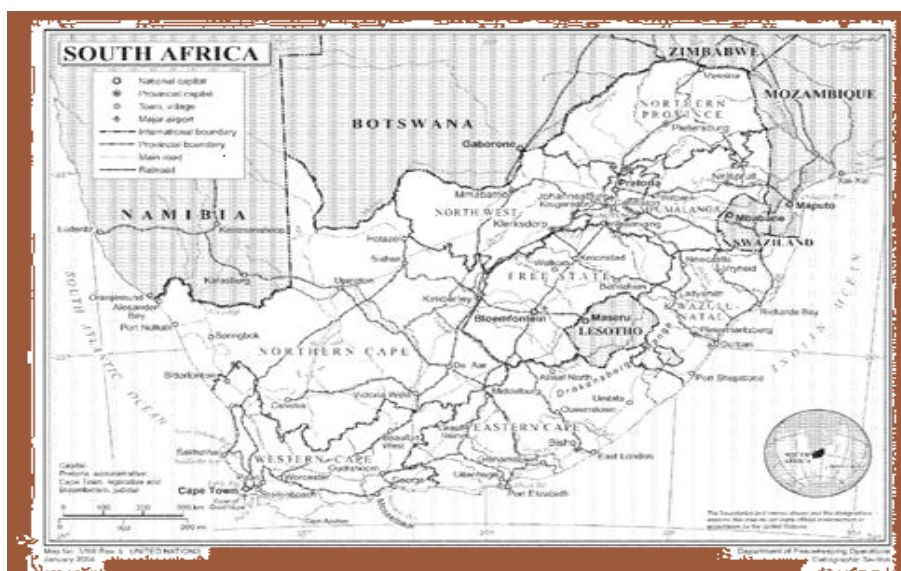
The OAU used every means in its power to sensitize the world on the need to decolonize Africa and gained increasing support from world opinion.

Through the efforts of the OAU at the United Nations, the liberation struggle is recognized as legitimate. Liberation movements representatives were recognized and given seats as observers at UN meetings. Through an OAU fund, international support was channelled to liberated areas in Guinea Bissau, in Angola and Mozambique.

OAU initiated action with the International Court of Justice which declared that South Africa had no right to stay in Namibia. Consequently, UN action was effectively considered for the International territory of Namibia (former South West Africa) to accede to Independence.

Likewise, the AOU fostered a UN boycott to be enacted against Rhodesia's racist minority regime until majority rule was obtained. OAU put in every pressure which was brought to bear on Great Britain, which, as a colonial power at the time of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (1965), had to live by its constitutional and moral responsibility towards African majority in Rhodesia.

Thus, through the relentless efforts of the OAU Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia and their NATO allies were periodically harassed and condemned for their colonialist and racist policies in Africa. The OAU used the United Nations platform, where the African group commanded a near "blocking third" vote, to lobby for support from its allies from the Organisation of the Non-Aligned States of the world.



Map 11.1. Colonial Map of South Africa Showing Homelands

OAU also used sanctions and boycott of South African products and services to put pressure on South Africa to dissolve the Apartheid regime. The OAU ordered the closing of African harbours and airports to the South African ships; and South African aircrafts were prohibited from flying over the rest of the continent. OAU put heavy pressure on the UN and convinced it to expel South Africa from UN agencies such as the World Health Organisation.

OAU encouraged African countries to ban South Africans from visiting or having any commercial or sporting collaboration with South Africa. African citizens were banned from visiting South Africa in solidarity with the indigenous South Africans.

Portuguese Territories Of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissao

This is the country where Portugal's last attempt at colonial reconquest failed. In the wake of this aggression OAU's offer of financial and military aid to Guinea, along with its declared war on mercenaries in Africa and the successful information campaign it waged to alert international opinion were all evidence of the usefulness OAU had in facing outside aggression and the outside world.

The Portuguese colonies were among the last bastions of colonialism, along with Apartheid South Africa, and South West Africa, that OAU had to contribute to their final struggle for liberation and independence. The task was difficult for OAU because it was weak, without any military command, and also because the Western Allied forces were supporting the resistance to independence and fighting back, with mercenaries from other countries, to stall the efforts of the liberation movements.

Fidel Castro played a vital role in the liberation movements' success to gain independence of their countries. Had Fidel Castro not supported Angola, and Namibia, these territories would have remained under the yoke of colonial bondage. This is where for OAU and for all patriotic Africans, Fidel Castro will forever remain the great Patriot Pan Africanist who stood his ground with his well-equipped troops in Angola to bring to shame the CIA funded support of Jonas Savimbi in Angola. It was in honour of the great achievements of Cuba and the dedication of Fidel Castro to save Angola and Africa from colonization and Neo-colonisation that I composed this poem and elegy titled:

Vulture Orgies For The Traitor

*Great mercenary warrior Jonas Savimbi
You had never suspected that
Your most powerful proctors and
CIA mentors would dump you so soon
As they did with quislings Roberto Holden and
Joseph Mobutu Sesse Seko
Your companions in the Neo-Trans-African
Slave Trade in Africa under
The old colonial pretext of Liberation and
Human Rights Development...
And so in your naivety and self conceited
Greed you believed in their lie...
In your megalomania and stupidity
You gave them the lee-way to exploit*

*The blood diamonds of your people
 In exchange for lethal land-mines and
 Biological weapons which have left your
 Children, fathers, mothers, sisters
 And brothers maimed and limbless for
 Life because you the neo-colonial
 King-Kong Monster believed that your
 Impostors loved you more than your
 Brothers with whom you suffered the
 Colonial Apartheid Human Rights Injustice...
 Even when you realised that their ardent
 Love for you against your kin and
 People left them legless, armless, even
 Headless in their thousands you still
 Obstinate insisted to fight a neo-colonial
 Remote-Controlled War of Titans
 Who were quick to dump you for the
 Crude oil when your Mission was due
 In the same manner as Mobutu Sesse Seko,
 Abidjo and Jean Bedel Bokasa only
 To turn around and make peace with
 The same brother you fought against...
 Now they have sacrificed you to die like a
 Stateless, shameless traitor with
 No war victory trophies to show except your
 War Crimes and naked body abandoned to rot
 For the vulture orgies and feastings with
 No befitting burial, elegies, or eulogies
 Yet your Morgan Tsvangarai offsprings
 Have not learned your fate's lesson
 They are still proposing to Africa mercenary
 Liberation wars of White Human Rights and that
 Africans should for ever lose their
 Matri-Patrimony to Neo-Colonisation...
 It serves you right you died with the curse of a
 Bloated stomach symbol fulfilling the bad Omen
 From Africa's Ancestors whose tombs you
 Desecrated with your land-mines and bombs...
 You and your perfidiously greedy mentors and
 Blood Diamond buyers and suppliers of those lethal*

*Weapons of Mass Destruction refused to
Give a caring ear and human heart to
Princess Diana whose pleas virtually
Earned her contested assassination
You refused to listen to Fidel Castro, to Che Guevara
Who gave their lives that guns of Neo-Colonisation
Will be silent in Africa turned into a haunted graveyard
Where hungry children scavenge of bones of rotted kins
But I pray that you reconcile with the soul of Princess Diana
And the spirit of Che Guevara and hold the hand of Fidel Castro to Make your lasting
peace with God and your betrayed Ancestors...*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Yaounde, 20th October, 2004.

John S. Saul (2013) writing about Fanon, Cabral and the Recolonization of Southern Africa, paints a very graphic picture of the state of the situation in these last bastions of colonialism in Africa saying:

"It is important to look at the regional struggle for the freedom of southern Africa in a global context for such a perspective helps to underscore the unique importance of the set of events that transpired there. Put simply, this regional struggle (involving, from 1960 to 1994, the contested territories of Angola, Mozambique, South-West Africa/Namibia, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa) marked the last major battle-ground of a much broader struggle waged across the globe for the overthrow of western colonialism and white racist hegemony, a struggle that spanned the entire second half of the twentieth century and that was perhaps the most significant event of that century."

Angola and Agostino Neto

OAU faced a great task in the liberation of Angola before and after the fall of Salazar in Portugal because of the geo-strategic and the geo-economic and mineral interest of this massive region. The task of OAU became more difficult because the warring camps of the guerrilla movements were split on ideological lines of their foreign proctors and sponsors and between ethnic and social class lines.

The MPLA, -- Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), revived in 1962 by the assimilated physician of Mbundu origin, Dr Agostinho Neto, was accused to be of the bourgeoisie

class of the “assomilado” of “mestico” class, which occupied the urban spaces particularly Luanda from where most of its followers came and resided.

This resuscitated party of the MPLA was founded in 1950s by the Communist party of Angola. The reprisals against members of this party by the Portuguese government took its toll on the MPLA. Most of its party members were imprisoned and many of them died in prison so much so that by the time Agostinho Neto set it back on its rails in the 1962, it was more or less a shadow of itself.

The FNLA, -- National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola), of Roberto Holden, a Bakongo-Mbundu, and brother in law of Mobutu Sese Seko, was sponsored by the USA and the CIA who supplied arms and money through Mobutu Sesse Seko who was the King Pin of the Western capitalist Powers headed by the USA in pre-empting the spread of Communism in Africa.

The UNITA party, -- National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola), of Jonas Savimbi of Chokwe origin of southern Angola, was sponsored by the USA, who through the CIA, Apartheid South Africa and Israel, supplied all the money and lethal arms necessary for the war against Communism in Angola, in exchange for the Blood Diamonds and Blood Copper mines controlled by the troops of Jonas Savimbi who controlled almost two thirds of the entire territory of Angola during the guerrilla war.



Photos190 (a) & (b): Agostinho Neto:17 September 1922, Icolo-e-Bengo, Angola - 10 September 1979

After the coup against the autocratic dictatorship regime of Salazar in April 1974, the new strong man of Portugal, General Antonio de Spínola, under pressure from his officers, accepted to grant independence to Portuguese colonial territories. Admira Rosa Coutinho was appointed head of the military council to oversee the independence of Angola. MPLA and UNITA signed the ceasefire agreement with Portugal. The FNLA which moved its troops to northern Angola and Cabinda finally signed the same treaty with Portugal.

But the three guerrilla movements due to the support they got from their foreign mentors of the Western and Eastern powers could not agree because of the ideological differences. Armed Conflict Database (1961) confirms this situation <http://www.onwar.com/aced/data/alpha/angola1961.htm> when it states that:

“The three liberation movements proved unable to constitute a united front after the Portuguese coup. The FNLA’s internal support had dwindled to a few Bakongo groups, but it had strong links with the Zairean regime and was well armed; it thus made a bid to seize Luanda by force. The MPLA, with growing backing from the Portuguese Communist Party, Cuba, and the Soviet Union, defeated this onslaught and then turned on UNITA, chasing its representatives out of Luanda. UNITA was militarily the weakest movement, but it had the greatest potential electoral support, given the predominance of the Ovimbundu within the population, and it thus held out most strongly for elections.”

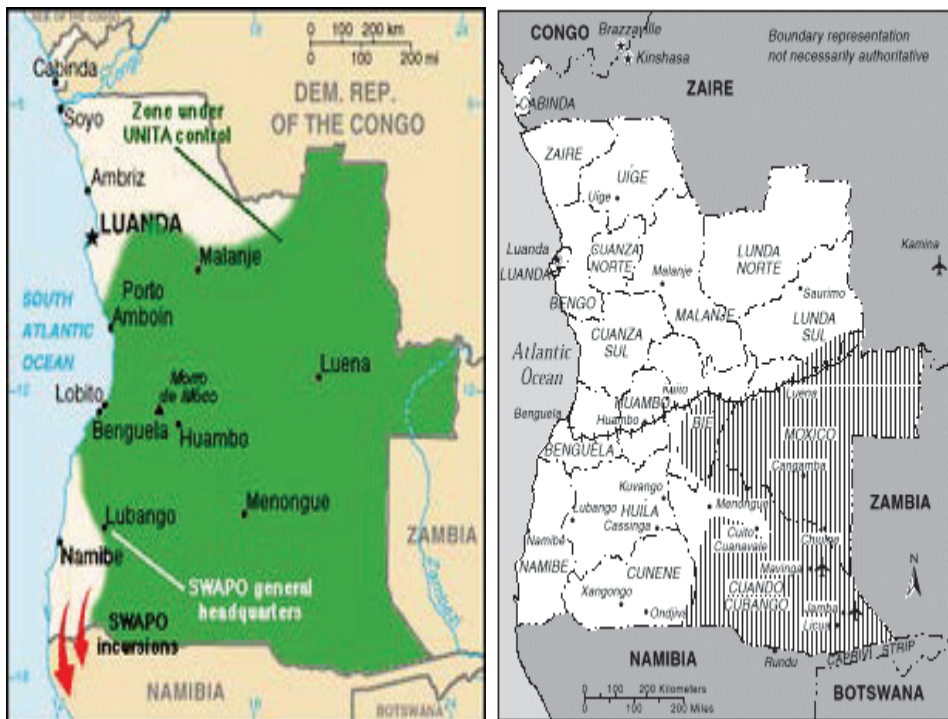
Actually the Cold War was being fought in Africa. Sweden, China and Russia and Cuba were supporting the OAU for the fight of Self-determination against colonial imperialism of the Western Powers of the USA and Colonial Europe in Africa.

It is very interesting to note how, when the Western Powers and their allies imposed an arms embargo on the Luanda government of Angola from 1975 to 1993, they continued to send arms to Jonas Savimbi through Mobutu Sese Seko, South Africa and Israel in exchange for Savimbi’s Blood Diamonds.

Encyclopaedia Britannica’s presents in a very succinct manner a description of the uncanny Independence-and-Civil-War situation of double standards in the following terms: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/25137/Angola/43874/>

“At the end of 1992, UNITA controlled approximately two-thirds of the country, including valuable diamond mines that were used to pay for the continuing costs of the war. Fighting raged throughout 1993 as the government gradually regained territory and

won greater support abroad; both South Africa and the United States recognized the government of Angola in 1993, as did the United Kingdom by ending an arms embargo that had existed since 1975.”

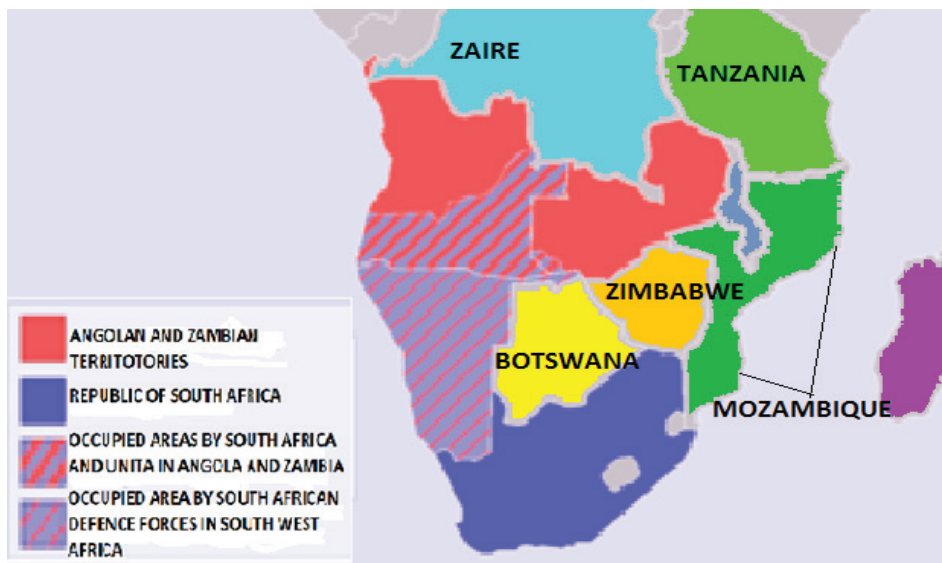


Map 11.2 & 11.3: Showing strongholds of MPLA, UNITA and SWAPO before 1993 and by 1993

It was through the undaunted efforts of Cuba who sent 40,000 to 50,000 troops to combat the heavily armed South African troops, vicariate agents of the USA and Great Britain and Israel.

The Billions of US Dollars that the USA, Great Britain, Israel and South Africa spent to purchase weapons of mass destruction, cluster bombs and land mines in the Angolan war would have built thousands of schools and hospitals in Africa according to the observation of Princess Diana who became a victim of the Western Capitalist Mafia.

When the USA and Great Britain realized that their addiction to oil and the mineral wealth of Angola was more than they could afford to lose, after experiencing their Vietnam from the valiant troops of Cuba in Angola, they had to throw in the towel and sign for peace with Eduardo dos Santos the successor of Agostinho Neto who died in 1979.



Map 11.4: Showing the Geo-strategic position of Angola with regard to Apartheid South Africa that was fighting it pro-Communist neighbours, including Mozambique that had gained independence in 1975.



Photos 191 (a) (b): Woman Member Fighter Of The Angolan Liberation Movement; Princess Diana In Angola Advocating For The Ban On Land Mines

And so Fidel Castro could smoke more Havana Cigars in celebration of the thrashing Cuba had given America and its vicariate agents in Africa. Thus Jonas Savimbi, the Western war monster, who had become irrelevant had to be dumped since he, just like the Tsar of Iran and Mobutu Sesse Seko, who had outlived their usefulness to the geo-strategic power ambitions of the USA, Israel and the Western Powers during the Cold War.

The irony is that Russia and Cuba who bore the brunt of the war of independence of Angola came out with their heads high as victors of Western imperialism in Africa. They did not care to negotiate for the rich oil and

mineral wealth of Angola. Instead the very Western Powers, who were fighting Communism in Africa, were the first to negotiate with a “Communist Liberated” regime of Agostinho Neto’s and Eduardo dos Santos’s Angola.



Photos 191 (c) & (d): Princess Diana And Angolan Angolan Baby; Princess Diana And Angolan Girl Amputee From Land Mines



Photos 191 (e) & (f): Princess Diana And Angolan Children With Amputated Limbs From Land Mines; Princess Diana In The Angolan Killing Fields

But the Western Powers, especially the USA and South Africa, did not care about the corporate social responsibility they bore from the lethal genocidal war and the lethal weapons they had supplied to Jonas Savimbi to landmine the entire Angola. The USA and South Africa, who stand accused for crimes against humanity in Africa for supplying weapons of mass destruction, were interested only in the oil and mineral wealth of Angola and not in the lives of the war victims, especially women, children and the aged they had maimed with their land mines and rendered poor and hopeless.

The venerable Princess Diana of Wales tried to bring some sanity and reasoning to the War-mongering Powers of the capitalist West to clean up their mess of landmines in Angola and in Africa which they had land mined systematically, rendering the natural spaces not only unlivable to wild life and for the healthy eco-systemic development, but also to humans most of whose limbs were amputated by an “Imported War against Communism” they did not call for.

And the Noll thesis seems plausible that the Princess must have met her untimely death due to the connivance of the Western Powers who had ganged up to silence her in her advocacy for War Crimes and for the victims of the Western Cold War Crimes in Africa.

Most Africans and their leaders are unaware that Africa is suffering because of the lack of clairvoyance and focused leadership for the emancipation of Africa from ignorance and poverty. And this is what Agostinho Neto stood and fought for when he reiterated that:

“Our contribution has to be given not only for the liquidation of the colonial system but also for the liquidation of ignorance, disease and primitive forms of social organization.”

The greatest forms of ignorance and primitivity Africans are suffering from are these induced “Cold Wars” from the West where some Africans have become lackeys and mercenaries of the Western destructive Powers in their own countries, instead of joining hands with the OAU and the African Union to foster Africa’s mental and physical liberation.

It is high time many young Africans strive to enter the Pantheon of Pan Africanism and build a stronger Africa, like the devoted founding fathers of Pan Africanism and the OAU.

Even though it is true that some of the founding fathers of the OAU slept on their laurels and transformed themselves into glorified autocratic Kingkongs and Dictators, there is still hope in the youths of Africa of the new generation.

And if we should talk of an African Re-Renaissance, we must first of all join minds and hands with Gacheke Gachchi (2010) who entreats us to imitate and celebrate the selfless founding fathers of Pan Africanism by doing just our own little part to see that Pan Africanism thrives forever. In his discourse on Politics Across Boundaries and Pan Africanism he admonishes us to emulate those who laid down their lives that Africa might live as he bears testimony to the fact that:

“In contrast, during the leaderships of Kwame Nkrumah, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto, this African leadership harnessed and forged the Pan-African political instrument that gave birth to new leadership in Africa, which spearheaded the struggle for independence. The Annual Mwalimu Nyerere Intellectual festival, which is organized by the Mwalimu Nyerere Chair of Pan-African studies at Dar es Salaam University, 2 creates a space for reflection and seeks to draw lessons from the past, from the social struggles that were anchored in a Pan African movement. The last Pan African congress—which was the 7th—was held in Uganda in 1994. Unfortunately, we, the younger generation, have not been able to read and improve on the Pan African resolutions that were agreed upon at this congress, which had been organizational instruments for the independence era liberation movements. As Africa develops a means of transport that will be linking many of its capital cities, the young generation will interact, political relationships will be forged, and new fruitful contradictions will continue to shape daily lives. This will be a great and much needed opportunity for a new generation in Africa to forge a united front in creating an alternative, borderless, Pan-Africanist political leadership.”

This clarion call by Gacheke Gachchi for the youths of Africa to put hands on deck and stop blaming anybody is the greatest blessing that is coming to Africa today. For the future is in the mentally and physically emancipated youths of Africa of tomorrow.

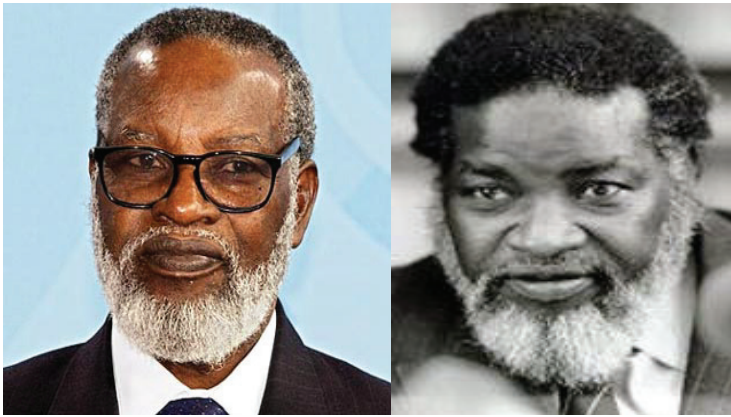
South West Africa And Sam Nujoma

Sam Nujoma started his leadership training very young from the cradle. As the first of eleven children it was not an easy task to hone his leadership qualities which will set him aside to fight for the cause of his suppressed people under the yoke of Apartheid and colonialism.

He learned his lessons from his ancestors of the Herero and the Ovambo Kingdoms from where his parents originated. The Herero and the Ovambo who were fierce fighters to maintain their integrity and identity as a people, fought fiercely against German colonization which degenerated into the first experiment of genocide much long ago in the colonies. This was many years before Adolf Hitler would have the courage to apply his genocidal instincts on the Jews whom he sent to the gas chambers of Auschwitz in Germany.

Nujoma had to learn the hard way by seeing his people every day going through the drudgery of the colonial servitude and the exclusion of Apartheid which refused to recognize the basic human rights of the native people. The native people, after the German colonization and the occupation that set in with the Apartheid regime, were refused their rights to own land, and their

rights to education, and their rights to live respectfully as human beings in their mother-fatherland.



Photos 192 (a) & (b): Samuel Daniel Shafishuna Nujoma – 12 May 1929

Sam Nujoma narrates how after his ancestors had suffered from the hands of the Germans, they were still subjected to undergo the inhumane treatment from the Apartheid regime that set itself up and arrogated to itself the power of life and death in the colony.

Sam Nujoma became a Pan Africanist by the forces of circumstance that prevailed on him at the time when any right thinking youth, looking at the injustices that his people were subjected to, would not have thought twice before shedding his blood for the liberation of his enslaved people.

Actually Sam Nujoma makes us to understand that Pan Africanism started with his people right from the time of colonization when they stood up as one person to resist and fight the colonial Germans. He reiterates this fact highlighting how the Herero and the Ovambo people stood their ground against the imperialistic Germans who were bent on transforming Namibia into an indentured slave camp and colony:

“In Namibia the struggle of course was the resistance to colonialism, which was more fiercely fought heroically by the Namibian people who started the movement. Chief Hendrik Witbooi and later on when he was killed in action he was succeeded by Jacob Marenga, the white men say Morenga, and then Kahimwemwa Nguvauva, the Mbanderu sections of the Hereros both refused to accept the German authority. He fought and he was hanged near Brakwater there, with his lieutenants and later on Maharero also took it up from 1904, 1907, 1908 and then it spread all the way up to the North and Chief Nebale of the Ondonga also went to assist their cousins. The Hereros and the Owambos are cousins. So some of the Hereros went to Ondonga - they stayed there up to now. For example, Ngavirue, who is our former director general in the National Planning Commission and our

Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium and the European Union. His family is still there in Ondonga. So later on when the Germans were attacked by these warriors, they realised that they had to make peace with the people in the North because the people in the North were military and very close to each other. That struggle of course never died when Germany lost the colony of South West Africa, then Deutsch Sudwest Afrika and Deutsch West Africa that is Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi. This was during the First World War. Hitler thought that very powerful Germany could then make more tanks and more weapons and more warplanes to have more colonies, even tiny Belgium. The biggest colony was the Congo, which is bigger than the whole Western Europe with the exclusion of the Russian Federation and Germany. And Portugal still had two big colonies, Mozambique and Angola and Sao Tome & Principe, Guinea Bissau and Carpe Verde. So Hitler started the war in order to recover the colonies that they had lost in the First World War.”

Sam Nujoma goes further to show how the land of the Herero and Ovambo people were arbitrarily seized by the colonizers and given to the Kaiser and Queen Victoria after the first World War who refused to recognise the self-determination of the native people but went ahead to deprive the people of the God-given matri-patrimony and heritage. He shows how just because of the colonialist greed for the mineral resources of the people of Namibia, thousands of hectares of land was seized and given to White settlers in the name of the Queen. He reiterates the unbearable inhumane consequences that followed as the natives were left homeless and landless:

“By that time we had also started the movement, and some of our people, Namibians, participated in the Second World War on the side of the British. Chief Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi, they met Reverend Michael Scott who was a clergyman in South Africa. He knew the process of the recognitions made when the land was originally conferred to his majesty the king of England and by then South Africa was under British influence. Ja, the Cape Province and Natal were British colonies and later on when they waged the Anglo-Boer War the British actually overwhelmed the Boers and captured the whole of South Africa and then when the Union of South Africa was founded in 1910, so Namibia therefore was just transferred sort of, because Namibia basically was governed by the British governor who was resident in Cape Town. Namibia was just given like a Christmas gift to the King of Britain by the victor powers, because then the victor powers were then those European countries who fought against the Germans in the First World War. Reverend Michael Scott came and talked to Chief Hosea Kutako through Chief Samuel Maharero in Botswana who was then in exile. Reverend Michael Scott was mandated by Chief Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi to petition the United Nations when the United Nations was formed in 1945. The British were very viciously against Michael Scott not to petition because they had

their interest like Rio Tinto Zinc, Uranium was founded during the 1970s when we were already in exile. So Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi petitioned the United Nations that Namibia could be placed under the United Nations trusteeship system for the purpose of developing towards self-determination and independence, because the Boers imposed racial discrimination, oppression and denied our people education in order for us to actually remain under the Boer's colonial exploitation."

Sam Nujoma used his networking tactics to gain the independence of his people. After getting encouragement from Julius Nyerere he proceeded to Algeria and to Egypt where he got some grants from Ben Bella and Gamal Abdel Nasser for his liberation movement. He seized the opportunity to address the Security Council on behalf of Namibia to ask for the independence and the lifting of the Apartheid law in his mother-fatherland. His people teamed together to form the resistance which culminated in the founding of SWAPO as he recounts in detail the history-making events:

"We also started struggling with the petition to the UN, and when we realised that the UN was not forthcoming, we organised a boycott of the policy of apartheid, which said that there should be a buffer zone between the residential areas of the whites and also the indigenous people. So our old location was close to town, so we had to be moved physically. So we boycotted against that. I remember we were all organised;- there was the late Moses Garoeb, late Kaukweku, late Mbaeva and me. Comrade Late Moses Garoeb was from the Damara section of our population here in Windhoek. I was from the Owambo section; Mbaeva and Kaukweku from Herero section. We mobilised the population, we were divided into OV 1, OV 2 that is Owambo 1, Owambo section, Herero 1, Herero 2, Mbanderu, Damara 1 up to Damara 6. We the youth united now behind Chief Hosea Kutako and some of them. So the OPO, the Owamboland People's Organisation, which is the forerunner of Swapo, was founded in 1959. In Botswana also in 1959, and then we worked with Chief Hosea Kutako's Council and when we mobilised the people to boycott all the municipal activities in the old location, such as bus service, beer hall and cinema hall and all the other activities. The Boers were making a lot of money because they were making a brew, very unhealthy beer there, and our people were forced to go and drink that beer. Once they were found making beer at home they were arrested and put in prison and the Boers were making money. So this campaign we launched was effective because we, for the first time, our people heard their own languages being announced in a loud speaker, because we hired a loudspeaker, mounted on a car and they went round the whole location: Owambo location, Herero, Mbanderu section and Damara 1, Damara 2, Damara 3, Nama sections and the people never went. So the Boers became angry, that is why they came and attacked us on the 10th of December 1959. The Boers were angry because of the effective campaign we

waged in protest against the forceful removal of our people to the present Katutura. And as you know from the Katutura hospital there is this buffer zone. The buffer zone was now aimed that if the blacks came and attacked the whites, the enemy soldiers, the Boer soldiers would meet them there. That was the Buffer zone where we have the Swapo headquarters and the church there. So of course after the uprising some of us were now arrested, having organised the uprising and we were being arrested and some comrades were deported to the North, like the late Jacob Kobangua, late Mbaeva and I had a lawyer to defend my case. So all the time when I appeared before the court, the magistrate as soon as I stepped on the dock, then the magistrate would say, "No, your case has been dismissed." As soon as I got out, the police would re-arrest me, take me to the police station to make a statement and I could only go home if I have to pay 10 pounds every time. It is where we realised now we were just enriching these Boers with the ten pounds. So we developed the idea of going out of the country. In the meantime, Michael Scott continued to petition the UN. Then he was joined by Mburumba Kerina, who was a student at Lincoln University. He had a passport because he was a student. And Jariretundu Samuel Kozonguizi, who was also a student at Fort Hare but he managed to escape to Ghana. So then I followed on February 29, 1960. I crossed the border into Botswana then found my way to Tanganyika then. Tanganyika was not independent at that time, but it was self-governed. Nyerere helped me to go through to the Sudan, and from the Sudan I went to Nigeria. Nigeria was not independent; I was just in transit to Ghana. From Ghana I went to Liberia and Liberia to New York. I petitioned before the then Committee of South West Africa, of the UN General Assembly, in June 1960."

When he became head of SWAPO which was founded in 1959, he launched his Headquarters in southern Angola. With the help of the Cuban forces he succeeded in thrashing the South African forces that were supporting Jonas Savimbi in Angola and also fighting SWAPO. After Mozambique, Apartheid South Africa did not want to be surrounded by Communists. But Apartheid South Africa fought a relentless war to defeat SWAPO who, with the help of Cuban forces, had the upper hand. Sam Nujoma explains (New Era, 2004) with some details which I consider necessary and pertinent for my readers:

"From Namibia. We had a Swapo office in Dar es Salaam, where they escaped to from Namibia and then through Botswana, through Zambia. By then Zambia was not also independent because Zambia became independent in 1964. UNIP was led by President Kaunda, who also struggled with UNIP and by that time Jomo Kenyatta was in prison, he was in detention in Kenya. So Kenya was also not independent because it became independent in 1964 as well. So all these countries gave us moral

encouragement, they supported us and when Zambia became independent in 1964, we moved to Zambia. We had now access to our borders, to the Caprivi Strip bordering with Zambia and then in 1974 when the coup occurred in Portugal, Angola became independent in 1975, then we had a long border now occupied. So many thousands of Namibians were now going out of the country and were trained militarily. The Swapo military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia became stronger and they fought the Boers now more effectively. That now resulted in the negotiations between Swapo, the Western Contact Group comprising of the United States, Canada, Britain and France. Britain and France and the US were permanent members of the Security Council and Germany and Canada were not permanent members but usually temporary members who served two years each. So they initiated the contact between Namibia, now Swapo, and the Boers. So we negotiated and the Boers were adamant; even to the day of the implementation of Resolution 435 on May 1, 1989 they attacked us, in the hope that the people would be too frightened to come to us, not to vote for Swapo. But we were stronger military and we hit them hard. The people could see them dying with nobody picking them up and when we arrived there we were the victor, not the Boers. Because they thought that if they killed a lot of us, the people would get frightened and not even talk to us. But it happened to the contrary. We emerged the victor forces. So Pan-Africanism emerged. And we were supported by the international community, especially by the Soviet Union; with weapons by the People's Republic of China; by all African countries, by Cuba. The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in 1988, was finally where the Boers' so-called presidential regiment of P. W. Botha was completely wiped out. Because the Mig23s of the Cuban Air Force shot at all the mirage 1, mirage 2, mirage 3 of the South African air force, and their jets and the buccaneer bombers were completely wiped out from the sky. You know, as you fight the conventional war you must have air cover to support your ground forces. So their air cover was completely wiped out. Swapo guerrilla forces joined with Cuban forces and the Angolan one to completely wipe out the Boers, who as a result were now forced to talk to Swapo. This is how Pan-Africanism progressed. ...This was just to give you the historical background which resulted in the total liberation of the African continent. In 1994 when South Africa become a non-racial democracy....So South Africa was the last one in 1994?...Ja, May 1994. We achieved of course our independence on March 21, 1990. But remember Walvis Bay was still occupied by the Boers. They insisted, so we forced them, we engaged the apartheid regime and we had joined administration with them and then of course Walvis Bay was reintegrated also in March 1994, before South Africa became independent... So now that's the ...So this is how Pan-African grew, it was started actually in the Americas by ex-slaves."

The Cuban success in Angola and Namibia is a "Not-miss-story" to all Pan Africanists because it shows how much we all owe to Cuba and to Fidel

Castro, and to Russia, for the liberation of Africa. Cuba's victory in Africa was so glaring that during Namibia's independence, on March 21st 1990, the American Ambassador, W. Freeman, US State Department, Department for African policies declared that:

"Castro could regard himself as father of Namibia's independence and as the one who put an end to colonialism in Africa. Indeed, Cuba demonstrated responsibility and maturity."

And so to back him up, Nelson Mandela, on 26th July 1991, during the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Cuban Revolution, delivered a speech in Havana, in which he personally thanked Fidel Castro and the people of Cuba for the role they played in Angola in ousting the Apartheid Regime of the Boers of South Africa for the final liberation of Africa:

"The Cuban people hold a special place in the hearts of the people of Africa. The Cuban internationalists have made a contribution to African independence, freedom and justice unparalleled for its principled and selfless character - We in Africa are used to being victims of countries wanting to carve up our territory or subvert our sovereignty. It is unparalleled in African history to have another people rise to the defence of one of us - The defeat of the apartheid army was an inspiration to the struggling people in South Africa! Without the defeat of Cuito Cuanavale our organizations would not have been unbanned! The defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale has made it possible for me to be here today! Cuito Cuanavale was a milestone in the history of the struggle for southern African liberation!"

This celebration for the contribution of Cuba for African Liberation was sealed after the ousting of the Apartheid White-minority in South Africa in 1994, when on 11th May 1994, free South Africa established diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Sam Nujoma, has continued in all humility to foster the cause of Pan Africanism which he insists must be achieved through the non-violent means of solid education and the emancipation of the African from mental slavery as he proposes as the antidote for sustainable development to take its hold in Africa

"Our efforts to promote continental integration must place education of our people at the top of our priorities, as key elements in addressing development challenges"

Sam Nujoma was optimistic when calling on African leaders and Africans to uphold the vision of the OAU which was to liberate Africa from

colonialism and to foster it new vision with the creation of the African Union to tackle the problem of African security and sustainable development.

Speaking in Addis Ababa (2012) in this regard he asked for the consolidation of the structures of the African Union which is now the heiress of the OAU created 50 years ago, in its endeavour to "... implement political and military mechanisms that can also defend the territorial waters and airspace of threats from foreign forces." During the inauguration of the 50th anniversary of the OAU at Windhoek on 25th May 2013 the veteran Pan Africanist and former Head of State of Namibia reiterated his support for the AU and affirmed that the OAU had achieved its objectives, highlighting that:

"After almost 40 years of existence of the OAU and of the independence of Namibia in 1990 and held democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, it is evident that the OAU as an organisation has fulfilled its goal," stressed Nujoma to mention the "total liberation of the African continent... It was in this context that the African leaders decided to reconstitute the OAU into the AU, which was formally announced at the Summit in Durban, South Africa, July 9, 2002..."

Nujoma also stressed on the need for a common currency and a common passport for Africa as a mark to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the OAU. Insisting that the creation of the African Union was a triumph for Pan Africanism, and also insisting on its transitional status for the continental political unity which he reiterated is the spinal cord in the "process of forming the African Economic Commission to eradicate poverty, disease and ignorance." He confirmed that:

"In the same degree that we look toward the next 50 years to 2063, is needed to ask what we would like to see for our continent and what are the primary issues that we need to focus on during that period,... (urging the continent)... "to ensure there are women who die during childbirth and advocated set as a goal the fight against infant mortality, at the same time defended the strengthening of South-South cooperation and of the non-aligned movement... we can resist the oppression of foreign forces and ensure that we continue the growth of the infrastructure in Africa."

Mozambique and Samora Machel

A hearty vibrant young man who from his youth devoted his life and time to leadership issues of race and inequality, Samora Moises Machel was a jolly go merry fellow, who meant no harm to anybody.

His humble and poor background was to have an impact on him as he had to go to school and work in the fields at the same time to make ends meet. A member of the Shanga ethnicity his combative spirit was honed very early in life when his parents' cotton farmlands were seized to give to Portuguese settlers. His DNA was marked with the protest from his grandparents and great grandparents who had fought against the Portuguese in the 19th century.

His fighting spirit started in his training as a student nurse where he had to live the discrimination against the native Black Mozambicans and the White settlers who were treated with a lot of preference over the natives. He was very disgusted to see as he put it that the dog of a rich Whiteman had a better treatment than a poor native Black man or woman. He complained at the injustice when he remarked that: "the rich man's dog gets more in the way of vaccination, medicine and medical care than do the workers upon whom the rich man's wealth is built."

This outspoken frankness did not please the White settlers who interpreted it as an affront instead of receiving it as a true fact from the observation of a whistle-blower who was interested in the livelihood of his people.



Photos 193 (a) & (b): Samora Moisés Machel: 29 September 1933, Chilembene, Mozambique - 20 October 1986, Border of Mozambique and South Africa

In 1962 he joined the FRELIMO -FRENTE DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE, (Mozambique Liberation Front), and left the country to Tanzania, and several other African countries where he received military training. He returned to Mozambique in 1964 and led the FRELIMO first attack on the Portuguese government in northern Mozambique. Machel was a great strategist and leader as well as a great organiser of men. That is how he rose to

the ranks of the commander in chief of FRELIMO army in 1970 after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane in 1969.

Samora Machel was a great nationalist who insisted that Africans should take charge of managing their natural resources and take initiative of creating their own means of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. A man of the people, he invested in the poor and fought hard to ameliorate their livelihood situation. As a revolutionary his vision was to throw out the Portuguese and radically change the state of poverty that his country's have-nots were plunged in. He used to say <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people> accessed 21st July 2013:

"...of all the things we have done, the most important - the one that history will record as the principal contribution of our generation - is that we understand how to turn the armed struggle into a Revolution; that we realized that it was essential to create a new mentality to build a new society."

Adding a touch of ruse and pragmatism to his credit he resisted the Portuguese army and penetrated the inner cities where most of the native entrenched poor people rallied behind him. Even though Portugal had mobilised 70,000 troops in Mozambique, he was able to outsmart them in his military manoeuvres and strategic fighting. It was not possible for Portugal to put down the insurgency of the guerrilla movement.

His opportunity came in 1974 when a military coup overthrew the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal. Samora Machel then mobilised his forces and declared the independence of Mozambique in 1975.

Samora Machel then set up training camps for revolutionary ANC groups of Apartheid South Africa. That is how South Africa with the alleged connivance of the CIA set out to eliminate Samora Machel physically from the face of the earth, because he was a thorn in their flesh.

On 19th October 1986 Samora Machel died in a plane crash, in the Lebombo Mountains, near Mbuzini on the South African border, on his way back from an international meeting in Zambia in the presidential Russian-made Tupolev Tu-134 aircraft.

Fingers were pointing immediately to South Africa; because on 17th October 1986, according to the Pan-African Agency Report on Machel's Death, (1986) on posing the question whether it was an accident or a planned act, cited the Mozambican News Agency (AIM) that sent a message signed by its director, Carlos Cardoso stating:

"...generals of the racist Pretoria regime were studying various schemes to physically eliminate President Samora Machel. AIM's message, which is on our cast of 17th

October, GMT, says “President Samora Machel could be one of the chosen targets of the South African military hierarchy if the threatened raids against Maputo by the South African armed forces are carried out.”

Samora Machel was allegedly killed by South Africa, but his legacy did not die. His zeal for Pan Africanism and its vision for Humanity encrusted in the Pan African vision of Humanism will live forever as he predicted that:

“International solidarity is not an act of charity: It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible.”

Graca Machel

Graca Machel is a nationalist and Pan Africanist in her own right. She embraced Pan Africanism and nationalism during her student years in Lisbon where she embraced the ideology of the FRELIMO. On returning home in 1973 she fought in the ranks of the FRELIMO where she was trained as a FRELIMO guerrilla fighter and worked with women and taught in schools.



Photo 194 (a) & (b): Graca Machel: 17 October 1945, in Gaza, Mozambique

She was appointed in 1974 Deputy Director of FRELIMO Secondary School at Bagamoyo. At the accession of Mozambique to independence in 1975 she was appointed Minister of Education and Culture. She became member of the Central Committee and worked hard for the alleviation of poverty and the eradication of ignorance. She is credited with the raising of the standards of living and the education enrolment of children into primary and secondary schools. It is recorded that during her tenure of office enrolment of

children in primary and secondary schools doubled from 40% in 1975 to over 90% for boys and 75% for girls by 1989.

After her marriage to Samora Machel the first President of Mozambique she continued to work for the improvement of education and the status of women. She resigned in 1989 after the death of her husband but continued working to improve the education of children and the living conditions of men and women.

At the death of her husband President Samora Machel in 1986, as it was alleged, through the sabotage of the South African government who provoked the plane crash, <http://saharavibe.blogspot.com> she received a letter of condolence from Winnie Mandela. In reply to Winnie Mandela she stated that:

“Those who have locked up your husband have killed mine,... They think that by cutting down the tallest trees they can destroy the forest,... The “forest” continued to grow.”

Graca Machel came again into the world lime light when in 1998 she became the third wife of Nelson Mandela and First Lady of Neo-Apartheid South Africa. She has ever since her introduction into the global lime light she has renewed her lifelong interest in fostering education in general and become the advocate for the cause of education of the girl child and the raising of the condition of living for women in Africa and the world.

Graca Machel has ever since added her name in the annals of world leaders fighting for the improvement of the conditions of women. She has always tried to use the world platform to give voice to the voiceless. Among her great utterances are quite some few outstanding vibes like these ones that I have selected from her various interventions in the world platform and conferences on how to raise the standard of living and eradicate poverty in the world:

“No conflict-affected low-income country has achieved a single Millennium Development Goal.”.. “To be successful in eradicating child marriage by 2030, there is no village, no township, no corner of this great continent that should not bear the message that child marriage can end.”... “Girls have no status, no protection and no prospects in many families and communities – and this is simply the way things are. Inequality is so entrenched that it isn’t even questioned.”... “With or without legislation, we urge the Obama administration to make eliminating child marriage a foreign policy goal.”... “within ten years women will have changed Africa.”

Graca Machel has shown in her own humble but resilient way what African women can do in the age of innovative Pan Africanism and Humanism to foster the pride of life and the respect of human dignity. Like all innovative Pan Africanists she is not addicted to tradition. That is how she joins Dr. Gro Bruntland to write in Daily Beast (2010) to denounce the tradition of early marriage insisting that “...the practice of young girls becoming wives undermines equality and is a harmful ‘tradition’ that must change.”

Guinea Bissau and Amilcar Cabral

Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde were among the last Portuguese bastions of colonialism that OAU had to fight for its overthrow to liberate its people. The motivator for this endeavour was none else than firebrand trouble shooter of colonialism Amilcar Cabral. His Pan African revolutionary spirit started in his student years in Lisbon, Portugal when he met and bonded with other students from other Portuguese colonies. Among these was Antonio Agostinho Neto, a medical student who was later to become the leader of MPLA and first President of Angola.

After his studies in agronomy he was employed in the 1950 by the Portuguese colonial administration. His profession as agronomist brought him much closer to the poorer peasants and villagers in the colonies in Guinea Bissau and in Angola where he carried out agricultural census studies.



Photo 195 (a) & (b): Amilcar Cabral: September 12, 1924 in Bafata - January 20, 1973, Conakry, Guinea

It was in September 1956 that Cabral using his leadership strategies, (Kali Akuno, 2012) created the PIAGC – the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinea e Cabo Verde or PAIGC - African Party for the Independence of

Guinea and Cape Verde, along with five other friends from Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. He used his initiative while in Angola in 1956 to collaborate with Mario de Andrade and Antonio Agostinho Neto to form the Movimento Popular Libertacao de Angola or MPLA - the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. This party that was to play a vital and leading role in the liberation of Angola.

Amilcar Cabral seized the opportunity when he attended the Algerian anti-colonial movement conference in Paris, where he created stronger solidarity with Marion de Andrade and Antonio Agostinho Neto to form the MAC - Movimento Anti-Colonista - Anti-Colonialist Movement, whose objective was to discuss strategies to overthrow the Portuguese colonial government in Africa. Cabral attended the All-African People's Conference of Accra, Ghana in 1958, hosted by Kwame Nkrumah the new revolutionary African leader and Pan Africanist, whose objective (Kali Akuno, 2012) was to "...coordinate support for the liberation movements from the existing independent nation-states and to unite the liberation movements on a continent wide basis." Cabral also initiated in Tunisia, in 1960, the FRAIN - Frente Revolucionaria Africana para a Independencia Nacional das colonias Portuguesas - the Revolutionary Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies.

FRIAN main objective was to coordinate the strategies and initiatives of the PAIGC and the MPLA against Portuguese colonialism in Africa. That is how in Casablanca, Morocco, Cabral single-handedly laid the foundations in 1961 for the Conferencia das Organizacoes Nacionalistas das Colonias Portuguesas or CONCP - Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies, whose objective according to Kali Akuno (2012) was "...to expand upon and replace FRAIN to include FRELIMO from Mozambique and the MLSTP from Sao Tome and Principe to coordinate resistance to Portuguese colonialism on the African continent." Cabral and the PAIGC started the armed phase of the resistance movement in Guinea-Bissau in January 1963. This led to its formal political independence from Portugal in September 1974.

Cabral was the indefatigable architect who used his refined leadership talents to contribute to the overthrow Portuguese colonialism in Southern Africa and the defeat of the White settler communities in South Africa and in Guinea Bissau.

Kali Akuno admits that "as the spokesperson for PIAGC, MPLA and CONCP, Cabral was able to travel extensively throughout the African continent and the world." This gave him the leeway to sensitize African colleagues and leaders on his philosophy of nationalism and self-reliant

sustainable development. Kali Akuno recounts how Cabral was able to tap into the knowledge gained in his extensive travels to judiciously assess the many failures of the first wave of national liberation movements and the national-state governments produced by many of these movements.

There were these combined experiences which shaped the humanistic world view and theory of revolutionary Pan Africanism which convinced him to opt for African Socialism and Internationalism. Cabral is said to be one of the few African revolutionaries who had the ability to systematically and scientifically summarise the various African colonial experiences in a coherent and concrete fashion. This ability contributed to make his philosophy applicable to the ongoing struggle for liberation of people of African descent in Africa and in the United States.

Cabral was not only a charismatic leader and strategist, but also a great orator with the ability of persuasive dialogue. These qualities made him endeared not only to his followers but also to his admirers and even his rivals and enemies. Cabral's main bone of contention with the colonial administration was the manner in which the native people were expropriated of their land to make room for settlers' plantations.

From 1962 onwards the PAIGC fought hard to recuperate as much land as possible from the Portuguese settlers and colonialist. Setting up training camps in neighbouring Ghana with the blessings of Kwame Nkrumah, Cabral succeeded to train his lieutenants (Mai-IT Solutions, 2013) "...through rigorous mock conversations to talk with their tribal chiefs and convince them to support the PAIGC and the independence movement before he trained them in military tactics."

When Cabral later found out that members of the PAIGC who succeeded to convert their own ethnic people to the cause of the PAIGC movement were not willing to leave to help convince and gather support from other ethnicities, he was obliged to institute a rotation programme where trainees were no longer sent to their homes of origin. This strategy met with a lot of success. By the end of the 1960s the PAIGC movement had made more parcels of land gains in Guinea Bissau which came directly under its administration.

As a diehard philosopher of self-sufficiency and refined pragmatist and economic strategist, he applied effectively his agronomic skills, and taught his militants and lieutenants how to live and feed off the land alongside the larger populace. He taught his troops and followers to become trainers of the local crop growers in advanced farming techniques. He actually applied, without knowing but from his own inspiration, the Maoist Cultural Revolution techniques, whereby educated engineers and intellectuals were sent to the

countryside (Xia Yun, 1986) to live with the peasants and understand their way of life and come up with strategies on how to improve them.



Map 11.5. Guinea Bissau and its Neighbours

This practice raised the productivity of the farms enabling them to control the food sufficiency of their local areas to feed their own families and the entire ethnicity, as well as the soldiers. The PAIHC soldiers were also transformed into production armies which also tilled and ploughed the land alongside the farming population during down time.

The production attained such magnitude that Cabral was obliged to set up a trade-and barter market bazaar system that moved around the country and made staple food available to the country side at affordable prices that were much lower than at the colonial store owners'. During the war, Cabral also set up a mobile hospital and a sorting-out station which handled and gave medical care to wounded PAIGC soldiers and quality of life care to the larger populace. Much of the medical supplies came from the USSR – Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Sweden. Even though these mobile hospitals and the marketing bazaars were often attacked by the Portuguese forces, they succeeded to hold their grounds.

Cabral's guerrilla skills and onslaught on the Portuguese forces were so successful that they planned his assassination through Portuguese agents that had infiltrated the PAIGC. On 20th January 1972 they succeeded by assassinating him. His former rival Inocencio Kani shot and killed him in Conakry, Guinea in broad day light. Cabral was succeeded by his half-brother Louis Cabral, who became the leader of the Guinea Bissau branch of the PAIGC party and eventually became President of Guinea Bissau at independence.

Cabral's humanistic and revolutionary philosophy became so popular that he was able to pull crowds wherever he went. He was able to tap from the brain trust of the various liberation movements wherever he went and whenever possible. The Black Liberation Movement – BLM of the United States and other African American revolutionary groups came to know of Cabral's philosophy and revolutionary writings through other Black think-tanks like George Padmore, WEB Du Bois, and Paul Robeson.

The Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee – SNCC was a very vital force in introducing to the BLM the works of revolutionaries like Amilcar Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane. This was facilitated by the several SNCC delegations between 1960 and 1969 that organized exchange lessons and visits to Africa, of which the 1964 of an 11 member's delegation visited the Republic of Guinea, by the invitation of President Ahmed Sékou Touré . This delegation was treated to an extensive amount of revolutionary literature of national liberation movements on the African continent at that time among which figured Amilcar Cabral and the PAIGC movement. At the fall of 1965 several members of the SNCC visited Ghana and also participated in the OAU conference being held in the capital city Accra. There they met with Cabral and several members of the PAIGC were in attendance at the OAU conference, where they became acquainted with and exposed to PAIGC's political economic philosophy from the presentations and their representatives.

Actually it was Immanuel Wallerstein, (Kali Akuno, 2012) the renowned academic on African Affairs, who first introduced a critical introduction of Amilcar Cabral to the BLM via an interview he conducted and published in 1965 entitled "Our Solidarities". Immanuel Wallenstein's introduction had a great impact on all the Black intelligentsia in the prominent Black cities of the USA, and the BLM, the SNCC as well as the RAM – Revolutionary Action Movement.

Cabral's celebrity came to light when during the Tri-Continental Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in Havana, Cuba, in January 1966, where Cabral delivered his address advocating the "Weapon of Theory" which blew the minds off the heads of Black revolutionaries like Robert Williams, other BLM exiles in Cuba and members of the RAM who were at attendance. His "Weapon of Theory" (Kali Akuno, 2012) was considered a watershed in the advance of revolutionary theory, particularly that branch of theory dealing with national liberation and neo-colonialism, which was baptized "Tri-Continentalism" by many following the conference.

Kali Akuno, explains the pivotal role Cuba and other African countries who played a vital role in the fight for the liberation of Latin America, Asia and African people in the continent and the Diaspora, as he goes on to elaborate:

“Cuba, like Ghana, Guinea, and Tanzania on the African continent in the 1960’s, played a critical role as a revolutionary socialist state engaged in active struggle against US and European imperialism. In this role, Cuba gave shelter, support, and resources to revolutionary organizations from throughout Latin America and the world. In this same vein, Cuba was also home to many BLM exiles. The most prominent BLM exile in Cuba during the 1960’s was Robert F. Williams. Robert Williams was a militant from North Carolina who fled into exile to avoid false imprisonment for an act of self-defence against white terror in 1961.”

The excitement of Robert William, a fugitive from North Carolina who went on self-exile, because of his advocacy for “armed self-defence” theory against Whites, found a voice in Amilcar Cabral. His organizing of armed-self-defence network and militant advocacy had a great influence on Malcolm X, the Louisiana and Mississippi based Deacons for Self-Defence and Justice – DSDJ, the RAM and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence – BPPSD.

According to Kali Akuno (2012) it was at this time that the African American revolutionary movements started studying Cabral’s philosophy very seriously. He affirms that:

“Through the “Crusader” journal and his extensive personal correspondence with BLM partisans, Williams, along with the RAM cadre in attendance, introduced Cabral, his works, and the struggles of revolutionaries in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique to their first major audience within the movement. Following the Tri-Continental Conference BLM revolutionaries began critically studying Cabral and the national liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism in the pursuit of how they might help advance the struggle for Black national liberation within the territories claimed by the United States...From 1966 through the 1970’s, more and more BLM partisans visited Africa and engaged in regular and sustained contact with African revolutionaries, particularly those individuals and movements that were operating out of the progressive states of Algeria, Egypt, Guinea and Tanzania (Ghana was removed from this equation in 1966 following a military coup that overthrew the Nkrumah government) such as the PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO, the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). These exchanges facilitated the deeper exposure of the BLM to the ideas and movements of African revolutionary leaders leading national

liberation movements like Amílcar Cabral, or states engaged in socialist experiments like Sékou Touré in Guinea or Julius Nyerere in Tanzania”

Another feather was added to the cap of Amílcar Cabral when Basil Davidson published his ground breaking book on Cabral and the historiography of his PAIGC national liberation movement in Guinea Bissau. This book entitled: “The Liberation of Guinea: Aspects of an African Revolution,” was extensively read by partisans of the BLM, college student’s organizations of the 1960s and early 1970s like the Pan-African Union – PAU, in California, the Student Organisation of Black Unity – SOBU in North Carolina. Another book on Cabral speeches and writings, published in 1969 entitled: “Revolution in Guinea: An African People’s Struggle,” by a British collective called “Stage1,” received a decent readership and distribution all over the United States of America where it became very popular among BLM militants who adopted the Cabral saying of: “Tell No Lies. Claim No Easy Victories!” These publications spurred on many BLM members and other activist groups in the USA to read more revolutionary writings from Africa and to garner support and funds for the liberation movements in Africa, as testified by Kali Akuno who documents that:

“By 1969 there were several radical Black and multi-national solidarity committee’s operating throughout the United States that were providing material and political support to the national liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism and white settler colonialism in Southern Africa (Azania, Zimbabwe and Botswana in particular). The solidarity committee’s played a critical role in spreading Cabral’s ideas throughout the BLM. These networks also played a critical role in providing forums for African revolutionaries in the United States to make their case and present their ideas directly. Cabral and the PAIGC directly benefitted from this organizing on two occasions. Cabral first visited the United States in 1970, where he gave several lectures throughout the state of New York and held several dialogues and interviews in New York City related to the promotion of the PAIGC’s and allied CONCP organizations advocacy for self-determination and national independence at the United Nations.”

By the 1970s Cabral had become such an inspiring celebrity for his philosophy of “Weapon of Theory” among African American Civil Rights and Revolutionary Movements like the Black Panther Party, for the liberation of Blacks from White segregation and putting an end to White supremacy.

This is how Cabral pulled the mammoth crowd of Black intelligentsia and Civil Rights activists in New York on 20th October, 1972 when he addressed African Americans on the theme: “Uniting with Our “Comrade”...,”

“Connecting the Struggles: An Informal Talk with Black Americans,” where he explained:

“I am bringing to you - our African brothers and sisters of the United States - the fraternal salutations of our people in assuring you we are very conscious that all in this life concerning you also concerns us. If we do not always pronounce words that clearly show this, it doesn't mean that we are not conscious of it. It is a reality and considering that the world is being made smaller each day all people are becoming conscious of this fact. Naturally if you ask me between brothers and comrades what I prefer then if we are brothers it is not our fault or our responsibility. But if we are comrades, it is a political engagement. Naturally, we like our brothers but in our conception it is better to be a brother and a comrade. We like our brothers very much, but we think that if we are brothers we have to realize the responsibility of this fact and take clear positions about our problems in order to see if beyond this condition of brothers and sisters, we are also comrades. This is very important for us. We try to understand your situation in this country. You can be sure that we realize the difficulties you face, the problems you have and your feelings, your revolts, and also your hopes. We think that our fighting for Africa against colonialism and imperialism is a proof of understanding of your problem and also a contribution for the solution of your problems in the continent. Naturally the inverse is also true. All the achievements towards the solution of your problems here are real contributions to our own struggle. And we are very encouraged in our struggle by the fact that each day more of the African people born in America became conscious of their responsibilities to the struggle in Africa. Does that mean you have to all leave here and go fight in Africa? We do not believe so. That is not being realistic in our opinion. History is a very strong chain. We have to accept the limits of history but not the limits imposed by the societies where we are living. There is a difference. We think that all you can do here to develop your own conditions in the sense of progress, in the sense of history and in the sense of our total realization of your aspirations as human beings is a contribution for us. It is also a contribution for you to never forget that you are Africans.”

By all evaluations, Cabral was ahead of his times and ahead of the OAU, in that he was already, like Nkrumah, foreseeing the fight against not just colonialism but was projecting the New Wave of Revolutionary Pan Africanism to fight neo-colonialism and the pigeon-hole nationalism that Africans were subjected to after independence.

Cabral was of the opinion that Africa would not be finally liberated if it did not take charge of her self-sufficiency in all dimensions of sustainable development, starting with food sufficiency, technological sufficiency and appropriate development, where indigenous knowledge and technology would

play a vital role as well as boost economic and monetary independence; and also provide for military, security and defence independence.

He insisted that when the national productive forces of a country are still dominated by a foreign power, it means that the country is still under repression. It can be said that most African countries do not control their productive forces today. The super powers with their corporate industrial societies dominate Africa exploiting its crude oil, mineral and natural resources without Africa's control. Africa cannot control its youthful productive forces which are now marketed in the international market of neo-slavery called the "Diversity Lottery".

The African Union must engage in this new wave of Pan African Revolution which entails the conscientious management of its productive forces and cultural forces of creativity and innovation as stipulated by Cabral. This is what cabal has to say:

"In our opinion, the foundation for national liberation rests in the inalienable right of every people to have their own history, whatever formulations may be adopted at the level of international law. The objective of national liberation, is therefore, to reclaim the right, usurped by imperialist domination, namely: the liberation of the process of development of national productive forces. Therefore, national liberation takes place when, and only when, national productive forces are completely free of all kinds of foreign domination. The liberation of productive forces and consequently the ability to determine the mode of production most appropriate to the evolution of the liberated people, necessarily opens up new prospects for the cultural development of the society in question, by returning to that society all its capacity to create progress. A people who free themselves from foreign domination will be free culturally only if, without complexes and without underestimating the importance of positive accretions from the oppressor and other cultures, they return to the upward paths of their own culture, which is nourished by the living reality of its environment, and which negates both harmful influences and any kind of subjection to foreign culture. Thus, it may be seen that if imperialist domination has the vital need to practice cultural oppression, national liberation is necessarily an act of culture."

OAU and State Sovereignty and Boundary Conflicts

During the thirty nine years of its existence, the OAU was confronted with a number of boundary conflicts in North, East and Central Africa. But the OAU did not relent in its determination and efforts, to settle these conflicts in a true spirit of African Solidarity without outside intervention or interference. These efforts paid off and such occasions of victory, permitted the OAU to make a name for itself as peacekeeper no. 1 in the entire continent. These relentless efforts of the OAU also prompted the UN General Assembly to pay tribute to OAU for the role played in the maintenance of international peace and security.

12.1. Defence Of Member States' Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

The OAU has a track record on the various efforts it made to maintain member state sovereignty. This has made observers (Paul Halsall, July 1998) to hold that the action undertaken by OAU in this concern will remain one of its greatest achievements ever:

The Congo and the Nigerian Crisis

The Congo Crisis

Since its independence in 1960 this mineral rich country has suffered from the various conflicts masterminded by the imperialist forces which threatened its mining and supply lines of strategic raw materials like uranium, and copper.

The imperialist forces vied for the disintegration of the Congo to set up a puppet state in Katanga under Kasabuvu, after the CIA masterminded assassination of first President, Patrice Lumumba.

The OAU lacked a military task force in the early 1960s and even after; and therefore was forced to join forces with the UN to keep peace in the Congo which gradually gained some stability after Mobutu Sese Seko come to power. Had it been the OAU had created a veritable African army as proposed by Kwame Nkrumah, it would have been possible for Africa to intervene in any conflict situation, or defend any sister state without recourse to foreign military body like the French forces stationed in Africa.

Nigerian Civil War

Nigeria suffered from a lot of Political unrest and thousands of political killings in the Western Region following the rigging of the elections by the in favour of the political party UPGA, supporting and sponsored by the Northern Region political caucus popularly known as the Hausa-Fulani Mafia.

As we all know today that corruption and election rigging were introduced into Nigeria by the British (Harold Smith, 2005) who masterminded and manipulated the political power base in Africa to their colonial and neo-colonial interests, a new question arises as to the legitimacy of most neo-colonial states.

Most historians have often naively criticized the French in colonial Africa for their assimilationist policies and complained that Africa is still underdeveloped because of French direct intervention. They have lavished praises on the British colonial system which they assert was very transparent and hands off, leaving the Africans to deliberate as they wanted under the pretext called the Indirect Rule instituted by Lord Lugard in all the British Colonies.

But the truth remains that the British also practiced Direct Rule and stringent corruptive Direct Administration, where they deposed resistant local Chiefs and Rulers who were opposed to British Colonial rule and created what they called the White Cap Chiefs who were hand-picked and made subservient to the British Crown.

The rigging of the Nigerian Elections before Independence in 1960 is just one those tips of the ice berg in the annals of British colonial corruption and high-handedness in manipulating the strings of power from the back door in the hypocritical manner that is typical of British culture. This is a culture where you have to say always with a hypocritical smile “It’s alright! Isn’t it a bright and wonderful day?” While at the same time you go behind and write a petition about the same person for his sacking, or his being thrown out of the fold or even to get him hanged. But the French are upfront and would tell you they want to bribe and corrupt you, giving you the chance to decide for yourself.

The case of Harold Smith, a British Colonial administrative officer who criticised the rigging of the elections in Nigeria just before Independence to favour the Hausa-Fulani Mafia is very typical of British Hypocrisy of transparency and good governance in colonial Africa.

Speaking about how Britain rigged Nigerian Independence Elections Olufemi Adefolaju (Aug 24, 2007) and Debe Ojukwu, (2014) disclose what

they term the “Legendary Harold Smith Speaks About Nigeria ‘hidden Agenda’. - Politics – Nairaland” from the horse’s own mouth:

“Our agenda was to completely exploit Africa. Nigeria was my duty post. When we assessed Nigeria, this was what we found in the southern region; strength, intelligence, determination to succeed, well established history, complex but focused life style, great hope and aspirations... the East is good in business and technology, the west is good in administration and commerce, law and medicine, but it was a pity we planned our agenda to give power “at all cost” to the northerner. They seemed to be submissive and silly of a kind. Our mission was accomplished by destroying the opposition at all fronts. The west led in the fight for the independence, and was punished for asking for freedom. They will not rule Nigeria! Harold Smith confessed that the Census results were announced before they were counted. Despite seeing vast land with no human but cattle in the north, we still gave the north 55 million instead of 32 Million. This was to be used to maintain their majority votes and future power bid. He stated that the West without Lagos was the most populous in Nigeria at that time but we ignored that. The north was seriously encouraged to go into the military. According to him, they believe that the south may attend western education, but future leaders will always come from military background. Their traditional rulers were to be made influential and super human. The northerners were given accelerated promotions both in the military and civil service to justify their superiority over the south. Everything was to work against the south. We truncated their good plan for their future. “I was very sorry for the A.G; it was a great party too much for African standard. We planned to destroy Awolowo and Azikwe well, the west and the east and sowed a seed of discord among them”. We tricked Azikwe into accepting to be president having known that Balewa will be the main man with power. Awolowo has to go to jail to cripple his genius plans for a greater Nigeria. However, Harold Smith justified the British agenda of colonialism in Nigeria, which he believed was originally to help build Africa after the ruins of slave trade, but lamented that the British only looked after themselves and not after Nigerian interest. The British really let Nigeria down. When I see Nigerian been accused of fraud and from what I saw on the streets of Lagos; the British were worst fraudsters.”

It is very interesting to see how when Harold Smith (1960) according to Olufemi Adefolaju (Aug 24, 2007, 2011) made the complaint to the Governor General about the rigging of the elections in Nigeria by the British Colonial Administration the Governor General responded with a threat:

“We had betrayed the Nigerians and undermined their democracy! We had taken millions of slaves from this area of Africa and shipped them in dehumanising conditions to America, and now we were pretending to be decent, the good old British were giving

independence and behaving properly, but we weren't! It was the same bloody dirty games we had been playing for centuries."

Read the reply and harangue of the Governor to Horold Smith, and the human rights abuses that that were perpetrated against him and his family till he died in January 2011. William Bowles (2006) gives us the picture and the full text of the letter of the Governor General:

"You know why you're here, Smith. And I want you to know that all your worst fears and suspicions are absolutely correct ... I am telling you this because I want you to know how much trouble you are in ... Smith, I want you to know that I personally gave the orders regarding the elections to which you objected ... If you will keep your mouth shut, I can promise rapid promotion and a most distinguished career elsewhere ... but you will not be allowed to work in the UK. You must understand that you know too much for your own good. If you don't give me your word, means will be found to shut you up. No one will believe your story and the press will not be allowed to print it." – Sir James Robertson, the then governor-general of Nigeria to Harold Smith in 1960.

According to William Boles, (2006) the British cannot be accredited for any good governance in the colonies than the French or the Portuguese the Germans or the Spanish. They were even more corrupt and sly than could be imagined and he calls for Britain to be charged to pay for its serial crimes against humanity in the colonies committed against the African people. He brings out clearly this policy of divide and rule that the British colonial system more than ever applied in the colonies, and especially in Nigeria to maintain its hegemonic rule. He elaborates on the Harold Smith's case as just one of those episodes which portray what was common usage in the British corruptive colonial administration:

"This particular history haunts Africa to this day and one that the British Establishment have yet to pay for, for it resulted in the deaths of millions and almost led to the break-up of Nigeria. The results determined the nature of the Nigeria of today including all the talk about post-colonial 'corruption'. And, it should not surprise readers that lusting after oil was the primary reason. The author of this story, Harold Smith, has been threatened, offered a knighthood, ostracised, poisoned and finally blacklisted for fifty years for trying to tell the truth. He was a loyal if naive servant of the state, who obviously believed all the myths about the 'neutral' civil service- until he tried to live by them. "We thought the English were lawful and decent people." (Harold Smith, 2006). In fact it's a case-book example of British colonialism's 'divide and rule'

tactics. It epitomises just how devious the British ruling class are, they have had after all, centuries to invent and perfect every trick in the book. It should also put paid to any illusions the 'left' have about the Labour Party which was entirely complicit in the many crimes committed by British imperialism including the events that took place in Nigeria."

William Bowles goes further to elaborate on the British hypocrisy, human rights abuse and treachery to the Nigerian and African cause of self-determination. He shows how filthy and unreliable were the British ruling political and economic class in their manipulation of the colonies to assure their interest and continuity behind the doors of the so-called independent states:

"By 1956, the demands of the Nigerian people for independence were unavoidable. It was the year of MacMillan's 'Winds of Change' speech, made in South Africa (of all places). But the British ruling class were determined that at best, a light breeze would waft through Nigeria and if change was to take place, it would be the kind of 'change' that would essentially change nothing, except the colour of the ruling elite. To this end, the British colonial rulers utilised the 'special relationship' they had established with their local administrators in the North-dominated largely by the Hausa and Fulani-who were more than willing to collaborate with the British colonial authorities in order to maintain their own, personal power, that of the Emirs. Harold Smith, a low level administrator, was directed to make sure that a British creation for maintaining colonial power, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), won the upcoming elections, an order he refused to carry through labelling it a "criminal act." The NPC was funded by the British-created Native Authorities and according to Smith "it was difficult to detect in the North where the British administration ended and the Northern rule began. Thus through a cynical display of horse dealing, the 1959 Federal election became a mockery, because the outcome – Northern domination of Nigeria after independence – was assured before a single vote was cast." When 'independence' came, in 1960, British control and domination through a rigged election was assured with a government dominated by the North, a situation that led directly to the Biafra war, a war that resulted in 2 million deaths. When opposition leaders objected to the rigged election they were simply framed on trumped up charges and thrown in jail."

A military coup was planned to stop the high-handed political corruption that had taken sway in the country, supported by the British mishandling of the first Presidential elections which fraudulently gave power to the Muslim-Fulani Northerners who were much less educated than the Southerners. The British had downplayed the Southern Region dominated by the highly

educated Yoruba, Edo, Igbo and Ijaw, Ibibio-Effik elites in favour of the less educated Northerners because as it was popularly alleged, Britain wanted to continue ruling Nigeria through the back door.



Map 12.1. Political Maps of the Federation of Nigeria and the Republic of Biafra - 1967-1970

After the military coup d'état on 26th January 1966 by Colonel Chukwu Emeka Nzeugwu, of Igbo origin, who eliminated the Hausa-Fulani political kingpins of the Northern Federated Region of Nigeria, Sir Tafawa Balewa and the Sadauna of Sokoto, had ordered that the elimination of the corrupt leaders should follow immediately. The planned execution by orders of the military was carried out by the soldiers in the Western and Mid-West Regions. Thus the Yoruba and Edo political leaders of Western and Mid-West Regions, Chief Akintola and Okotie-Ebor were also assassinated.

The order to execute the Igbo political leaders, Dr. Okpara and Sir Francis Ibiam Premier and the Commissioner of the Eastern Region, residing at Enugu, capital of the Eastern Region was interrupted. This was because on the night of the elimination of all the top political leaders of the other Federated Regions by a coup d'état, the President of Cyprus, Marcos, was on a State visit to the Eastern Region.

On the morning of the coup, when the convoy that led President Marcos to the Airport that fateful day had fulfilled its mission, and the coup was officially announced, Premier Okpara and Sir Francis Ibiam, both from Umuahia and Afikpo respectively, were led to safety to their homes of origin in the Eastern Region.

The media blamed the coup on the Igbo officers directed by Colonel Nzeugwu who masterminded the coup. They interpreted it a ploy of the Igbo

officers to impose the Igbo hegemony over the entire Nigeria. They complained that the sparing of the lives of the top political leaders of Igbo origin, including Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe who was on sick leave to London, was deliberate, to impose the Igbo hegemony in the land.



Map 12.2. Republic of Biafra 1967-1970

The Fulani-Hausa citizens of Northern Nigeria reposted by slaughtering over 30,000 people of Igbo origin resident in the Northern Region business cities of Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, of the Federation of Nigeria. The massacre in retaliation was the worse genocidal ethnic-cleansing type of war that Africa had ever witnessed in its early years of independence.

I was a student by then in Enugu at the Bigard Memorial Major Seminary at New Layout Uwani. I was eye witness to the train load of decapitated and mutilated corpses and survivors.

There were dejected men, women and children who were thrown over at the Railway station at Enugu, as the Train of Death rolled along with its decomposing cargo of stanching corpses down to Onitsha and Port Harcourt. It was in the everlasting memory of these valiant but unfortunate people that I dedicated this poem titled:

The Nwá-Ndí-Ígbò Lion

*Hemmed in on all fronts
The stampeding Elephants
Were guarding the artificial
Colonial boundaries
From splitting at the seams*

*Of the outdated Nation-State divided
Between Masters and Servants...
The Neo-Colonial Beacon of British
Political truancy management and
Non-transparent policies in Africa ...*

*The British-sponsored rigged elections
In the West and Mid-West torpedoed the
Eastern and Western UPGA Alliances to rally the Southern forces
Against the Northern Hausa-Fulani Big Mafia
Domination which had co-sponsored the hideous Crimes
Against Humanity committed on the scape-goated
Ndí-Ígbò summarily judged and slaughtered to pay
For a crime they never committed except for their
Ethnicity, their pride to stand for their patriotism and fight
Against all forms of discrimination and humiliation...*

*The British, unable to withstand critical thinking in the
Neo-Colonial Dialectics of Masters and Mercenaries in
The Lord-Lugardean Empire of remote-controlled Satraps
Of Indirect-Rulers, accused Major Nzeogwu's masterminding
Of the January twenty-sixth coup d'état of "Tribalism" and
Igboism to summarily butcher in hot Harmatan blood Innocent children, women and
men while ignoring
The Major's warnings to all hooliganism governance...*

*Rightfully the assassinations of the Northern Political Totems:
Tafawa Balewa and the Sadauna of Sokoto were decried as
Treasonable and sacrilegious
So also with those of Akintola and Okoti Ebo Totems of The West and Mid-West
Oligarchic Blood-letting Democracy which left Nigeria in
Turmoil and Consternation
But the Devil's Advocates of the oppressed people were bitter
About the laxity*

*Of the neo-colonial Mafia regime in salvaging the truncated
Democracy of Public Violence and Insecurity that had taken the
Country and Nigerian People Hostage and Bastardised their
Incubating independence which transformed them into
Prisoners of Their Freedom, Prisoners of the purported Independence of Misery...*

*Instead the ethnocentric nationalists hanged
 Nzeogu's Nationalism to the
 Gallows of confoundingly divisive
 Misinterpretations and
 Appreciations with the
 Bigoted
 Demagogy of the very Mentally Imprisoned Compatriots
 Who sold critical right reason and humanitarian conscience to
 Envy in defiance of healthy competition and pro-active positive emulation
 For all embracing pro-active patriotism to save a
 Dysfunctioning Government of Corruption from crumbling and
 Re-assuming a humanly brave and challenging stance to defend a
 Defenceless Harmless People
 Whose Bread is their Sweat and Blood in Hard-Work
 Diligence and Thrift...*

*But the Ndí-Ígbò brave Lion Odumegwu Ojukwu roared his disgust
 Against the Gowonised British Mandated Genocidal Crimes in Kaduna,
 Kano, Zaria, of thousand more cohorts of decapitated women,
 Children and men Who were hacked down and
 Violated while thousands of mangled and
 Limbless bodies were Cargoed on...
 The Nguru, Kano, Kaura-Namoda-Kafanchang-Enugu
 Port-Harcourt Train... Dripping with
 Firey-fermenting-blood oiling the screeching wheels of salty ethnic hatred
 To Dump the lacerated bodies of victims at Enugu,
 Onitsba, beyond the Dividing
 Line of the coagulating blood on the
 Rails of the wanted and unwanted
 To the birth-place of
 The Ndí-Ígbò concerted Nationalism where
 The Lion roared louder and clear,
 Enough!
 Long Live Biafra,
 Long Live the Land of the Fearless Lions!
 Long Live Patriotism!
 Long Live Nigeria as
 Long as Liberty Lasts!
 Long Live Freedom!*

*Long Live Nigeria as
Long as Prisoners of Conscience and Freedom
Of Nigeria and Africa
Would be Vindicated!
Long Live BLAFRA!!*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Enugu, 19th April, 1967.

But the Igbos who controlled the higher ranks in the military, due to their higher levels of education, took over the command and General Ogui Ironsi took over the command at the head of the nation. In May of the same year General Ogui Ironsi was assassinated by another military takeover organized by a coalition of Northern and Western and Mid-West Regions' soldiers to compensate for the killings of their political leaders. Lieutenant Colonel Gowon was then appointed to take command of the nation.



Map 12.3. The Map of Ancient Africa indicating the Biafran Empire

The Igbo Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu retaliated and refused to accept the command from a junior officer and left the Western Region and took up command in his home Eastern Region, and started preparing for secession

from the Federal Republic, because of the state of insecurity of the Igbos in the entire State of Nigeria.

In May, 1967 the Igbo Eastern Region Military leader, Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, an Igbo elite, declared the Independent Nation of Biafra which separated itself from the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Nigeria then declared war which marked the beginning of the civil war which rocked the very foundations of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for three good years from 7th May 1967 to about March 1970.

The armless Biafrans were abandoned to the mercy of the reckless leaders of Nigeria who defied all forms of negotiation and dialogue to compensate and reconcile with the Igbos they had instigated and fuelled “Tribal” hatred to mercilessly slaughter. Millions of Biafrans were mercilessly killed and many left to die of the induced famine by the Nigerian British Gowonised military junta. The World looked away as Biafrans were killed in their millions as many also died of the British-Gowonised heartless military tactics of induced hunger. This poem describes better this consternating crime against humanity perpetrated by Britain and Russia for the sake of oil, not caring for the lives of humans which I entitled:

Biafra Grave Yard

*The gigantic iron horn beaks were hovering
Over the camouflaged forest of self-determination
Where valiant children, women and men shorn
Of their human rights have been hemmed in like
Entrapped game waiting for the
Onslaught by the hyper-armed State Hunters of
Ruthless ambitions and vile ethics of the stalled
Sovereignty of the disintegrating Colonial House...*

*But the stiff resistance with home-made technology armoury
Proves the pogrom mission task futilely frustrating
As the fight for life instincts of the hardy Biafrans
Return fire for fire from the harnessed Trenches of Arochukwu through Mbise,
Dunukofia to the Udi Mountains and
Obudu range where mercenary British and Russian
Paratroopers tie the knot of neo-colonisation's selfish exploitation of
Africa facilitated by the Gowonised boot-licking-shiners and
Kalashnikov slingers and stringers for the mammoth slaughter
Of innocent people who have chosen to flee the pogrom State*

*Where ethnic politics have reduced some people to
Scape Goats for the trigger-crazy zombified khaki-professionals and
Dagger swingers against people who are hungry for their self-assertion and
Cultural freedom...*

Economic freedom...

Political freedom...

Religious freedom...

All Human Freedoms

With No Exceptions...

*But the giant iron vultures hungry for human flesh are lurking
Above Ekwerazu to Nnewi scaring away all relief flight-ships
From the humanitarian agents to starving Biafran children
Condemned to die innocently by the Hunger Weapon instituted
By the coward government of the heartless corrupt military junta and
Their Socialist-Capitalist-Western-Eastern Brokers
Interested only in Oil and not in People...*

*The only survivors are Kwashiorkor ridden
As suckling mothers are rendered barren of
Breast milk ...*

*While pregnant women are subjected to induced
Miscarriages and
Still births...*

*The graves and necromancy museums in myriads are littered all Over the
Ndi-Igbo Runway...*

The Church yards ...

Of war-torn devastated Biafra...

Drowned in the wailing...

*Cold Bloody Death Tolls from the
Crowded Churches where "Communion,",,
Has become the only Spiritual and Material Meal for millions of the
Beatified Forced Hunger Strikers ...*

*Of the helpless victims of the
Scornful*

War-Mongering Regime of Dordan Barracks...

*The world and the United Nations look away...
From the grave-mined country...*

*Where millions of innocent people have been gagged
 In their sleep ...
 Silenced forever by bombs and bullets which
 Raise up their shares of profits in the
 Wall Street Stock Markets of War Industry...
 The Financial Times and the Life Magazine
 Compete for the latest eye-catching scoops
 In pictures of the Biafran horror and
 And the Bloody-Bank Notes...
 The Barclays Bank and their War-Stakeholders...
 They mop up their vicariate crimes behind Dark Glasses...
 As they cork their ears with the cotton of condonement and
 Maintain their hypocritical neutrality...
 Their hypocritical silence as the pogrom goes on as Biafrans
 Are transformed into human fertilizer for the new generation of
 Fatherless and Motherless offspring
 Of the once opulent and valiant land of
 The Umu-Na and the Umu-Ada who
 Have bequeathed a
 Lasting Heritage in
 Blood and Sacrifice
 Of a Strong and
 Proud
 People
 Willing to Die
 In their Fight
 Against the Lie
 Of National Equality
 Against the Lie
 Of National Probity
 Against the Lie
 Of National Integrity
 Against the Lie
 Of National Pride
 That Elitist LIE... !*

*Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Rome, 20th July 1969.
 (Tribute to my Biafran Friends who died in the ruthless war of secession)*

The OAU threw its weight on the side of unity, and provided for appropriate machinery (an ad hoc Consultative Committee) which helped to prevent secession thus maintaining the cohesion of its membership.

Thus the principle colonial principle of “Uti posseditis Jus” defied all claims to Self-Determination as mouthwash supported by the Charter of the United Nations. Wherefore the Neo-Colonial Nation-State is crowned with supplies of the latest war machinery and strategy to maintain the slave plantations intact for the production of raw materials for the commercial interest of the Slave Master that has never left because his Zintgraft eye-glasses are keeping watch of the indentured slave plantation workers.

But it must be remembered that this cohesion was attained at the loss of four million Biafrans who perished under Nigeria’s use of the “Hunger Armed-War” which condemned millions of Biafrans to starve to death or develop “Kwashiokor” the infectious disease provoked by malnutrition, which killed and deformed many children and women due to malnutrition.

This is one of the crimes against humanity which Nigeria, great Britain, Russia and the OAU stand condemned and owe retribution to the surviving Biafrans till this day.

This poem which I composed in honour of the Biafrans war victims speaks for the voiceless Biafrans is testimony of this Crime against Humanity entitled:

Poppy Day For Biafra

*I lost my appetite for the lasagna and spaghetti
The red wine had transformed into blood
Not of Christ but of the little Biafran child
With the amputated arm and scalded face
From the blasting Russian made bomb
To “Keep Nigeria One” standing on its
British Crotchets of In-Deep-Pendency
Bundled up in its Bloody Diapers
Of Bloody Oil-rich body and bones
For sale in the greedy World Market
Of Profits for Europe
And Loss for Africa...*

*Arch-Bishop Arinze could not
Convince me that that was the same
Glorious Biafra I had known and admired*

*With its healthy strong yam-eating
Men and women who produced
Strong beautiful robust babies
Looking like six months olds...
Now parading "Kwashikor" looking
Praying-Mantis and Wasps' with limbs
Barely invisible except for the
Propping eyes like huge tadpoles
and bloated stomachs outstretched
By acute prolonged famine...
Filled with the gory misery of
A War that only the bullets and guns only
Manufacturers know and enjoy the price...*

*I wept for Biafra but my tears
Frosted in their eye-sockets for lack of
Proof that this was not just a dream
As the pain of my loved-lost ones afflicted
My entire being and appetite to go on living
In this cosy country of lies and make belief
That we are all equal and free Children of
The Same Living GOD ALMIGHTY AND GOOD...*

*What could these token paltry Liras do
To bring back that dignity of a people
Abused right into the intimacy of their graves
Into the intimacy of their reason to live and believe
There is Only
ONE GOD for ONE NIGERIA
ONE GOD for ALL AFRICA
ONE GOD for THE ENTIRE WORLD
And not just the GOD OF EUROPE
Against the GOD of I KNOW NOT WHAT
Of this Injustice and Crime against Humanity
In The NAME OF THE GOD OF OIL
In The NAME OF THE GOD OF WAR
To KEEP NIGERIA ONE...
For BRITAIN?...
For RUSSIA?...
For AMERICA?...*

Or For AFRICA?...

FOR HUMANITY?!!!

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Rpome, 30th November, 1969

Republic Of Egypt And Israeli Yum Kippur War

In 1967 Egypt in collaboration with the Arab States attacked Israel on the Yum Kippur day. Egypt failed in this attack because Israel retaliated and grounded all Arab Union war planes and Israeli forces occupied parts of the Arab states lands including parts of Egypt.

OAU strongly condemned this Israeli aggression and occupation and demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories. Egypt is one of the founding Member States of the Organization of African Unity.

But it must be understood that the mismanagement of Arab aggression on Israel cannot rightfully blame Israel for her occupation of Arab States who did not respect her own sovereignty. The Arab States would have used the provisions of International Law at her disposal to bring Israel to book. I think it was also wrong for OAU to back the Arab aggression without first negotiating with Israel in a bilateral way. The Arab States had to recognize the State of Israel which was created by the Balfour Declaration.

OAU did not act rightly in that regard to support the Arab States who in turn did not respect the rights of what hardliner Arab States call the “Zionist” State of Israel.

Worse still, it is a known fact that the Arab nations look down on other Black nations of Africa, on whom they want to impose Islam and Arabism at all cost, like in Egypt and the Sudan. Some of these so-called Arab States of Africa do so at the detriment and suppression of the original native-African States and peoples, even where Arabs are minority like in the entire North African States, especially Sudan, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, and even Egypt, where the original local African languages are suppressed brutally in favour of Arabic.

Arab states were sponsoring with fabulous oil money the building of Mosques and the spread of Islam at all cost in Africa. Instead of spending the fabulous sums in building schools in Sub-Saharan Africa, Arab States prefer to spend money in building Mosques and supporting Fundamentalism, like the “Wa’abism” that is bringing non-tolerant Islam in the Sub-Saharan countries where Liberal African Islam is practiced in countries like Senegal where Muridism of Ahmadou Bamba Mbake of Touba reigns; or like the free Islam

practiced in Bamum country of Cameroon where women are not restricted from taking part in public life and in business life.

Today Arab Islamic States are sponsoring the Islamic “Boko-Haram” that is fighting the religious war against the West in Nigeria, and striving to impose the “Sharia” Law and spread intolerance against Christianity and Western Culture.

Islamic Fundamentalism is growing in Egypt now where the Muslim Brotherhood is burning Coptic Churches due to intolerance. During the pre-election and post-election of the ousted President Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood attacked and burned down Coptic Churches and some Coptic Ministers met with their death in the hands of intolerant Islamic mobs. In Sudan the conflict, before the independence of Southern Sudan was due to the fact that the Sudanese did not want to recognise the rights and the status of non-Muslims whom the Islamists call “infidels”. The Islamised Sudanese were bent on declaring an Islamic Sharia State irrespective of the multicultural situation of Sudan.

The big problem is that when the State declares itself an Islamic State and refuses to recognize the rights of non-Islamic citizens and societies within the State, then that State does not have the right to exist in humanistic terms. Religion should be a private affair and not imposed on all people indiscriminately.

That is the reason why Pan Africanism is founded on this Humanistic base of Respect and acceptance of all Humanity and not just Tolerance as Kwame Nkrumah in Consciencism advocates that Africa should accept Christianity, Islam that have fought African Religions and Animism as expressions of the Common Heritage of Humanity. It is unacceptable to build a world of ethnic racism, religious racism, and economic racism, social and cultural racism.

For Revolutionary Pan Africanism, this Humanism still has a long way to go, and that is why young Africans of today and tomorrow have to be sensitized more and more on this fundamental Humanism of Pan Africanism.

Equatorial Guinea Mercenaries Crisis

This country succeeded in gaining the support of OAU which enabled the Young Republic to reinforce its newly won independence from Spain.

The problem Equatorial Guinea was facing was the opposition groups living in exile in Spain and in other Western countries who were trying to overthrow President Theodoro Obiang Guema Mbasogo’s regime and replace him with an opposition leader in exile, Severo Moto.

That is how in 2004 mercenaries were recruited from the Western countries which comprised some South African and British mercenaries, among whom the son of Margaret Thatcher, the former Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Mark Thatcher, was the great financial funding agent of the coup.

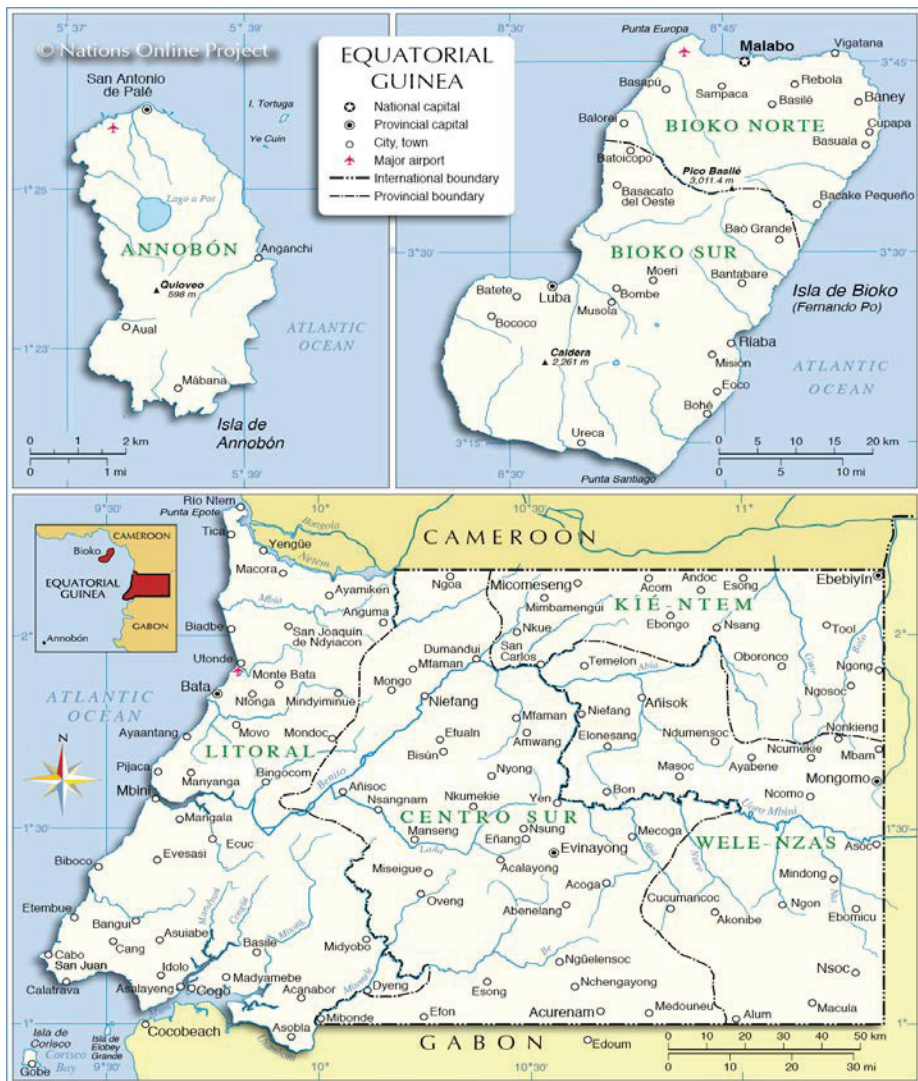


Map 12.4. Equatorial Guinea and Neighbouring Countries

Severo Moto was to become the new President while in return the British funders and mercenary partners were to be given special considerations in the oil exploitation rights of Equatorial Guinea the Kuwait of Africa.



Map 12.5. Equatorial Guinea Mainland and Bioko Island



Map 12.6. Political Map of Equatorial Guinea with Bioko and Anobon Islands

The mercenaries who were preparing to fly with a South African hired plane, and attack Equatorial Guinea, were arrested in Zimbabwe, at the Harare airport where the South African hired plane, freighting 64 former soldiers of the 32 Buffalo Battalion that fought for the South African Apartheid regime, was impounded. Among the mercenaries was an ex-Special Air Service officer, Simon Mann, who was arrested with other two colleagues were arrested. The Equatorial Guinean government was alerted and on the 9th of March 2004 Nick du Toit and 14 other South Africans and Americans who were suspected to be the mercenaries vanguards were also arrested in Equatorial Guinea. The

mercenaries arrested in Zimbabwe also implicated Sir Mark Thatcher as the main plotter and funder of the coup plot.

The Equatorial Guinean government tried the arrested suspected mercenaries and gave them long term sentences of imprisonment ranging for 34 years for Simon Mann, the British mercenary.

The case on the Equatorial Guinean mercenary planned coup d'état is one of those many cases of Western destabilization of Africa for the slave-driven capitalist economy which has deprived Africans of their natural resources and mineral wealth for their greedy profit-making interest. This incident shows the world how the Western powers are not interested in what they call democracy as long as they get what they want. In the long run the Americans got the lion's share of the oil booty and President Obiang Nguema is still waxing strong in power as President for life in Equatorial Guinea.

Michel Pedra (2004) furnishes the readers with useful excerpts about the aborted mercenary coup:

"The 67 suspected mercenaries arrested in Harare on Sunday were on their way to Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, to remove the government of President Theodoro Obiang Nguema, the Minister of Home Affairs, C. Kembo Mohadi revealed yesterday. The leader of the group, Simon Mann, had allegedly been promised cash payment of one million British pounds and oil mining rights in the Malabo Islands. Equatorial Guinea is rich in oil. The country's exiled rebel leader Severo Moto who is currently resident in Spain, Madrid, hired them to do the job. Cde Mohadi said this during a media briefing yesterday evening. He said the group, which landed in Harare on Sunday, wanted to collect arms and ammunition from the Zimbabwe Defence Industries. 'From Zimbabwe the plane was expected to fly straight to Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, landing in Malabo in the early hours of Monday the 8th of March. On landing the group was expected to be joined by co-conspirators already in Malabo to stage a coup to remove President Obiang from power,' he said. After the mission, the mercenaries were to fly to the DRC where the arms and ammunition bought from Zimbabwe were to be handed over to Katangese rebels. Mann and Nicholas du Toit were assisted by another man only identified as Bonds in planning the coup. 'As part of his assignment Bonds spent December 2003 and January 2004 in Malabo carrying out reconnaissance. It was Bonds who was expected to give the signal for the planned coup,' said Cde Mohadi. He said in the event of stiff resistance from forces loyal to President Obiang, the mercenaries were to fly to a safe haven in Sao Tome and Principe. Cde Mohadi said Mann had revealed that the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), America's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Spanish Secret Service aided the group. The secret services persuaded the Equatorial Guinea service chiefs, that is, the head of police and commander of the army, not to put up any resistance. They were promised cabinet

posts in Moto's government. The agencies were responsible for the hiring of the Boeing 727-100 from Dodson Aviation and they also provided satellite communication system to link up Moto in Spain, Mann and du Toit in South Africa and Bonds in Malabo. United States forces are reportedly carrying out military exercises around Equatorial Guinea. Cde Mobadi said investigations showed that the plane flew from Sao Tome and Principe on March 7, 2004 through South Africa where it was handed over to the crew."

The OAU condemned the Mercenary overthrow of African governments of OAU member states and gave full support to Equatorial Guinea's action against the culprits. Through diplomatic negotiations, some of the prisoners including Margaret Thatcher's son were released and taken to England for trial.

OAU –And the Self-Determination Problem of Southern Cameroon And Other Minorities

With the clause of "Uti possedetis jus," recognising the artificial colonial boundaries, it was difficult for the Organisation of African Unity to recourse to endorse the assistance of Liberation Movements and pressure groups, which were born of self-determination of minorities within a recognised independent member state.

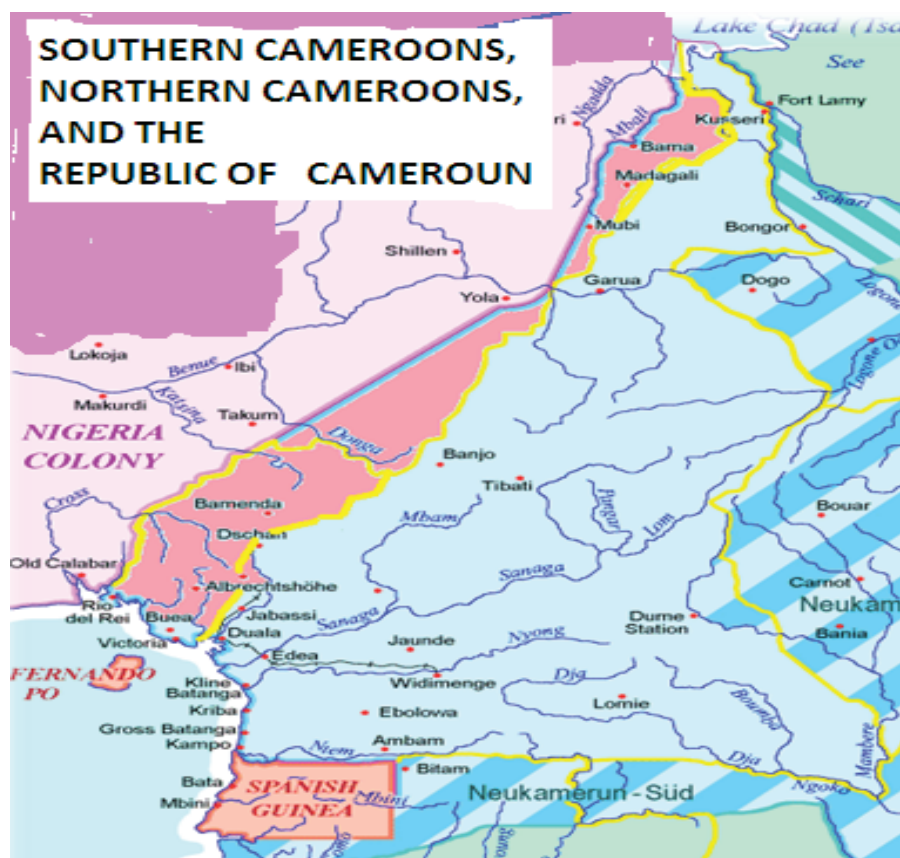
OAU focused on the Liberation Movements that were still under the yoke of Colonialism. That is how the Biafran Secessionist issue within the Federation of Nigeria was not supported by the OAU.

Other liberation movements like the Eritrean Liberation Movement, the Oromo Liberation Movement, the Ogaden Liberation Movement for the Greater Somalia, the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement, were not given due process and due consideration the deserved.

The Southern Cameroons And The Southern Cameroons National Council – SCNC - The Southern Cameroons Constitution In Council Or The Unification That Became An Annexation, Occupation And Colonisation?

Most recently the Southern Cameroons National Council – SCNC, declared for the self-determination and independence of the former UN Trust Territory. This was due to the evolution and turn the so-called UNIFICATION had been transformed into.

The argument tabled by the Founding Fathers of the so-called Unification, John Ngu Foncha and Solomon Tandeng Muna (1996) tabled to the United Nations Security Council was that the planned Federation of Southern Cameroons with La République du Cameroun on 1st October 1961, was transformed into an ANNEXATION, OCCUPATION AND COLONISATION of Southern Cameroons by La République du Cameroun.



Map 12.7.: Map of Southern Cameroons, Northern Cameroons and La République

Dr. John Ngu Foncha, in 1996, along with Rt.Hon. Solomon Tandeng Muna, with a seven man delegation made up of Barrister Elad Ekontang, Retired Ambassador Fosung, Dr Arnold Youngbang, Professor Simon Munzu and Professor Carlson Anyangwe, to the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly, deposited the complaint to the British Government, the French Ministry of Cooperation, and the Government of Eritrea, arguing that the PURPORTED UNIFICATION was transformed into an ANNEXATION, OCCUPATION AND COLONISATION of Southern Cameroons by the Republic of Cameroun.

This was because the independence and unification process with the independent Republic of Cameroun was not well managed by Great Britain as stipulated by the Southern Cameroons Constitution in Council of DRAFTED ON 12TH September, 1960, LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ON 16TH September 1960, and COMING INTO OPERATION ON 1st October, 1960.



Map 12.8.: Map of Southern Cameroons 1919-2013

The SOUTHERN CAMEROONS CONSTITUTION IN COUNCIL which appointed J.O. FIELDS THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, (Supplement to Southern Cameroons Gazette, No. 47 Vol. 6, 3rd October, 1960 – Part B, S.C.L.N. 55 of 1960) and gave him the full rights to act in favour of the Queen and to protect the autonomy rights of Southern Cameroons and protect it against any transaction that was not to the interest and welfare of the Southern Cameroons State and the interest of Great Britain.

The Order of the COMMISSION APPONTING JOHN OSBALDISTON FIELD, ESQUIRE, C.M.G., TO BE COMMISSIONER OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS dated 22nd September, 1960 states:

“ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Our other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith! To Our Trusty and Well-beloved John Osbaldiston Field, Esquire, Companion of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Greeting!

We do, by this Our Commission Under our Sign Manual and Signet, appoint you, the said John Osbaldiston Field, to be, with effect from first day of October, 1960, Our Commissioner in and over the Southern Cameroons, during our pleasure, with all powers, rights, privileges and advantages to the said office belonging or appertaining.

And We do hereby command all and singular Our Officers and loving subjects in the Southern Cameroons, and all others whom it may concern, to take due notice hereof, and to give their ready obedience accordingly.

And We do hereby direct that this Our Commission shall determine upon signification to that effect being given by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's this twenty-second day of September, 1960, in the Ninth year of Our Reign.

*By Her Majesty's Command,
IAIN MACLEOD.”*

Dr. Foncha explained to me personally in several interviews I carried out at his Foncha Street Residence (1990, 1991, 1992, 1996) that the Fouban Talks was a mere consultative Conference where the delegation of Southern Cameroons led by him, met with that of La République du Cameroun led by Ahmadou Ahidjo to see if they could come to an agreement on a Federal Constitution. The Southern Cameroons delegation made up of the various political party leaders in Southern Cameroons – KNDP, KNC, KPP for the most part, made many reservations and asked the Ahmadou Ahidjo to carry on the amendments before they would meet again for the signature of the final Federal Constitution. Surprisingly, the amendments were not carried out but Ahmadou Ahidjo went ahead and promulgated the Constitution in the Parliament of La République du Cameroun. But this Constitution was never

tabled before the House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs of Southern Cameroons for ratification.

Foncha also argued that notwithstanding the good will on the Southern Cameroons political leadership, accepting to unite on an equal platform as a Federated State with La République du Cameroun it turned out that Southern Cameroon became an annexed State of La République du Cameroun.

Wherefore Foncha also argued that the envisaged Federation which Southern Cameroons tried to create with La République was unilaterally dissolved by Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1972 through what he called a Referendum that was a farce.

He added that the “Arbitrary Referendum” which was contrary to the Constitution, was as farce because it was biased from the onset. He argued that Ahidjo, knowing that if he allowed only Southern Cameroonians to vote for the dissolution or non-dissolution of the Federation, the answer would have been a blunt No. That is why he had to include the people of La République du Cameroun who were already the majority in population.

The SCNC dragged the Republic of Cameroun to the Abuja Supreme Court which decided in favour of Southern Cameroons complaints and asked the then president Olusegun Obasanjo to introduce the matter to the National Assembly of the United Nations.

The SCNC also dragged the Republic of Cameroun to the International African Court of Human Rights at Banjul Gambia accusing the Republic of Cameroun of annexation, occupation and abuses of Human Rights of the Southern Cameroonians who were marginalized in their own country. The ruling of the African Court of Banjul was that there should be dialogue between the Southern Cameroons National Council and the Republic of Cameroun.

New developments and revelations by Mola Njoh Litumbe eminent Professor Victor Julius Ngoh and the author, Fongot Kinni, disclose that there was miscarriage of Justice in the procedure of handling the problem of the State of Southern Cameroons with its intended Plebiscited decision by Southern Cameroons to unite with La République du Cameroun.

According to the Southern Cameroons Constitution in Council of September 1st October, 1960, J.O. Field became the Head of State and responsible for all international transactions that implicated the State of Southern Cameroons as stipulated by the Southern Cameroon Constitution.

John Ngu Foncha was only the Head of Government and had no right or jurisdiction to enter into any international bilateral agreement with another State, not to mention an Independent State for that matter that would implicate the State of Southern Cameroons.

Wherefore the so-called Fumban-Talks Agreement between John Ngu Foncha and Ahmadou Ahidjo had no “locus standi” in law because Foncha had no legal jurisdiction to enter into any agreement with an international body implicating Southern Cameroons.

Many non-legal minds have entered into some kind of “orbiter dicta” discussion (SUMMIT Magazine, October-December, 2013 Edition, No. 22) on whether Dr. Foncha had a hidden agenda or not with President Ahmadou Ahidjo, as if we are dealing here with a kind of local “Njangi” or one of those “Mbu’h-House,” “Chicken-Palour” or even “Mama-Put” encounters. Some have even raised critical questions about the FOUMBAN CONFERENCE extravaganza that had no bearing in law, since the Head of State of Southern Cameroons was not present and did not sign any document that would legally implicate Southern Cameroons according to the Southern Cameroons Constitution in Council.

It is this blatant illegality of the so-called FOUMBAN CONFERENCE and all its paraphernalia that the Politician and Patriot Hon. Mola Njoh Litumbe describes the situational conclusion of the Fumban Conference between Foncha and Ahidjo even if they camouflaged their “hidden agenda” love affair as a mere “Njumba Palava” or “Come-We-Stay,” where in the analogy of marriage, there is no legal union if there is no legitimate contract between the parties, especially where one member of the parties has not reached majority; and where the consent of the legitimate authority of the parents is needed before the marriage. Neither the Government of the Her majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, nor her official and mandated Representative, J.O. Fields, was present, or even privy to the FOUMBAN WEDDING NEGOTIATIONS between the love affair between Dr. Foncha and Ahmadou Ahidjo. It becomes even more so as Professor Julius Ngoh makes it clear (2011, 2013) that the other members of the Southern Cameroons delegation were not even aware of the secret negotiations between Dr. Foncha and Ahidjo. But the crux of the matter and the “onus” of the blame squarely go to those accompanying Bridesmaid who followed the groom Foncha without first asking to know the agenda before taking off. It does not seem Professor Julius Ngoh and other Cameroonian Historians are aware that there was a SOUTHERN CAMEROONS CONSTITUTION IN COUNCIL. If they do why is it that they waste time in this kind of aimless debate about whose hidden agenda or love affair which takes us nowhere? Why is it that the Historians and specialists on Southern Cameroons have never cited this SOUTHERN CAMEROONS CONSTITUTION IN COUNCIL?

The legal situation is clear, hidden agenda or no hidden agenda of a love affair notwithstanding. And Hon Mola Njoh Litumbe reiterates, the negotiations between Southern Cameroons and La République culminated in a mere “Njumba Palava” or a simple “Come-We-Stay”. May-be President Paul Mbi-Mvondo Biya, who was still militating in FEANF as a UPC activist in France during the Foncha-Ahidjo love affair, might really want to come and make the “KNOCK-DOOR” Ritual Traditional Ceremony. But the big question remains: Where are the other Bamenda Parents of Fiancée in question who has been RAPED as Barrister Eta Besong, applying his legal appreciation, qualifies this ILLEGAL “Come-We-Stay.”

Ka-Wala in 2010 in a political workshop in Limbe, asked the question to Hon. Mola Njoh Litumbe, as to what become of the children that have been born out of this “Njumba Palava” between Southern Cameroon and La République du Cameroun. The answer was simple according to Law and Cameroonian Ethnic Traditions: Where there is no legality and no marriage, children born out of wedlock belong to the MOTHER of the Children and FATHER of the “Come-We-Stay” Woman.

J.O. Fields assumed his duty as Commissioner of Southern Cameroons on 1st October, 1960 with this declaration (Supplement to Southern Cameroons Gazette, No. 45, Vol. 6, 1st October 1960 – Part B – S.C.L.N. 51 of 1960):

“In exercise of the powers conferred upon me by section 92 of the Southern Cameroons Constitution Order in Council, 1960, I, JOHN OSBALDISTON FIELD, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons do hereby make the following order:

The Order may be cited as the adaptation of Laws Order, 1960, and shall come into operation on the first day of October 1960.

Whenever an expression set out in the first column of the first schedule occurs (otherwise than in the title or preamble or in any enacting formula) in an existing law as defined by section 92 of the Southern Cameroons Constitution Order in Council, 1960, then unless that expression is by this or any other Order made under the said section 92 expressly directed to be otherwise adapted or modified, or to stand unmodified, such law shall be read and constructed as if there were substituted for such expression the expression set out opposite thereto in the second column of such first schedule.

57. (1) Where any power is given to the Commissioner of Southern Cameroons to make any order, regulations, declaration, or appointment or

given any authorisation, exemption, notice, direction, approval, permission or consent, it shall be sufficient unless it is otherwise expressed, for the same to be signified under the hand of the Secretary of the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons, the Deputy Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons, or the Secretary to the Executive Council of the Southern Cameroons.”

During my encounter and interview with Dr. John Ngu Foncha in 1990, 1991, 1993 and 1996 Dr. Foncha disclosed to me that the Fumban Conference was still-born because it did not come to any legal agreement. Nerius N. Mbile admits, that the Southern Cameroons delegation all made reservations tendered for the amendment of the Constitution that was tabled by Ahmadou Ahidjo in Fombran. The signature of the proposed constitution was suspended till the amendments were made.

But since the amendments were not made as demanded and the Constitution of La République du Cameroun which was ratified by the Parliament of La République du Cameroun did not come for ratification to the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs, how could there have been any genuine unification?

Professor Victor J. Ngoh (2011) follows up this argument by admitting that even though this Constitution was ratified by the Parliament of La République du Cameroun, it was NEVER TENDERED TO BE RATIFIED NEITHER BY THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY NOR BY THE HOUSE OF CHIEFS OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS.

That is the reason why the very reputed Barrister Eta Besong, during the latest book launch of Professor Ngoh on Southern Cameroons, entitled *The Untold Story of Cameroon Reunification: 1954 – 196*, accused La République of the CRIME he called: “THE RAPE OF SOUTHERN CAMEROON AND HER PEOPLE BY LA RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN.”

It should be recalled that even if we are talking of some kind of unification, which was not, not even to talk of Re-unification, which could be initiated after fifty-two years of “annexation, occupation and colonization” as Dr. Foncha puts it, we must first of all know that Southern Cameroons was not destined to become a Region in La République as it is the case today. With the united Nations clause of “uti possedetis jus” for the maintenance of the colonial boundaries, Southern Cameroons never lost its Sovereignty as stipulated by the Southern Cameroons Constitution in Council of 1960.

As at the time of writing there is still a stale mate and the claims of the SCNC still remain as of recent militants of the SCNC were arrested in Bamenda for illegally convening a conference.

This is one of the international problems of Self-Determination of minority peoples who are marginalized in their own country which has to be

solved by the African Union, Great Britain and the United Nations put together for the mismanagement of Justice and the Human Rights of a people before it blows out into open conflict one day.

But President Paul Biya can transform this brave and gallant “Knock-Door” initiative to call for an OPEN COURT FOR TRUTH AND REPARATION FOR THE DAMAGES CAUSED TO SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS FOR 52 FIFTY TWO YEARS OF ANNEXATION, ANNEXATION AND COLONISATION, as Dr. Foncha and Rt. Hon. Muna who laid their COMPLAINT to the SECURITY COUNCIL.

As President Paul Biya has always reminded his audience reiterating that: “L’Impossible n’est pas Camerounais” this is a golden opportunity on a golden platter for him not to listen to those who deceive him, but to establish OPEN and TRUE Dialogue on the Southern Cameroons issue of ANNEXATION, OCCUPATION AND COLONISATION, which only his cool headedness and bravery to face the truth would pre-empt a disaster that might still come up later no matter how much we refuse to face social facts and stifle TRUTH.

This might really be the beginning of Preventive Diplomacy and opening for Sustainable and Fruitful Dialogue for the Southern Cameroons Problem as advised by the African International Court of Peoples Rights, in Banjul, Gambia. Cameroun óbòssó!

The Problem of the Independence of Sarawi (Spanish Sahara)

The Problem of the independence of Spanish Sahara, also known popularly as Sarawi from its new identity name, has been plaguing the OAU right to the African Union.



Map 12.10.: Map of Sarawi in Africa; Map 12.9.: Map of Sarawi

After the withdrawal of Spain from the territory, the Spanish Saharan people declared their independence with the name of Sarawi.

But Morocco claimed the right of sovereignty over Sarawi since it declared that the Spanish Sahara had long been an integral part of the ancient larger Morocco Kingdom and modern State.

The Sarawi leaders brought the matter to the OAU which granted them some recognition and asked for a “Referendum” in Spanish Sahara with the collaboration of Morocco. Morocco objected to the referendum and pulled out its membership from the OAU. Up till now a compromise has not yet been reached even after the succession of the African Union –AU.

The stalemate still reigns and one still doubts whether Morocco will ever give in to the referendum and whether Sarawi will give up her independence strive for self-determination.

The Struggle Against Apartheid

Through action of the African group at the United Nations and appropriate information campaigns Apartheid, the abhorred system of state imposed racial discrimination in South Africa, Rhodesia and the International territory of Namibia (South West Africa), was universally condemned at Teheran Conference (1968) as “a crime against humanity”.

All African nations participated to fight and overthrow the South African Apartheid regime. African border countries like Tanzania and Zambia contributed by giving fighting spaces for different guerrilla movements from Southern Africa in their territories. Other countries, including big countries like Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mali, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, and Egypt, contributed arms, money and even hospitalised many South African fighters and scholars in their country. Cameroon for example hosted many students and refugees from Namibia and other Southern African countries.

That is why the outbreak of the xenophobia in South Africa is unfounded. Africans fought against Apartheid with their fellow South Africans. Africans sacrificed a lot for South Africa to be liberated from Apartheid.

As a result of increasing pressure from all quarters, Apartheid South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth and a number of specialized institutions of the United Nations family.

In world sports, especially the Olympic Association of all world states, Apartheid South Africa was barred from participating in the Olympic Games and from all International Tennis Tournaments and international tournaments. This marginalization of South Africa, played positively for the OAU and the

African countries in general as it contributed to South African ending the Apartheid regime.

Promotion of African Culture

OAU staged both the 1st All African Cultural Festival (Algiers August 1969) and the First Workshop on African Folklore, Dance and Music (Mogadiscio Somalia) October 1 1970.

The first momentous Pan African Festival took place in Algiers, Algeria in August 1969. Never before, had African culture and arts given such a brilliant display of their richness, variety and genius. Above cultural and artistic achievements, this First Festival was the triumph of African solidarity and sense of purpose, and the triumph of AFRICANITY.

In Mogadiscio, the workshop on African folklore, dance and music was attended by many scholars and artists of international repute from OAU Member States. The quality of the various contributions was likely to influence all future development of African culture.

Economic and Social Development, Transport and Telecommunication

It was through the efforts of OAU that African countries harmonized their policies with regard to UNCTAD, IBRD, IMF, UNIDO, ILO. Consequently, it boosted their claims for better terms of trade, full participation in a new international monetary system and more multilateral aid was designed to carry more weight.

Through OAU, African countries were able to proclaim their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, just as they pressed for a modification of International Law with regard to the continental shelf and territorial waters.

In the social field, progress was achieved towards the Unification of African Trade Unions and Youth Organizations. In cooperation with ECA, blueprints for a rational continental telecommunications network was laid to foster the efficient air and road transport.

To fly across Africa from east to west or to make a phone call one did not need any longer go through Paris or London. A trans-Saharan highway from Algiers (Algeria) to Mali and Niger was built. Another one from Mombasa, Kenya to Lagos, Nigeria, was pro-actively considered. Under the auspices of the OAU an all-African Trade fair, took place in Nairobi, Kenya, (February 1972).

12.2. Education, Science, Health and Social Welfare

In these fields, OAU action was credited with pre-investment studies in fishery projects; in anti-rinderpest campaign that succeeded to vaccinate a billion dollars' worth of cattle; it initiated a number of scientific investigations on plant protection, soils, animal health, all of which could be obtained from the OAU/STRC office in Lagos, Nigeria.

OAU initiated pilot projects in the field of earth science: geology, geophysics, the idea being to supply Africa with the most up-to-date know-how and limit the "brain-drain".

In the field of Education, African college graduate were able to move from one African University to another, due to a scheme of degree equivalence established all over Africa.

In the field of health, preventive medicine and public health measures were applied all over Africa.

Action in favour of African Refugees

A bureau for placement and education of African refugees was established and went operational at OAU headquarters at Addis Ababa, since 1968. Great many African refugees ever since were provided with educational and job opportunities.

A convention governing aspects of refugee problems in Africa was adopted by OAU Heads of State in September 1969. According to the terms of this convention, a refugee status and right of asylum was recognised to refugees by all independent African countries.

Article 11 of OAU convention on refugees stipulated that: "No longer are refugees subjected to rejection at the frontier, return or expulsion, which would compel them to return to or remain in a territory where their life or freedom was threatened".

The OAU also worked closely with the UN to ease refugee problems of Africa. The OAU encouraged all member states to grant refugee facilities to Africans from the Liberation Movement countries like South Africa, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Congo Democratic Republic, Rwanda and provide them with free shelter, free education and free health facilities.

With the help of the World Bank, the OAU set up the African Development Bank for economic development projects intended to boost the financial strength of African countries.

As I have demonstrated above, the strong neo-colonial ties established before independence made it impossible for all African countries to become totally independent of their former colonisers after they had won the face-value political independence.

The continued reliance on the former colonial powers for economic aid, which often came with strings attached contributed to the underdevelopment of African countries.

African countries had to pay back loans at very high and exorbitant interest-rates; while African goods and raw materials had to be sold to the foreign aiding donors and lenders at very low rates.

It must be understood that the so-called African independence and international relations contributed to the new invasion of Africa by new comers into colonisation process like the USA, USSR and China.

These new comers into colonisation intervened in post-colonial Africa in pursuit of their own neo-colonial objectives. The foreign aid that was provided by countries like the USA; USSR and China was sometimes provided aid in the form of technology, aid-workers or Volunteers and ammunition with sophisticated military technology and military assistance personnel.

Even though some of this foreign aid was useful, much of such external assistance was often perceived as not necessarily in the best interests of the former colonies.

Actually these foreign aid projects were tailored to suit the primary objectives and interest of the donor countries. This is why African has remained underdeveloped after fifty years of neo-colonial independence and foreign aid, whether from the USA, European Union, USSR, China or Japan.

During its 39 years of existence the OAU succeeded to create some autonomous specialised agencies like the following:

- African Accounting Council (AAC)
- African Bureau for Educational Sciences (ABES)
- Pan-African Telecommunications Union (PATU)
- Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU)
- Pan-African News Agency (PANA)
- Union of African National Television and Radio Organizations (URTNA)
- Union of African Railways (UAR)
- Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU)
- Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA)
- African Civil Aviation Commission (ACAC)

Institutions of the OAU

To achieve its aims with much efficiency, OAU is composed of following institutions:

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government (it meets in Ordinary Session first Monday of June every year)

The Council of Ministers i.e. Foreign Affairs Ministers (it meets twice a year, in February mainly on budgetary matters and in May/June prior to Summit.) Other Ministerial Sectoral Meetings are held every two years in different domains such as Labour, Information, Trade, Health, Culture, etc.

The General Secretariat (based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia). The General Secretariat is headed by a Secretary General, who is elected by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government for a term of four years. He has five Assistant Secretary Generals, each elected from a geographical region by the Assembly for a term of four years. The six may be re-elected. The General Secretariat is constituted of:

Office of the Secretary General under which operates his Cabinet, Protocol, Information, Security, Legal Affairs, Inspectorate, Budget Control and Afro-Arab Co-operation.

Political Department

Economic Co-operation and Development Department (EDECO)

Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs Department (ESCAS)

Finance Department

Administration and Conferences Department.

Regional and sub-regional Offices exist in New York, Geneva, Cairo, Brussels, Lagos, Niamey. Dar es Salam (hosts to the OAU liberation Committee).

Specialized Commissions

Economic And Social Commission

Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission - Commission of Fifteen on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration Commission.

Autonomous Specialized Agencies Working Under the Auspices of The OAU are:

Pan-African Telecommunications Union (PATU)

Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU)

Pan-African News Agency (PANA)

Union of African National Television and Radio Organizations

(URTNA)
Union of African Railways (UAR)
Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU)
Supreme Council for Sports in Africa

Following the introduction of the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community, the General Secretariat is to serve as the Secretariat for the African Economic Community (AEC). It is served by over 600 staff members of whom 152 are of the professional category, recruited from over 40 Member States who are in the service of the Organization at the Headquarters and Regional and sub-Regional Offices.

The General Secretariat is the Permanent organ whose task is to service various OAU Meetings, implement decisions and resolutions adopted by the Summit and Council. It keeps documents and archives and generally speaking conducts the daily work of coordination among Member States in all fields stated in the Charter.

The Budget

The annual budget of the Organization (1st June to 31st May) is provided by contributions from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment which is calculated on the basis of area, population and per capita income. However, no Member States shall be assessed on an amount exceeding 20% of the yearly regular budget of the Organization. The budget is in the range of US\$27 - 30 million.

Languages, The OAU Reforms And Dictatorships:

Languages: The official languages are: Arabic, English, French, Portuguese. Africa was condemned to approve the use of colonial languages which were already entrenched in Africa.

But fewer efforts were made to promote African languages at the continental level. Languages like Kiswahili, Lingala, and even Pidgin, Hausa and Fulani which are spoken at transnational levels in Africa were never adopted to promote African languages.

Reforms and African Dictatorships

It had become evident and accepted as early as 1979, when the Committee on the Review of the Charter was established that a need existed to amend the OAU Charter in order to streamline the Organisation to gear it more accurately for the challenges of a changing world.

However, despite numerous meetings, the Charter Review Committee managed to formulate substantive amendments. The result of this was threefold:

The Charter was “amended” by being augmented through ad hoc decisions of Summit such as the Cairo Declaration Establishing the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, etc.;

A growing realisation that the need for greater efficiency and effectiveness of the Organisation required urgent action; and

The need to integrate the political activities of the OAU with the economic and developmental issues as articulated in the Abuja Treaty.

An Extraordinary Summit of the OAU was held in Sirte, Libya on 9 September 1999 and called for the establishment of an African Union in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the OAU Charter and the provisions of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

Following this Summit, the Constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted during the Lomé Summit of the OAU on 11 July 2000. The Union was intended to evolve from the OAU and the AEC into one unified institution.

The Creation of Autocracies

One realises that the OAU had very great ambitions which in the course of the thirty years of its existence fell short of expectations in many of its general policies and general objectives.

All the member States had ascribed to adhere to the United Nations Human Rights Charter. But this turned out to be the betrayal of many African Peoples’ denial of their rights, especially by those heads of States who were ruthless and cared very little of Human Rights.

The lack of Democracy in many African States accounted for the bad governance and lack of vision for development that reigned in nearly all African countries. The fact that many Heads of State perpetrated themselves in power transformed many African States to quasi Monarchical systems with Presidents for life. The result was the face powder-democracy that prevailed in the very autocratic State of Africa.

That is why during the entire history of OAU, since its founding, only three Heads of State actually resigned after ruling for no lesser than fifteen years. President Léopold Sédar Senghor created record by becoming the first Head of State to hand over power after many years of autocratic reign. The second was President Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon who resigned after

twenty four years in power. The third was President Julius Nyerere who also resigned after about twenty eight years in power.

Most African countries experienced military coups because many heads of State perpetrated themselves in power and became redundant after governing badly with nothing innovative to propose to the people.

Even some military regimes transformed themselves into what they called 'civilian' regimes and perpetrated themselves like President Nasingbe Eyadema who died in power after over thirty years in power, and was succeeded by the military who made his son President of Togo. President Sasou Nguesso of the Popular Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) became the chameleon Head of State, from a military General to President, then back to a military General to defeat another armed militia to become once more President for life. General Mobutu Sesse Seko of the Democratic Republic of Congo declared that he would never become an ex-president. He held on despotically to power for over thirty years till he was ousted and went on voluntary exile till his death in Morocco. President Olusegun Obasanjo was the first a Military Ruler, who after a series up to about seven military coup d'états in Nigeria, organised the democratic election of the first civilian government in Nigeria in the early 1980s when Shehu Shagari became the first post-military Head of State since the 1966 military coup. After Shehu Shagari Nigeria went through three military take-overs. Obasanjo, who was imprisoned by General Abacha was later released after the assassination of Abacha, contested power in 1996 to come back to power and ruled for two terms, only to turn round to try, without success because of hard core resistance, change the Constitution to perpetrate himself in power.

President Houphouet Boigny died in power even though his last years of rule witnessed the changing of his diapers like a baby. President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia was almost a vegetable when he died in power even though his also had his diapers changed for him to cling to power till death on the throne.

That is why the OAU was called the Club of Dictators. This was so because not even any one Head of State at any given time of the history of OAU tabled a bill to be discussed at the annual Head of States Conference about democracy and the good governance in Africa.

It is a common observation that African Heads of State, since the creation of the AOU had become power drunk and very despotic up to a point where they blatantly abused the human and democratic rights of their own people and swindled their destiny for their own personal interest.

And this tendency has been passed on with the creation of the African Union where many heads of States in Africa, have become very ruse using

every skewed method to be undemocratically elected “democratically” and officially to perpetrate themselves in power.

If an evaluation of the attainment of the OAU objectives is carried out, it becomes clear that there was too much talking without walking the talk.

During the founding of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963 certain principles and purposes were stated in the OAU Charter. For instance Article II of the Charter outlined the following objectives:

To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;

To co-ordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;

To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;

To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and

To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In order to achieve these goals Member States pledged themselves to harmonise their policies in certain specific areas, for instance:

Political and diplomatic cooperation;

Economic cooperation, including transport and communication;

Educational and cultural cooperation;

Health, sanitation, and nutritional cooperation;

Scientific and technical cooperation; and

Cooperation for defence and security.

One realizes that of all these objectives, too much emphasis was laid in political and diplomatic relations among States than in Economic cooperation, transportation and communication. Health, sanitation, nutrition and scientific and technical cooperation was given very little attention, as many States did not cooperate in those domains which were crucial for sustainable development.

As for defence and security, some States did cooperate only superficially, because they were more tied to colonial treaties with the colonial masters like in the case of the French-speaking African States.

If most African States had taken seriously political and diplomatic relations, may be the economic ties between States would have grown. Actually the core of all diplomatic relations is trade and the enhancement of international business and transactions between states.

Actually, public diplomacy is all about building stronger economic relations between nations; but African States did not take this very seriously. Instead they were very interested in building political ties which would strengthen their grips to power. As some critics popularly put it: “The Heads of State were learning the tricks of rigging elections from each other, and how to perpetrate themselves in power and become Presidents for life.”

This is the reason why all the other principles that were upheld in the Charter in Article II as regards the sovereign equality of member States, emphasised more in the non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States; which also implied the respect for the sovereignty and the African-elitist-neo-colonial territorial integrity of each pigeon-hole Elitist-Nation-State and its inalienable right to independent existence. And it is very embarrassing that after 50 years of post-colonial diplomacy Africans cannot travel freely to other African states. Africans have remained suspicious of each other, and engage in self-censorship bordering on discrimination and suspicion.

The non-intervention in the internal affairs of Member States also called for the peaceful settlements of disputes through negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration. The fact that the Charter asked for unreserved condemnation in all forms, of political assassination as well as what was considered subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other States, shows how the Member States were also very preoccupied with maintaining their unpopular regimes in power come what may.

The fact there was no true democratic platform and open space and equitable playing ground for citizens to challenge and vie for the powers they willed for and chose in their self-determination made the States to become illegitimate and precarious. Most people stayed in power through the use of force and by arming the police and the military and creating a subservient clientele through corruption. Some States became fertile grounds for military “coups d’état” as the only means of changing autocratic and self-imposed governments.

And that explains why the Western Super Power States had to send ammunition like foreign aid to preserve their mercenary leaders in power as long as they deliver the goods. Most foreign aid in Africa are in military equipment and ammunition.

The focus on the total emancipation of all territories under colonial rule gave Member States someone to accuse for Africa’s irresponsibility and extravagance in the misgovernance of their own people and the corrupt government the Elitist cast had set up in Africa after the post-colonial system of governance.

But the affirmation of non-alignment with regards to African blocs was very unrealistic and kind of dishonest because the majority of the French-Speaking States, apart from Guinea Conakry and Mali, were much aligned to France, under the cooperation treaties of military, educational, financial and cultural. It was believed that France, under the Foccartian Treaty of 1958, kind of dictated whatever treaty the ex-colonial Member States were obliged to faithfully respect, even after their independence.

It was even said that Paris even dictated who was to be named Ministers in French speaking states of Africa, as African Heads of State even went as far as sponsoring political and presidential campaigns in France, the Metropolis of neo-colonialism and imperialism in order to assure the retention in power.

The English-Speaking States, through the Common Wealth were also practicing some kind of cooperation with Great Britain and the USA who also called the shots whenever that was necessary. France, Great Britain and USA including Switzerland, became safe grounds for money laundering by corrupt African Heads of State.

12.3. OAU Conventions Of Managing Underdevelopment For Africa

While the nonchalant attitude of the Heads of States went on, and the clubbing and complacency bonding took its toll on African development fate, many empty policies and conventions were signed, some of which never took off nor went beyond the tables on which they were drafted.

Actually since the heads of States of Africa had to justify their being in power and as the collective autocratic lot whose interest was to perpetually take Africa hostage, they had to make sure certain empty conventions were signed.

One realises that for the thirty nine years or more of its existence the OAU hosted over twenty five conventions at different places in Africa. And the question which is often asked is: how many conferences and conventions did the Africans have to attend and sign before Africa could be developed?

Among the outstanding ones we have the following:

General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Organisation of African Unity Adopted on 25 October 1965, entered into force on 25 October 1965.

Phyto-Sanitary Convention for Africa. Adopted on 13 September 1967. Not yet entered into force.

African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (Algiers Convention). Signed on 15 September 1968, entered into force on 16 June 1969.

Constitution of the African Civil Aviation Commission. Signed on 17 January 1969, entered into force on 15 March 1972. South Africa ratified the constitution on 17 January 1996 and deposited its Instrument of Ratification on 8 March 1996.

Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa

Adopted on 10 September 1969, entered into force on 20 June 1974. South Africa ratified the convention on 15 December 1995 and deposited its Instrument of Ratification on 15 January 1996.

Constitution of the Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations

Adopted on 18 January 1974, not yet entered into force.

Inter-African Convention establishing an African Technical Co-operation Programme. Adopted on 1 August 1975, not yet entered into force.

Cultural Charter for Africa. Adopted on 5 July 1976, entered into force on 19 September 1990.

Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa. Adopted on 3 July 1977, entered into force on 22 April 1985.

Pan African Telecommunications Union Convention. Signed on 7 December 1977. South Africa deposited its instrument of accession to the PATU Convention on 30 June 1999.

Additional Protocol on the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Organisation of African Unity. Adopted in June 1980. Not yet entered into force.

Pan-African Postal Union Convention. Signed on 17 January 1980, entered into force on 1 July 1980. South Africa acceded to the PAPU Convention on 23 February 1999 and deposited its Instrument of Accession on 12 April 1999.

Convention for the Establishment of the African Centre for Fertiliser Development. Adopted in February 1981, not yet entered into force.

Agreement for the Establishment of the African Rehabilitation Institute - (ARI). Adopted in June 1981, amended agreement adopted on 30 October 1989, entered into force on 2 December 1991.

Bamako Convention on the Ban of the Import into Africa and the Control of Transboundary Movement and Management of Hazardous Wastes within Africa. Adopted in January 1991, entered into force on 22 April 1998.

Convention for the admission South Africa to the OAU on 23 May 1994 and the OAU Charter became binding on South Africa on that same date.

African Maritime Transport Charter. Adopted on 15 December 1995, not yet entered into force.

African Nuclear Weapons Free-Zone Treaty (The Treaty of Pelindaba). Opened for signature on 11 April 1996, not yet entered into force. South Africa signed the treaty on 11 April 1996 and ratified it on 13 March 1998.

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Adopted on 27 June 1981, entered into force on 21 October 1986. South Africa signed and ratified the charter on 9 July 1996.

Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights Adopted on 10 June 1998, not yet entered into force. Signed by South Africa on 9 June 1998.

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. Adopted on 11 July 1990, not yet entered into force. South Africa signed the charter on 10 October 1997 and deposited its Instrument of Accession on 21 January 2001.

Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. Adopted on 13 July 1999, not yet entered into force. South Africa signed the convention on 13 July 1999.

Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (Abuja Treaty) Adopted on 3 June 1991, entered into force on 12 May 1994. South Africa signed the treaty on 10 October 1997 and Parliament ratified it on 2 November 2000. The Instrument of Ratification was signed on 2 February 2001.

Constitutive Act of the African Union Opened for signature on 11 July 2000 at the OAU/AEC Summit in Lomé. South Africa signed the Act on 8 September 2000 and Parliament ratified it on 27 February 2001. The Instrument of Ratification was signed on 3 March 2001.

These conventions, as they were enacted and signed, seemed to tend towards one objective: maintenance of the status quo of going on signing conventions that did not make headway for Africa's sustainable development. There was really no follow up to see whether the conventions were adequately applied in the various states and regions of Africa.

It would seem some of the conventions were dictated by the neo-colonial powers who were interested in protecting colonial interests in Africa. Example is the convention on fighting terrorism where the term terrorism was not well defined, taking into consideration the fact that a person who was in the opposition of any regime or people who were suppressed by their own autocratic States and decided to apply the United Nations' Charter of Self Determination to fight for their rights could be defined as terrorist just because they were in the opposition.

This hypothesis of neo-colonial guarded interests determining who was terrorist and who was not is pertinent from the fact that many African countries who did not have neither adequate military and police force or financial and material logistics to stem the security means and fight what they called terrorism, had to fall back to the colonial powers and the superpowers for support and financing as well as the supplying of arms and military equipment to facilitate the neo-colonial agenda.

A very good example is AFRICOM the American military base in the coast of Guinea in West Africa which many heads of African States rejected the installation. But which today is accused of fighting terrorism to protect American crude oil and “blood oil” interest in the coast of Guinea.

Another good example for instance, is Mandela who was declared a terrorist not only by the Apartheid Afrikaner Broedebond of South Africa, but also by Great Britain and America, who maintained his terrorist status even after Mandela was freed from the twenty seven long years of imprisonment. Yet even when he was freed, there was no compensation paid for the messing up and bastardisation he and his family suffered all this time he was mandated a “Terrorist”.

This also goes with the convention on fertilizers which seem to foster just colonial capitalist interests and protect their monopoly, especially as Africans have not even started producing their own fertilizers, and all fertilizers are coming mostly from Europe and mostly the capitalist countries.

Another aberration is the convention on children’s right where in Africa children are not taken care of by the state that pays a social security for any born child as is the case in Europe and other advanced countries where the state takes care of the feeding, healthcare and education of the child till the child attains majority.

The OAU leaders specialized in attending conferences and signing of very unfruitful conventions which took Africa nowhere but deeper into debt for her underdevelopment and corruptive management and governance of the State.

Even though the various heads of State went on these routine conferences and signed conventions, most of them did not have any vision for Africa; nor had they any interest for developing Africa.

Many African Heads of State did not bother to look back and think for a while what the outcome of their negligence would be for Africa and her people. As Ogonda Ochola (2004) rightly says: “the African Heads of State had decided to privatise Africa and turn them into their personal and family property.”

That is why Africa for over three decades did not have a focused vision for her development despite all the natural resources God had endowed Africa with. Even if there were some achievements in all the Conferences and Conventions, Africa remained underdeveloped.

Some success were made in the field of easing the problem of refugees when the OAU worked closely with the UN. The African Development Bank was opened by the OAU to make Africa financially stronger and to engage in its own development projects.

But this so-called African Development Bank was controlled by the World Bank and the former colonial masters. Actually it turned out to be a subterfuge of the colonial World Bank in Africa to carry out only projects dictated by the interests of the colonial masters and some elitist few and did not reach the grassroots to generate entrepreneurship among African youths.

If the African Development Bank had fostered the creation of small and medium size enterprises and businesses in Africa by its youthful and school leaving population, this might have taken Africa a long way towards solving its own economic and developmental needs. This could have taken the form of promoting creativity and entrepreneurship among African youths no matter where they came from.

It would seem as some people complain, that the African development Bank had been transformed into a kind of African “Man Know Man” clientele club where only projects of special “national” and “friends” and “family members” interests are sponsored.

But even though it is true that when all Africa eventually became independent it was very difficult to keep the former colonial masters away. Africa made no effort to take visionary creativity and initiatives to come up with alternatives for sustainable development. Africa was very contented to continue looking up to the colonial masters and was continuously dependent on the former colonial powers for economic and technical aid. Africa did not look into its educational needs and structure its education to be become more creative and focused on its internal needs first, like most countries of the Scandinavian region like Finland, Norway and Sweden are doing.

Africa only looked up to foreign aid without alternative development. But all these aid always came with strings attached. The loans given by the World Bank and the Paris Club were often given with a lot of interest.

Africans did not plan together and develop and educational planning to meet up their social-economic and cultural developmental needs. Africans were still educated on the colonial syllabuses of serving the interest of the colonial Masters of sourcing for raw materials and natural resources. Africans

were not trained in the technologies and inventions of tools and equipment to respond to their developmental needs.

A good example is students sent to learn pharmacy only to become drug vendors of Western Pharmaceutical Companies; African Engineers were only trained to become what the French call “*Engenieurs Après Vente*,” “Service Engineers” who specialized only in maintenance and use of already produced machines; but never as creative inventors of new technologies and mechanical equipment. That is the reason why they were transformed into some form of intellectual human-robots for the Western Industrial countries and transformed into manipulators of ready-made technologies of the Western industries, and never creators and inventors of African-need-driven technologies.

That is why Africa became highly indebted and poor because of the poor balance in trade caused by the very low price that the United Nations Conference for Tariffs and Trade and Development (in 1995 it became the World Trade Organisation - WTO) paid for the goods the Western powers got from Africa for peanuts money. These products have always been shipped raw and at their natural rudimentary stage, with no added value given to them through processing. That explains why it would take an African to cultivate 20 hectares of Banana or 15 hectares of cocoa for ten years to be able to pay for a Mercedes Benz car, or a Peugeot car and twice that more to buy a Toyota or a Mitsubishi Land-Cruiser, as I have indicated in the first chapter of this book.

The super powers, USA and USSR – Union of Socialist Soviet Republic, made matters worse by experimenting on their Cold War in Africa and therefore turning Africa into a battlefield and recolonising Africa through their induced and commanditated wars as confirmed by President Jacques Chirac (2005) on France’s neo-colonisation of Africa. They usually provided aid with a lot of strings attached and sometimes it was provided in the form of military technology, sophisticated arms both to governments and oppositions to fight each other; and in most cases second-hand technology and aid-workers – sometimes called Volunteers, like the American Peace Corps, or the Russian Volunteers, and German Volunteers.

Much of the aid, even though not very necessary were always intended to boost the interest network of exploiting the resources of Africa by and for the new super-power donors and the neo-colonial masters. The so-called Volunteers and Peace Corps did not move up progressively to the upper echelons of building more competent manpower and ingenious human resource for creative and inventive technology for enhancing internal development of Africa.

Instead the Volunteer system created a new brain drain from Africa where well trained Africans became easy cheap job-providers for Western industries and not for Africa, because the youths could not find the industries in Africa to absorb them when they completed their education. And this is still the trend today where America has become the greatest exporter of cheap-labour of well-trained Africans into the American labour market through the so-called Diversity Lottery that some critical Africans call the “Voluntary Slavery.”

But no matter the shortcomings, credit must be given to America for the John F. Kennedy Peace Corps who served as a timely humanitarian action force to bring the people and America and the world, especially Africa, much closer together. The Kennedy Peace Corps helped a lot to put down America’s jingoism and to build bridges across peoples and cultures in a much mellow and humanitarian way.

One of the strengths of the America Peace Corps was that it tapped deeply in the very neutral and unbiased minds of the youths and many men and women of good philanthropic vision of America who were to become the real bridge builders of humanity when they returned back home in the USA torn with racial strife, and the world disillusioned by the excesses of the United States as a very proud bully and World Power.

Even though the Peace Corps was infiltrated by the CIA, it must be admitted that on the whole, a great deal was achieved by the Peace Corps Volunteers, who became the real Ambassadors of Peace of the United States in Africa and in the world at large. That is why credit must be given to John Fitzgerald Kennedy who brought up the idea of making Peace in the world instead of War.

The Peace Corps still remains today, especially after the George Bush’s and Barrack Obama’s tandem of American War atrocities and War-mongering in the Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the institution par excellence which can help heal the wounds of post conflict victims and take charge in the confidence building strategies for sustainable development.

But it would seem America is spending more in recruiting War Corps, and in lethal ammunition and drones; than in fostering the objectives of World Peace as initiated by John Fitzgerald Kennedy and his Peace Corps Volunteers.

It is very sad that under the reign of Barrack Hussein Obama, he has not fostered the very institution which gave him life. Actually it was the policy of peace-building during the regime of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, that saw a new stream of young Africans from the post-colonial states of Africa benefit from the flood gates of American Academia, through the Peace Corps programme, and the American Cross-Roads programme, even though America was still practicing segregation of Black people in White Universities. Obama seems to

forget that it was this Peace Corps programme which brought his father, like other Africans from the newly independent states of Africa, to study in American White Universities, that made it possible for his father to meet his White mother at the University of Honolulu before proceeding to Harvard, and later to become a Political Ministerial figure in Kenya under the Jomo Kenyatta's government.

John F. Kennedy was that genius who understood that to force the hands of parochial racist Americans into the process of the integration of White Schools and Universities in the 1960s, he had to bring in a "diplomatic foreign force" from Africa to play the trick. Many Africans who are still living today, and who have become great men and women, would affirm that it was the Kennedy Scholarships in the 1960s that gave them access into White Universities, where they found themselves the odd people treated with much care and diplomacy than their home grown African Americans brothers and sisters who were still being segregated from White Universities. It is strange that these Black Africans were admitted into White Universities and White Primary and Secondary Schools for the children of Black African Diplomats, under the Kennedy Diplomatic Integration Policy as "Whites," or "Black-Whites" as we call them in Pidgin "Black-Whitemen/women".

I think it is high time the United States of America reinvested in the Peace Corps Volunteers, in the 21st century, as an indispensable task force for its peace-keeping and peace-building process and humanitarian action to clean up the mess it has littered in the world.

Some More Recent OAU Success Story In Development

Re-Evaluating Decolonization

The OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, has achieved much as far as decolonization of Africa is concerned. It organized diplomatic support and channelled financial, military and logistical aid to liberation movements from 1964 to 1992 with Southern Sudan being the last rampart of internal colonization.

Much still remains to be done before final victory is obtained; especially when one realises there is the struggle for the self-determination of peoples within "colonial" independent nations as was the case with Biafra. The struggle for liberation has gained considerable momentum.

But there is the internal problem of self-determination which is commanding every day increasing support from world opinion. At the United Nations, all liberation movement struggles is recognized as legitimate.

Liberation movements' representatives have been admitted into United Nations as observers at UN meetings.

Through an OAU fund, international support was channelled to liberated areas in Guinea Bissau, in Angola and Mozambique. OAU initiated action with the International Court of Justice which declared that South Africa had no right to stay in (South West Africa) Namibia. Consequently, UN action was considered for the International territory of Namibia (former South West Africa) to accede to Independence. Likewise, a UN boycott was enacted against Rhodesia's racist minority regime of Ian Smith, until majority rule was obtained through the liberation movement. Every pressure was brought to bear on Great Britain, which, as a colonial power at the time of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (1965), had to live by its constitutional and moral responsibility towards African majority in Rhodesia.

Thus, Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia and their NATO allies were periodically harassed and condemned for their colonialist and racist policy in Africa, particularly at the United Nations where the African group commands a near "blocking third" vote.

The war of liberation of Eritrea was fought and won with the recognition by OAU as a full legitimate Member State of the OAU. Southern Sudan has fought and won its war of liberation with full support from the OAU. Western Sahara's right to self-determination was recognized by the OAU who asked for a referendum to be carried out in former Spanish Sahara, occupied today by Morocco who is advocating for a bigger Morocco.

New Boundary Conflicts

Within the thirty years or more years of its existence, OAU was confronted with a number of boundary conflicts in Northern Africa between Libya and Chad at the Band D'Auzu; in the Eastern Africa between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia at Ogaden; and in Central Africa between Cameroon and Gabon; Rwanda and the Congo; in West Africa between Nigeria and Cameroon.

OAU efforts and strategies have been rewarding. These conflicts were settled in a true spirit of African Solidarity without outside intervention or interference. OAU succeeded on such occasions, to make a name for itself as peacekeeper no. 1 in the continent.

The UN General Assembly paid tribute to OAU for its role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

OAU's defence of Member States' sovereignty; and territorial integrity Action undertaken by in this organisation will remain one of its greatest achievements ever:

In the Congo: where imperialism threatened in its supply lines of strategic raw materials (uranium, and copper) vied for disintegration to set up a puppet state.

In Nigeria: where the secessionist Biafran civil war flared up and threatened the Federal Republic of Nigeria to its very foundation. By throwing its weight on the side of unity, and providing for appropriate machinery (an ad hoc Consultative Committee) OAU helped to prevent secession while maintaining the cohesion of its membership.

In Republic of Egypt: the six days war which left parts of Egypt occupied by Israeli forces in 1967 prompted OAU to strongly condemned the Israeli occupation and demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories. Egypt is one of the founding Member States of the Organization of African Unity.

In Guinea Bissau: where Portugal's last attempt at colonial reconquest failed. In the wake of this aggression OAU's offer of financial and military aid to Guinea, along with its declared war on mercenaries in Africa and the successful information campaign it waged to alert international opinion were all evidence of the usefulness OAU has in facing outside aggression and the outside world.

In Equatorial Guinea: OAU support enabled the Young Republic to reinforce its newly won independence.

In South Africa the struggle against Apartheid: Through action of the African group at the United Nations and appropriate information campaigns against Apartheid, the abhorred system of state imposed racial discrimination in South Africa. Racism in South Africa, Rhodesia and the International territory of Namibia (South West Africa), was universally condemned as "a crime against humanity" at the Teheran Conference in 1968.

As a result of increasing pressure from all quarters, Apartheid South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth and a number of specialized institutions of the United Nations family.

In world sports, Apartheid South Africa was barred from the Olympic Games and from International Tennis Tournaments. All this pressure was made to bear on South Africa through the efforts of OAU.

Renaissance-Driven Programmes For African Culture

Under the auspices of the OAU Léopold Sédar Senghor, then the President of Senegal, hosted in Dakar, in 1966, the First World Festival of Negro Arts and Culture - FESTAC. It became an event that attracted 10,000 visitors, especially the African Diaspora, from all over the world to witness the accomplishments and vitality of the Arts and Culture of Black people in the world and the confirmation of Négritude.

A large contingent of African American artists travelled to Africa for the event. This was followed up by the African Festival of Arts and Culture hosted in Lagos Nigeria, called FESTAC'77 which was the largest and most wide-ranging presentation of traditional and contemporary visual and performing arts ever seen in Africa.

Currently, with the greater boom in African-Americans discovering their roots in Africa, and the opening up of AGOA – African Growth Opportunity Act, the areas in which Pan-Africanist ideals are most evident are commerce and development, especially as Africans and African Americans seek to become business partners.

OAU later staged both the 1st All African Cultural Festival in Algiers August 1969; and the First Workshop on African Folklore, Dance and Music in Mogadiscio Somalia on October 1970. The first momentous Pan-African Festival took place in Algiers, Algeria in August 1969. Never before, had African culture and arts given such a brilliant display of their richness, variety and genius.

Above cultural and artistic achievements, this First Festival was the triumph of African solidarity and sense of purpose, the triumph of AFRICANITY. In Mogadiscio, the workshop on African folklore, dance and music was attended by many scholars and artists of international repute from OAU Member States. The quality of the various contributions is likely to influence any future development of African culture.

The Enhancing Role of the General Secretariat (Based In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia)

The General Secretariat is headed by a Secretary General, who is elected by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government for a term of four years. He has five Assistant Secretary Generals, each elected from a geographical region by the Assembly for a term of four years. The six may be re-elected. The General Secretariat is constituted of:

Office of the Secretary General under which operates his Cabinet, Protocol, Information, Security, Legal Affairs, Inspectorate, Budget Control and Afro-Arab Co-operation.

Political Department

Economic Co-operation and Development Department (EDECO)

Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs Department (ESCAS)

Finance Department

Administration and Conferences Department.

Regional and sub-regional Offices exist in New York, Geneva, Cairo, Brussels, Lagos, Niamey. Dar es Salam (hosts to the OAU liberation Committee).

Specialized Commissions Established are

Economic and Social Commission

Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission

Commission of Fifteen on Refugees

Defence Commission

Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration Commission

OAU Specialised Agencies

OAU managed to institute some autonomous specialised agencies which functioned fairly well for some time. These were:

Pan-African Telecommunications Union (PATU)

Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU)

Pan-African News Agency (PANA)

Union of African National Television and Radio Organisations (URTNA)

Union of African Railways (UAR)

Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU)

Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA)

By 1979, when it became very clear that Africa was just turning round in one spot, it was accepted that a review of the OAU Charter was very necessary to streamline the Organisation "... in order to gear it more accurately for the challenges of a changing world." However, despite numerous meetings the Charter Review Committee did not manage to formulate substantive amendments. The result of this (Kevin Shillington, 2005) was threefold:

“... The Charter was “amended” by being augmented through ad hoc decisions of Summit such as the Cairo Declaration Establishing the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, etc.;

A growing realisation that the need for greater efficiency and affectivity of the Organisation required urgent action; and

The need to integrate the political activities of the OAU with the economic and developmental issues as articulated in the Abuja Treaty...”

12.4. O.A.U and the Demise of the Unfinished Liberation

None other than Kwame Nkrumah was more adamant about the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and imperialism. This included the countries of the mainland Africa and the contiguous Islands that constitute the continental sovereignty of Africa.

But Akyaaaba Addai-Sebo (New African, 2013) came out with a stunning revelation that there were still many unliberated Islands of Africa still struggling under the shackles of colonialism. He stated:

“As we mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the OAU we must not forget that the UK, France, Spain and Portugal still hold sizable colonies of Islands in Africa’s It is refreshing, however, territorial waters to note that African countries, on their own, are laying claims to some of these so-called “overseas possessions” of the European “powers”...”

These Islands are scattered all over the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. They are:

Ascension Island	(UK)
St. Helena Island	(UK)
Tristan Da Cunha Archipelago	(UK)
Bassas de India Atoll	(France)
Europa Island	(France)
Glorioso Islands	(France)
Iles Eparse	(France)
Juan de Nova Island	(France)
Tromelin Island	(France)
Mayotte Islands	(France)
Reunion Island	(France)
Canary Islands	(Spain)
Ceuta	(Spain)

Plazas de Soberania
Madeira

(Spain)
(Portugal)

The sad situation is that even though some African countries have tried independently to claim back some of these Islands, neither the OAU nor its successor the African Union has given a helping hand.

Akyaaaba Addai-Sebo confirms that when Kwame Nkrumah declared, at the Independence of Ghana, that:

“...the independence of Ghana is meaningless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent” also meant that the decolonization of African continent is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of Africa’s Islands.”

Akyaaaba Addai-Sebo believes that the dissolution of the OUA Liberation Committee in June 1994 in Tunisia, when the African Islands had not been liberated was not only treacherous and an act of treason.

This only goes to confirm what I called the “comedy of errors” of the OAU launching. It would seem many heads of States did not even quite understand the objectives of the Revolutionary pan-Africanism Kwame Nkrumah was talking about, which was the post-colonial and the post-liberation Pan-Africanism. And since they precluded the African Islands still under colonial rule, and dissolved the OAU Liberation Committee, it shows how uncommitted they were to the original commitment of the OAU Liberation Committee and the core ideals of Pan-Africanism.

This brings to the table the question of what can be done to remedy the situation of sending the wrong signal that all Africa was liberated and that the matter of the colonized Islands was closed.

The alternative left is for the African Union to reinstate the Liberation Committee under the tutelage of the African Union, who will reintroduce the liberation of the colonized Islands, and if possible as far as soliciting the intervention of the United Nations Organization.

In Islands that are not inhabited by any human population, the simple International law of equidistance in determining which Island belongs to which contiguous nation should be applied. While in the case of inhabited Islands like Reunion, Ascension and St. Helena Islands and Canaries Islands, the law of self-determination could apply for the populations to decide where they want to belong, even though that might be too hard for Africa to bear. Africa should know full well that the population, after a long colonization, it

might be too difficult to decolonize the mind of the indentured slave who has internalised and assumed the mastership of his/her enslavement.

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This Book is the outcome of a long project begun thirty years ago. It is a book on the makings of pan-Africanism through the predicaments of being black in a world dominated by being white. The book is a tribute and celebration of the efforts of the African-American and African-Caribbean Diaspora who took the initiative and the audacity to fight and liberate themselves from the shackles of slavery. It is also a celebration of those Africans who in their own way carried the torch of inspiration and resilience to save and reconstruct the Free Humanism of Africa. As a story of the rise from the shackles of slavery and poverty to the summit of Victors of their Renaissance Identity and Self-Determination as a People, the book is the story of African refusal to celebrate victimhood. The book also situates women as central actors in the Pan-African project, which is often presented as an exclusively masculine endeavour. It introduces a balanced gender approach and diagnosis of the Women actors of Pan-Africanism which was very much lacking. The problem of balkanisation of Africa on post-colonial affiliations and colonial linguistic lines has taken its toll on Africa's building of its common identity and personality. The result is that Africans are more remote to each other in their pigeon-hole-nation-states which put more restrictions for African inter-mobility, coupled by education and cultural affiliations, the communication and transportation and trading networks which are still tied more to their colonial masters than among themselves. This book looks into the problem of the new wave of Pan-Africanism and what strategies that can be proposed for a more participatory Pan-Africanism inspired by the everyday realities of African masses at home and in the diaspora. This book is the first book of its kind that gives a comprehensive and multidimensional coverage of Pan-Africanism. It is a very timely and vital compendium.

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